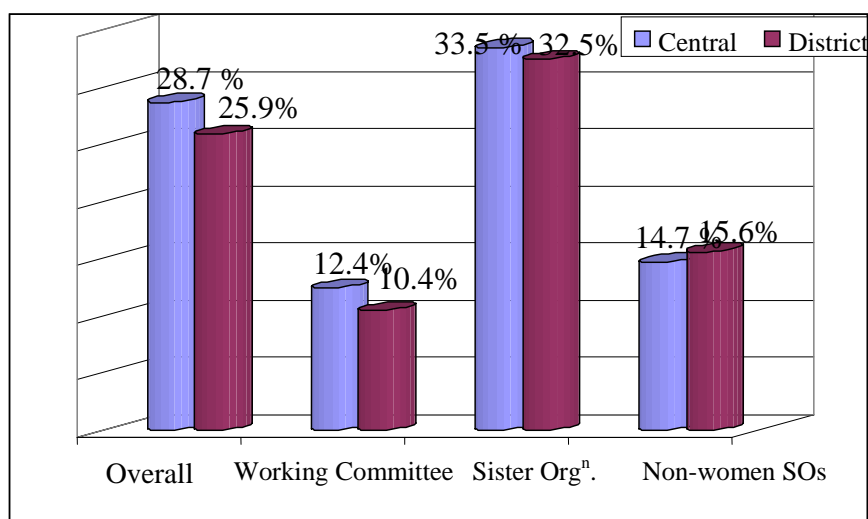


Women's Political Participation, Empowerment and Inclusions in Nepal: *Survey Report and Strategic Action Plan, 2009*

(Unedited translation copy from original text in Nepali language)

Status of Women's Participation in Political Parties



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Highlights of the Survey Report and Strategic Action Plan

- *Most comprehensive and original document on women's participation in politics*
- *With coverage of all 75 districts of the country*
- *Survey of some 30,000 political leaders and 21 parties*
- *Opinions, views and feelings have been substantiated with statistics*
- *Strategic Action Plan on Women's Political Participation and Empowerment for 13 different political parties*
- *Essential companion for developing the State's laws, policies and programs, and*
- *Very useful for educational aspects and research works.*

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Forewords

In order to have a successful movement for the women's emancipation and upliftment, it is both essential and urgent to increase the access of more women in the policy making and decisive posts. As the political parties have vital roles in running the state in the present era of democracy, the women's participation in politics and increases in their access to decision making levels has emerged as a vital issue. Realizing this fact, people in many quarters and at different levels are continuing efforts to enhance the women's participation in decisive posts of the political parties and the state.

Women's Democratic Network Project (October, 2006 to September 2008) launched by the Renaissance Society Nepal (RSN) with assistance from the Rights, Democracy and Inclusion Fund (RDIF)/ Enabling State Programme (ESP) was a part of the above movement. This WDN campaign had targeted to contribute in widening the participation of women in politics. A major activity of the project was the survey of women's political participation status, problems and solutions. This report is prepared under the same component. Another important achievement of the project is formation and continuity of cross-party women's alliances in 54 districts. Moreover, development of the strategic action plans for the political parties to address the issues pointed out by the survey report is also a great achievement of the project.

The present study is original in Nepal in the sense of covering the subject matter across the entire geography. The survey report presents the actual status of women's participation in political parties, their access to decision-making positions and ethnic representation based on the inventory of about 30,000 central and district level political party leaders. Similarly, this report also contains the issues and opinions regarding women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion of women from minority/ marginalized communities that is based on the information collected from the party chiefs and women leaders. The strategic actions plans developed by the political parties as the guidelines for them to address the issues and challenges on women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion are also published as part of this book.

Many people and institutions have played valuable roles in its completion. First of all, RSN is especially grateful towards the RDIF/ ESP for enabling this study possible by providing financial assistance. Our organization expresses special thanks to all the leaders of the political parties who provided information in the series of the study. I also like to provide special thanks to the Steering Committee of the Project, WDN Central Committee and the District Committees, statisticians, project personnel who worked in the fields despite various obstacle, and all those who helped in various ways directly and indirectly on the conduct of this monumental work.

I would like to express my special gratitude to the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) for the financial support to publish the survey report and strategic action plans in a book form. Special thanks go to Ms. Sangeeta Thapa, UNIFEM Programme Coordinator for Nepal, Mr. Yamun Yadav, Programme Support Manager and Mr. Ananta Rijal, Senior Programme Officer for their keen interest and support towards this venture.

I express thanks to my colleagues Ms. Urmila Aryal, Mr. Madan Bahadur Thapa, Mr. Puskar Pokhrel, Mr. Laxmi Sharan Ghimire and other team members for their involvement in writing, editing, etc. during drafting to finishing the book.

This book is expected to be an important base in constructing the periodic planning for increasing the access, empowerment and inclusions of the minority and marginal groups like Dalit, indigenous, Madhesi and people in remote areas, and for indentifying the areas of membership increments of the political parties. Since the jobs of survey and development of strategic action plans has been completed with the use of limited resources in a short period, there may remain spaces for improvements; I welcome the recommendations and reactions of the concerned groups, and will use them to improve the book.

Y B Thapa

President

Renaissance Society Nepal

Message

Women in Nepal cover more than 50% of the total population. However, their representation in state structures is very low. In political sector, women's average participation in executive committees of political parties is only 12% at the central level and 10% at the district level.

Women have yet to get adequate opportunities to be involved in the political sector despite their valuable contribution in economic and social sectors of the country. Moreover, many women are facing social, financial, cultural and political discrimination especially, due to patriarchal structures. Politics-backed violence is also a major problem for women.

The country is in a transition and the constitution making process is underway now. Besides, the political parties in Nepal are moving ahead to reform their constitutions, rules and regulations making them in tune with their commitments of equitable development expressed during the Constituent Assembly elections of 10 April 2008.

The Interim Legislature has passed a resolution on 30 May 2006 for women's representation in every state structures at a minimum ratio of 33%. Women's representation in the Constituent Assembly has reached 33% (108 women out of 601 Members). This is a remarkable achievement with regard to enhancing women's participation in politics. However, there is extreme need of increasing women's representation in all levels of political sector to for upholding this achievement.

Local level leaders (village/municipality, district) are those persons who ultimately take the positions in various central level government agencies of the country. Therefore, to enhance women's representation in all political sectors, efforts are necessary from the very local level.

In this context, Renaissance Society Nepal had conducted a survey with support from Rights, Democracy and Inclusion Fund in 2007/08 to collect data of central and district level committees and sister organizations of the political parties. Report of that survey has presented the status of women's representation in political parties and their executive positions. Likewise, the report has unveiled the ethnic participation scenario in the parties. Moreover, present report has pointed out the issues of women's political participation and inclusions and presented various suggestions. Strategic action plans have been developed for the political parties and the state to address the issues presented by the survey report.

All the political parties are seemed to be eager to proceed with the equitable and inclusive policies in this transition period. In this perspective, UNIFEM has collaborated with RSN to publish this book realizing the importance of the data, issues, suggestions and the strategic action plans presented by the book.

UNIFEM has been working for the gender equality, women empowerment and protection of women's human rights, and enhancing women's participation in politics. So, this publication will be a useful reference material for all the politicians, cadres and policy makers who are actively working for women empowerment, gender equality and enhancing women's representation in political field. Moreover, I am confident that this book will remarkably help the local and central level policy makers, leadership position holders, advocates of gender

equality and women's human rights activists in their efforts to ensure women's proportionate representation in all levels of the political sectors.

In this moment, I would like to express my thanks to Renaissance Society Nepal for conducting the survey, officials of Rights, Democracy and Inclusion Fund for providing support in this significant effort and the entire survey team. In addition, my thanks also go to my colleagues Mr. Yamun Yadav, Program Support Manager and Mr. Ananta Rijal, Senior Programme Coordinator for their contribution during preparation and publication of the book.

Sangeeta Thapa

UNIFEM Programme Coordinator

UNIFEM Programme Office, Nepal

Message

Women's participation and contribution has been remarkable in all the democratic movements in Nepal. Women's political movement was started in Nepal with agitation against Rana regime in the name of 'women education' by Women Committee formed in Siraha in 1975 B.S. One of the five founder members of Nepal Communist Party established in 2006 B.S. was women. At present, women covering more than half of the national population, represent in the political parties at the ration of nearly 33%. There are 32.8% women in the Constituent Assembly which is also working as the parliament at the moment. This a historical achievement. However, women's access to meaningful political positions and policy level is very low. Present cabinet has only 17% women members. No woman has been given opportunity to be the chief of any constitutional body till date. Family, social and political environments have not been favourable for women empowerment.

Politics is chief policy of all the policies. So, without proper representation in politics, women's representation in other sectors will also be affected. Most of the political parties still lack the exact data of their active or ordinary members. More important aspect is that political parties have not the practice of working as per plans and programmes based on specific database although they sometimes present attractive slogans of enhancing women's participation, reforming inclusion situation and so on. Therefore, the time has come for the political parties to be prepared and capable to work more systemically and scientifically based on specific study or research.

Nepal has already entered into the federal democratic republican governance structure with abolition of 240 years monarchy. Homework of making new constitution through the Constituent Assembly is underway. Goal of the state is making the constitution with quality of proper representation and ownership of women, minorities, marginalized, deprived communities and ethnicities.

Considering the need of collaboration among women leaders of various political parties in the agenda of women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion, Women's Democratic Networks have been formed at district, regional and national level as the loose alliances. Up to now, there are 54 district level networks. These networks are strongly advocating with political parties and the government agencies at different levels for women's access and representation. Likewise, various programmes and campaigns for women's rights are also underway through these networks.

In this context, the book entitled "Women's Political Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion in Nepal: Survey Report and Strategic Action, 2009" published by Renaissance Society Nepal, RDIF/ESP Nepal and UNIFEM may fulfill the present database needs and provide guidelines to address various issues in this sector. Besides this, the issues and suggestions collected from almost all districts of Nepal will be very useful reference materials. It will be easier for the political parties and the state to fulfill the policies and commitments of at least 33% women's representation and inclusions if they could immediately move ahead with various empowerment programmes based on the survey report. This book will be directly functional to implement the strategic action plans developed by WDNs and the political parties at different level for women's political empowerment.

At this juncture, I would like to express my thanks to Renaissance Society Nepal, RDIF/ESP Nepal, UNIFEM, WDN colleagues, women rights organizations, activists and other related persons for their contribution in producing this valuable book after completing a massive survey on the status and issues of women's political representation.

Urmila Aryal

President

Women's Democratic Network

Central Committee

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

(A) Survey Report

Status of Representation

1. **Women's Participation in Political Parties:** Women's representation at central level of the political parties is 28.7% in overall, 12.4% in executive committees, 33.5% in all sister organizations and 14.7% in sister organizations other than women's. Similarly, this ratio is 25.88%, 10.42%, 32.47% and 15.59% respectively at the district level.
2. **Women's Representation in Major Posts of the Executive Committee:** There is a single women party President at the central level and there are no women in Vice-President, Secretary, Joint Secretary and Treasurer. At district level, there are only 1.5% women party Presidents. From among the other meaningful positions, there are less than 5% women in President, Vice-President, Secretary and Joint Secretary; and there are slightly more (8%) women in the post of the Treasurer.
3. **Women's Representation in Major Posts of Sister Organizations:** There is no women chief in central level sister organization other than women's organization. There are only 3.3% women chiefs at the district level. Women's access is nominal to the lower positions as well. From among the women chiefs of district level sister organizations, the most number is in the students organizations and the least is in intellectuals and labour organizations.
4. **Ethnic Participation Scenario:** In terms of ethnic participation in the political parties and their sister organizations, there is overwhelming majority of the Brahmins and Chhetries. From the inclusion perspective, status of hill Janajati and Dalit is rather satisfactory but Terai Middle Caste and Terai Janajati representing a huge portion of population fall far behind.

Issues and Conclusions

5. It seems to be very challenging for the political parties to have progress in the present status to ensure at least 33% women's representation. The parties have yet to reform their Constitutions, Bylaws, Directives and other policy documents to make them gender and inclusion friendly. The state laws such as that related to citizenship and foreign employment are still discriminatory with regard to women's representation.
6. The survey has pointed out main reasons of women's low representation in political parties as follows: lack of political awareness, lack of capacity, party policies, non-cooperation from male leadership, financial problems, non-cooperation from state, and social and family problems. These factors have played roles not only in women's political participation but in their activism and continuity in politics also. It is found that district

level women leaders themselves lack proper political knowledge and awareness. These frontline women leaders should have been able to expand the periphery of women's political participation through social mobilization but this has not been happened. On the other hand, the issue of enhancing women's political participation has not got priority at the policy making level rather it is limited only to workshops, seminars, interactions, discussions, etc. In turn, specific and participatory programmes are lacking in this respect.

7. Political parties have yet to be inclusive. There is extreme need of special policies, programmes and campaigns for this within the parties.
8. The practice of inter-party collaboration for enhancing women's political participation and access to meaningful positions has just started in Nepal. This collaboration is limited only to social and cultural issues. Such collaboration should be made further intensive to fill the gaps in women's access and participation in political parties and the important state structures.
9. It seems that we should wait longer to accept the women's existence in a patriarchal society like ours. One of the greatest challenges is developing the culture of co-work and collaboration between men and women, initiated by men themselves, to ensure women's meaningful representation in politics and the state mechanisms.

Suggestions

Representation and Participation

10. The political parties and leading women politicians should immediately move ahead with clear and specific policies and programmes to fulfill the challenging target of at least 33% women's participation in each party unit. For this, political parties and their women departments and women organizations should conduct campaigns related to increasing women membership, ensuring women's access to leadership positions and women empowerment up to grassroots level in collaboration with the inter-party networks.
11. The state should make provisions of seat reservation and/or special rights for women and other deprived communities through positive discrimination policy to enhance their participation and access to the leadership positions.
12. Women's capacity building through effective empowerment programmes is needed to reform in women's participation in political parties. Massive social, political and gender awareness programmes are also extremely necessary to eliminate the prevailing traditional vision, customs and values. The political parties should proceed with political orientation campaigns at a massive level and in regular basis collaborating with other organizations and partners.
13. Political parties should bear necessary expenses of the women leaders while involving in the party works to ease out their inability to participate due to monetary reasons despite their interest.
14. The state should immediately proceed to make provisions of women's proportionate representation in laws and policies related to education, law, health, employment and so on. Discriminatory laws and policies should also be immediately amended. Political

parties should play leading role in these processes. The state should ensure the effective implementation of such laws.

Empowerment

15. Women's positions should be reserved in leadership positions of the political parties and the state at different levels.
16. Work should be initiated from households, society and the political parties to improve in women's leadership status. Activities related to social awareness, women empowerment, lobby and advocacy, workshops, seminars, training etc. should be made regular.
17. Women's economic rights should be ensured through women's ownership in patriarchal property, their access to financial resources and various ways of income generation. For this, the political parties should play roles in special coordination with the state and the government.
18. Additional organizational strengthening programmes should be conducted to make the women departments and women's organizations of the political parties more efficient and effective.

Inclusion

19. The political parties should create favourable environment to enhance participation and leadership opportunities for the women from among the minority and marginalized communities. The parties should formulate and implement specific and time-bound action plans. For this, special provisions should be made in the policies and programmes of the parties. Moreover, such efforts should be publicized at the massive level and effective implementation should be ensured.
20. Various programmes such as special orientation, training, awareness development, skill development etc. should be conducted for the empowerment of women from among the minority and marginalized communities.
21. The laws and policies of the state should be made inclusive and special attention should be given towards their effective implementation.

Inter-party Networks

22. Women's inter-party networks should be expanded up to local level for more effective common initiatives, campaigns, lobby, advocacy etc. through inter-party women's collaboration in women's common issues such as women's participation, access, rights, dignity and so on. All the political parties should participate in these networks as far as possible.
23. Women's inter-party networks should proceed with clear plan of actions related to women's representation, empowerment, inclusion of minority and marginalized women, women rights and their interests and dignity at various level. Likewise, they should effectively monitor the activities of other governmental and non-governmental organizations in these sectors. For this purpose, the government should allocate resources for these networks and develop them as local gender focal point or political women's resource centers.

Miscellaneous

24. The political parties should immediately make their constitutions, bylaws, directives and other policy documents gender and inclusion friendly. For this, the parties should take necessary steps by obtaining suggestions through adequate interactions from women's organizations, networks, women leaders and other women rights activists.
25. It is extremely necessary to address women's issues and matters in the upcoming Constitution. Similarly, prevailing laws discriminatory with regard to gender and inclusions should be reformed and new laws should be formulated.
26. The government should allocate budgets to the political parties for their managerial strengthening by defining specific criteria.
27. Effective monitoring and evaluation system and mechanism should be developed to ensure effective implementation of the gender and inclusion related policies and programmes of the parties and the state.

(B) Strategic Action Plan

28. Common policies and programmes for the state, political parties and other concerned agencies have been developed to address the targets, issues and challenges pointed out by the survey report on women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion within a specified time period. These policies and programmes have been initiated by the women's networks. In addition to this, 13 major political parties have developed their strategic action plans with quantitative targets on women's representation and inclusion issues.
29. Party-wise strategic action plans have been systematized in following parts: (a) policy reforms, (b) special policies and programmes, (c) access to policy making positions, (d) collaboration with the civil society, (e) monitoring and evaluation, and (f) others. These parts of the action plan have suggested mainly to:
- a. Determine the quantitative targets of women's participation, access to meaningful posts and inclusion in the constitutions of the political parties. For immediate recourse, make provisions of proportionate representation based on the population.
 - b. Make provisions in party election manifesto for women's proportionate representation and inclusions in each organ of the party and state. The manifesto adopt the principles of positive discrimination to ensure enforcement of laws on women's equal property rights, and address the issues of women's education, health, employment, justice and security. Ensure full implementation of the manifesto.
 - c. Adopt policy of positive discrimination in various state institutions including the parliament, government, constitutional bodies, commissions, civil service, and in every policy making level; and the parties be active to ensure women's proportionate participation.
 - d. Increase women membership in political parties by providing special benefits to them. Formulate special policies and programmes on this matter and conduct campaigns accordingly.
 - e. Ensure women's proportionate participation in all levels and units of the political parties. In addition, ensure representation of women among marginalized and minority communities on the basis of their population.
 - f. Create environment for women's party leadership in at least half of the districts. For this, make policy provisions for rotating party leadership between men and women.
 - g. Conduct women's empowerment programmes such as political awareness, training for leadership development and capacity building, orientation, workshops, seminars etc. at a regular basis. The parties coordinate and collaborate with various organs and agencies of the state, civil society, local communities, organizations, private sectors etc. to make these programmes more effective.
 - h. Support the campaign of inter-party women's networks to identify common issues of women and to make the efforts effective.

- i. Make the party offices and secretariats of various level more resourceful, strong and efficient.
 - j. Form monitoring and evaluation committees at various level to ensure the successful implementation of the laws, policies and programmes and to make the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms more effective. These committees perform regular monitoring and evaluation works and parties make necessary reform actions based on those evaluations.
 - k. Reward the district level party committees, leadership or members who have contributed remarkably in increasing women's participation and inclusions.
30. While preparing the strategic action plans, following procedures were adopted: (a) discussion at the district level workshop in presence of party leaders by women's networks; (b) preparation of primary draft through discussion at the 14 zonal workshops; (c) development of regional action plan through regional workshops; (d) preparation of central action plan by synthesizing the regional plans; and (e) handing over of the plans to central level of the party by central level network.

Women's Participation in Politics, State of Empowerment and Inclusions, and Issues and Solutions: Survey Report 2007

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List of Abbreviations

ESP	Enabling State Programme
UML/CPN (UML)	Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)
Unified/ CPN (Unified)	Communist Party of Nepal (Unified)
CWC	Central Working Committee/ Central Committee
DWC	District Working Committee/ District Committee
PFN	People's Front Nepal
NC	Nepali Congress
NCD/ NC(D)	Nepali Congress (Democratic)
NWPP	Nepal Workers & Peasants Party
NSP(A)	Nepal Sadbhavana Party (Anandidevi)
SP	Sadbhavana Party
Maoist/ CPN (Maoist)	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
ML/ CPN(ML)	Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist Leninist)
Marxist/ CPN(Marxist)	Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist)
NPF/RJM	National People's Front
RPP	Rastriya Prajatantra Party
RPP-N	Rastriya Prajatantra Party, Nepal
Committee	Working Committee
Organization	Sister Organization
SBM	Samyukta Bam Morcha
SMB/ CPN (SMB)	Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist)
United/ CPN (United)	Communist Party of Nepal (United)

Part-1
Survey Report

Chapter - One

Introduction

Women population makes up half of the national population of Nepal. Women have been playing important roles in the economic, social, political and other spheres of national development. However, the state has not been able to do proper evaluation and recognition of their contributions.

There are many difficulties in implementation of national and international declarations and policies made for the women's advancement and development (*see box-1*). Consequently, women's significant participation in education, health, social, economic and political areas is lacking. On the other hand, women's increased political participation and access to meaningful positions can play a significant role for overall women empowerment.

Discrimination between man and woman has prevailed glaringly in the Nepalese society due to the male-dominated social structures. This adverse situation has affected the women's access to resources and their leading role in the different sectors of society. They have also been deprived of equal rights as men. So, national efforts are needed to provide women with equal rights and empowerment opportunities for their greater participation and access to resources.

There is a dire need of special policies and programmes for women's equal representation in the state structures, opportunities and rights. Women's maximum access to decision-making level is necessary in this regard. The political parties have major roles in the policy making and governance. Therefore, women's proper representation in political parties and meaningful positions is the strategic need of the day.

1.1. Issues of the Study

The need of women's representation in politics and various state organs has been realized even since 1956 A.D. However, the issues of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion have been prioritized only after the people's movement-I of 1999 A.D.

The people's movement-II of 2006 A.D. has more strongly highlighted the issues of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion in politics and government mechanisms. For example: the reinstated House of Representatives has passed a proposal to ensure at least 33% women's representation in every state structure. However, the effective role of the state in these issues depends firstly on how effectively the leading political parties deal these issues within their own party system and structures.

Almost all the political parties have now been convinced for at least 33% women's representation in their various levels. Similarly, women politicians have addressed the

Box-1: Milestones of Women and Ethnic Rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1979• Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Caste Discrimination, 1965• Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2006• Declaration of the House of Representatives, 2006• Three Years Interim Plan. 2007-2010

demand of proportionate representation. But, the political parties of Nepal have yet to proceed with clear agenda for women's meaningful participation in politics.

In the above context, there is lack of detailed study and research from the various agencies (parties, government, research/educational institution etc.) on women's participation in the political parties and issues thereof. This study, therefore, is focused on enhancing women's political participation.

1.2. Need and Importance of the Study

The book presents the status of women's political participation, issues and suggestions, derived from an extensive survey in seventy-five districts of Nepal. This kind of broad research on this subject has been conducted for the first time in the country. The participation status rates have been analyzed on the basis of the inventory of about 30,000 politicians from central and district level committees and sister organizations of the political parties. Besides this, women's access to decision-making party positions is also presented. Moreover, inclusion status of marginalized and excluded communities has also been analyzed.

The qualitative side of the research has dealt with the aspects such as reasons for women's low participation in political parties, programmes conducted by the parties to enhance participation and access, gaps and issues to be addressed in future etc. The views, experiences and suggestions of the party chiefs and women leaders have been collected and analyzed on these issues.

Based on the issues pointed out by this report, Women's Democratic Networks have been formed at district (54 districts¹), regional and central level. The "Kathmandu (Bode) Declaration, 2007" has been made by the assembly of women politicians (see Annex-I). The political parties have expressed commitments to implement the strategic action plans (SAPs) on women's political participation, empowerment and inclusions initiated by these networks (the SAPs are included in Part-Two of this book). This report has been useful to conduct various training, workshops, seminars and other programmes for women leaders. It is obvious that this will play a significant role in future as well.

The present research has special significance because of its usefulness for the political parties, government, educational institutions, donor agencies and other stakeholder organizations to formulate and implement policies, programmes and movements.

1.3. Objective of Study

The main objectives of the study are to propose essential recommendations to increase the access of woman in important political posts along with the increment of woman's participation and to enhance the inclusion of the minority and marginal groups by analyzing

¹ Districts where the Women's Democratic Networks have been formed (from East to West): Panchthar, Ilam, Jhapa, Terhathum, Bhojpur, Dhankuta, Sunsari, Udaypur, Siraha, Saptari, Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Parsa, Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading, Gorkha, Lamjung, Tanahu, Kaski, Syangja, Myagdi, Baglung, Parvat, Nawalparasi, Rupandehi, Palpa, Gulmi, Arghakhanchi, Kapilvastu, Pyuthan, Rolpa, Dang, Rukum, Salyan, Jajarkot, Dailekh, Surkhet, Banke, Bardiya, Jumla, Humla, Kalikot, Bajhang, Achham, Doti, Kailali, Baitadi, Dadeldhura and Kanchanpur.

the status of women's participation, inclusion and empowerment in the major political parties of Nepal.

The other specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To form the base for proposing in the political parties by formulating a long-term strategic planning for the enhancement of political participation and access of women, and the inclusion of women of minority and marginal groups.
2. To prepare the data base and information about the participation, empowerment and inclusion of women from the central to district level party committees and sister organizations of the major political parties.
3. To analyze the framework, policy and plans related with the enhancement of woman's participation at the leadership level of various political parties.
4. To study and analyze the subject matters based on the views and opinions, experiences, status and recommendations of the women involved in politics. And
5. To help in constituting the governmental policy and programs related with the enhancement of participation of woman and marginal groups in the meaningful positions and all organs of the state structures in a planned way, and to facilitate for creating a positive environment for their effective implementation.

1.4. Scope of the Study

The report is based on the analysis of following major three subject areas:

1. **Academic and Policy Documents:** Provisions made and agreed at the national and international instruments, policy and programs of government and political parties, parliamentary resolutions, efforts and initiatives from non-government agencies on women's issues.
2. **Quantitative Inventory:** Inventory of men and women leaders collected from the political parties and sister organizations from central to district levels of all the 75 districts in the country.
3. **Party-wise Issues and Solutions:** Experiences, suggestions and programme bases obtained from district level party chiefs and women leaders of various political parties.

Name of political parties and number of party and sister organizations' executive committees included in inventory collection are presented in Table 1.1 below. Likewise, the number of respondent district level party chiefs and women leaders during the interview is placed in Table 1.2.

Table 1.1: Number of Working Committees of Political Parties and Sister Organizations Included for Inventory Collection

SN	Name of Political Parties	Central Level		District Level (75 Districts)	
		CWC	Org	DWC	Org
1	Nepali Congress	1	12	75	421
2	CPN (UML)	1	10	75	503
3	Nepali Congress (D)	1	5	65	298
4	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	1	6	25	78
5	People's Front Nepal	1	2	40	143
6	CPN (Maoist)	-	7	33	147
7	Nepal Sadbhavana Party (A)	1	1	15	48
8	National People's Front	1	3	21	82
9	CPN (Unified)	1	4	15	63
10	CPN (ML)	1	4	14	37
11	CPN (Marxist)	1	4	1	1
12	CPN (United Marxist)	1	3	3	9
13	Nepal Workers & Peasants Party	-	-	8	28
14	Nepal Samata Party	-	-	1	3
15	Sadbhavana Party	-	-	2	2
16	Rastriya Janashakti Party	-	-	10	18
17	Rastriya Janamukti Party	-	-	3	4
18	RPP-Nepal	-	-	1	1
Total		11	62	407	1886

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

Table 1.2: Number of District Party Chiefs and Women Leaders for Opinion Survey

SN	Name of Political Party	Institutional Survey	Individual Survey
1	Nepali Congress	60	208
2	CPN (UML)	63	236
3	Nepali Congress (D)	54	153
4	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	10	4
5	People's Front Nepal	33	39
6	CPN (Maoist)	13	20
7	Nepal Sadbhavana Party (A)	9	10
8	National People's Front	14	35
9	CPN (Unified)	1	3
10	CPN (ML)	11	14
11	CPN (United Marxist)	2	5
12	Rastriya Janashakti Party	6	-
13	Nepal Workers & Peasants Party	5	17
14	CPN (United)	12	23
15	RPP-Nepal	1	1
16	CPN (Marxist)	-	1
Total		294	769

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

The above table 1.1 shows that the inventory collection includes the description of central level working committee of 11 out of 12 political parties, and their 62 sister organizations. At the district level, it includes description of a total of 407 district level working committees and 1,886 sister- organizations of 18 political parties.

According to Table 1.2, the status, problem and recommendations concerning woman's participation in the political parties are collected by filling-up institutional questionnaire from 294 district level heads of various 15 political parties. Likewise, the views of 769 women politicians of various 16 political parties are collected by filling the individual questionnaire.

1.5. Methods, Duration, Management, Organization and Limitations of the Study

Study Method: The following methods are adopted to accomplish the study:

1. Use of eight types of inventory collection forms to collect description of leaders affiliated to political parties and their sister organizations.
2. Use of 'institutional questionnaire' for district level chiefs of political parties and 'individual questionnaire' for women leaders to collect their views.
3. Collection of primary data by the enumerators by filling up the inventory forms:
 - a. Filling up 'institutional questionnaires' from all available respondents using census method,
 - b. Selection of respondent women leaders using stratified random sampling method to fill up the 'individual questionnaires'. While selecting, ensured the representation of Dalit, Janajati, Madheshi (where available) and minority groups giving priority to women from the district working committee, women organization and other sister organizations respectively, based on the inventory collected.
4. Interview and discussion with the concerned people, and field supervisions.
5. Supplementary data collection from policy documents (constitution, bylaws, decision etc.) of the political parties, Interim Constitution, various Acts, Regulations, etc. and their analysis.
6. Editing, coding (based on responses obtained from the interviews) and analysis (using CPro, STATA, MS-EXCEL etc.) of data and information collected using the inventory forms and questionnaires.

Some Definitions and Clarifications: Some frequently used words in this book are defined as follows:

1. **Participation:** Numerical representation, presence.
2. **Political empowerment:** Status of access to or representation in the decision-making level positions of the political parties and the state.
3. **Inclusion:** Status of participation of Dalit, Janajati, Madheshi/Terai residents and other marginalized and minority communities.

4. **State structure:** Parliament, government, judiciary, constitutional organs and other state organs and agencies.
5. **Sister organizations:** Sister organizations, affiliate organizations and well-wisher organizations of the political parties, possibly named differently by different party.
6. **Castes:** One hundred and one castes and ethnicities enlisted by the Population Census, 2001.
7. **Inventory:** Description of officers and members of the executive committees of the political parties and their sister organizations at central and district level collected during the survey.
8. **Institutional questionnaire:** Questionnaires asked to the district level party chiefs of political parties to get views of the respective party; this questionnaire was asked to all available respondents using census method.
9. **Individual questionnaire:** Questionnaires asked to the district level women leaders of various political parties, selected on the basis of stratified sampling method, representing all party committees and units and ethnicities as far as possible.
10. **Network:** Networks of women leaders formed at central, regional and district level in the name of 'Women's Democratic Network' of other alike, representing all available political parties as far as possible.
11. **Action plan:** Strategic action plans with specific objectives and time limits developed in initiation of the networks for enhancing women's participation, empowerment and inclusions in the political parties.

Period of the study: The study was started in December 2006 and completed in June 2008 (17 months). This study was carried out in following four consecutive phases:

1. Collection and updating the inventory : 7 months
2. Interview based on institutional and individual questionnaires : 3 months
3. Data coding, study of the related subject and data analysis : 2 months
4. Report writing, editing and publication : 5 months

Management of resources: Head Office of Renaissance Society Nepal located in Kathmandu and Regional Offices located at Itahari, Butwal, Nepalgunj and Dhangadhi were directly involved in the study. Likewise, central and district level Women's Democratic Networks were also directly involved. In the course of the study, a team of 53 professionals covering women leaders, Project Director, experts, supervisors, surveyors and assistants was involved (Annex-II).

Organization: This book is divided into two parts namely 'Survey Report' and 'Strategic Action Plan'. The first Part or the Survey Report is divided into five Chapters. The first Chapter introduces the study. Theoretical and policy frameworks related to the study are placed in the second Chapter. Similarly, there is an analysis of the status of women's participation, access to meaningful positions and inclusions in Nepali politics in the third Chapter. Problems and suggestions have been analyzed in the fourth Chapter based on the

views of party chiefs and women leaders. Conclusions and recommendations of the report are placed in the fifth Chapter.

The second Part or the Strategic Action Plan is also divided into four Chapters. The first Chapter contains the objectives and formulation methods of the action plans. There are common political policies and programmes on women's participation, empowerment and inclusions in the second Chapter. Likewise, party-wise strategic action plans have been placed in the third Chapter. And the last Chapter contains conclusions and recommendations.

Limitation of the study: This study has analyzed the status of women's participation, empowerment and inclusions in political parties and their sister organizations based on the information published by the political parties and the records obtained from the inventory forms and questionnaires. Some limitations during the inventory collection and survey include:

1. It is very difficult to update the changes of members in central, district and sister organization levels of political parties in the post-survey situations. These changes are regular phenomena of the political parties and limited resources and time do not permit to update and incorporate these changes in the analysis. Hence, the analysis is carried out based on the information collected during the survey.
2. Some of the leftist political parties did not provide information owing to the reason of secrecy. Due to which, some information are not fully representative.
3. The contact offices and persons of some small political parties were not available in the district during the inventory collection. In such cases, the surveyors were unable to collect the inventory and carry out interview.
4. It was very difficult to collect inventory and interview in *Terai* districts due to the conflict prevailing there, etc.

Despite the above limitations, the study results are accurate because of very large coverage and also due to the lack of any alternative benchmarks.

Chapter – Two

Status of Women Empowerment, Scope of the Study and Theoretical and Policy Framework

The equality between men and women on issues such as representation in various state structures, access to property and resources, participation in policy making has yet to be achieved. Due to the patriarchal thought rooted in our society, women's every activity has been controlled by men. This has affected woman's advancement and creativity as well.

While talking about the campaigns on gender equality, basically, only after the people's revolution-II of 2006, the issue of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion has become a subject of extensive discussion in Nepal. The Interim Parliament has passed a resolution on 30th May 2007 to ensure at least 33% women's representation in all the state structures. This has been possible due to the pressures created by women leaders and rights activists.

The Interim Constitution has recognized women's rights as fundamental right (see Box-2). Besides, there are many positive provisions in the Constitution in this regard. After this, various discriminatory laws have been reformed and some policies have been formulated. It will not be wrong to say that the women rights movement is taking place with expected achievements now. However, there is need of proper implementation of these policies to eliminate the discrimination and obtain equity and equality between men and women in the real sense. Evaluation of various policies and programmes 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)

Although, there have been some studies and researches on women's rights, there is lack of an extensive research on women's political participation in Nepal till date. Consequently, no political parties, organizations and individuals are ready to find out the problems of women politicians and create favourable environment for prospective women political cadres based on actual data and grassroots situations.

2.1. Women Population and Representation Status

According to population census of 2001, population of Nepal is 23.2 million. Out of this, 11.6 million or 50.04% are women. Table 2.1 below presents comparative status of women population as seen from censuses from 1951 to 2001.

Box-2: Women's Fundamental Rights in Interim Constitution

Article 20: Women's Rights

1. There shall be no discrimination because of being a woman.
2. Every woman shall have the right to reproductive health and reproduction
3. No physical, mental or other kind of act of violence shall be done against any woman, and such act shall be punishable by law.
4. There shall be equal right to paternal property for son and daughter.

Table: 2.1
Population Growth and Its Comparative Gender Status

Census Year	Total Population	Population Growth Rate (%)	Population		
			Male	Female	Female Percentage
1952/54	8,235,079	-	4,050,607	4,184,472	50.81
1961	9,412,996	1.2	4,636,033	4,776,963	50.74
1971	11,555,983	2.3	5,817,203	5,738,780	49.65
1981	15,022,839	3.0	7,695,336	7,327,503	48.77
1991	18,491,097	2.3	9,220,974	9,270,123	50.13
2001	23,151,423	2.5	11,563,921	11,587,502	50.04

Source: CBS, 1987, 1995, 2003

Table 2.1 shows that women's population is half of total population in most of the census years. Besides, there is trend of decrease of women's population ratio in total population. (see period of 2009-2038 and 2048-2058).

2.1.1 Population Based on Age and Gender

Table 2.2 presents the data on age and gender structure of the total population. According to the *Population Census 2001*, the population of children under the age of 4 years is 12.1% of the total population. Out of this, 11.9% is female and 12.3% is male population. Likewise, children in the age group of 5 to 14 years cover 27.2% of total population, from which 26.6% are female and 27.9% are male.

Table: 2.2
Population by Age and Gender

Age Group	Female (%)	Male (%)	Share in Total Population (%)
Up to 4 years	11.9	12.3	12.1
5 to 14 years	26.6	27.9	27.2
15 to 24 years	20.0	18.8	19.4
25 to 49 years	29.3	28.2	28.8
50 to 59 years	5.8	6.3	6.0
60 years and above	6.4	6.6	6.5

Source: CBS, 2003

From Table 2.2, number of girls is less than that of boys in total children's population. It can easily be estimated that the reasons behind this situation are less interest on birth of girl child and discrimination in rearing even after the birth. Similarly, the number of old-aged women is also less comparing that of men. This might have been mainly due to women's less access to nutritional and health facilities because of lack of their access to property and resources.

2.1.2 Population Based on Age and Gender

Educational Status:

The literacy rate in the population above the age of six years has reached to 63% increasing from 53.7% during the period of 2058 to 2063. The Interim Plan has targeted to increase this ratio up to 76% (CBS, 2059 & NPC, 2064). However, the gender description of literacy is available only for 2058 B.S. According to this, there are 65.1% male and 42.5% female in the age group of above six years.

According to the *Nepal Livelihood Survey 2003/04*, from among the 45.8% school appeared population out of total population aged above 15 years, there are 61.2% male and 32.6% female. Similarly, survival rate in class 5 among the students enrolled in the school is 79.1%. Out of this, there are 82.1% male and 75.9% female (MoES, 2006). Table 2.3 below presents the status of students' enrollment in different school levels.

Table: 2.3
Educational Status of Women

Educational Level	Base Year	Female Ratio (%)	Female Education Target of IP-2066/67 (%)
Literacy	2058	42.5 (male: 65.1)	-
Pre-primary	2062/63	46.2	-
Primary	2063/64	48.0	50.0
Lower Secondary	2063/64	46.6	50.0
Secondary	2063/64	46.6	48.0
Higher Secondary	2062/63	43.3	-
Higher Education	2062/63	32.7	-

Source: CBS, 206; NPC, 2064

According to Table 2.3, the ratio of girl students from pre-primary to secondary levels is less than half of the total students. The Interim Plan has planned to make this ratio equal. Number of girl students is only one-third in the higher education level and the Interim Plan has not any specific targets regarding this. In this way, women have been left behind the men in terms of literacy, school enrollment, continuity in education, passing out rate and so on.

Health and Nutritional Status:

According to the *Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2006*, the average life expectancy rate of Nepalese people is 63.3 years. This rate is some more in women comparing to men (63.7 and 62.9 years respectively). Total fertility rate was 3.1 in 2063/064 whereas the Interim Plan has targeted to bring down this number at 3.0. Maternal mortality ratio was 281 per 100,000 live births in 2062/063 and the Interim Plan has targeted to reduce this number at 250. Similarly, only 19% of pregnant women could get services of skilled health-workers at

the time of delivery in 2063/064. The Interim Plan has proposed to increase this ratio up to 35%.

Table: 2.4
Health Status of Women

Particulars	Base Year	Ratio	Interim Plan Targets (2066/67)
Average age	2006	63.7% (male: 62.9%)	-
Total fertility rate	2063/64	3.1%	3.0%
Maternal mortality ratio (per hundred thousand alive birth)	2062/63	281	250
Delivery assisted by health worker	2063/64	19%	35%

Source: CBS, 2063; NPC, 2064

The Interim Constitution of Nepal has adopted the theme of "Health as fundamental right of the people". However, the status of women health is not satisfactory in Nepal.

According to the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2006, some progress has been gained in the field of children's nutritional status. But, it is almost challenging to maintain this as per the international standards. About 45% children are wasting, about 43% stunting and about 12% underweight. Table 2.5 below shows that girls are more affected in all these three aspects than boys. Thus, there is a common tendency of giving less attention towards health and nutrition of a daughter than that of a son.

Table: 2.5
Nutritional Status of Children under the Age of Five Years

Particulars	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
Wasting	47.3	42.5	44.8
Stunting	44.4	41.3	42.8
Underweight	11.9	11.5	11.7

Source: MoHP, 2006

Financial Status:

Women are forced to be backward in terms of access to the economic activities and sources. Women have yet to have their approach in the high level, high yielding and significant trades and professions. Table 2.6 below presents the economic status of women.

Table: 2.6
Property Ownership and Economic Status of Women

Particulars	Female (%)	Male (%)
Household head	14.9	85.1
Rural Areas	14.5	85.5
Urban Areas	17.0	83.0
Ownership of house	5.5	94.5
Ownership of land	10.8	89.2
Normally economically active population*	43.8	64.9
Population engaged in agricultural sector	48.1	51.9
Population in non-agricultural sector	34.3	65.7
Profession-wise involvement	43.2	56.8
Administrative jobs	13.8	86.2
Technical jobs	19.0	81.0
Office assistant jobs	12.8	87.2
Services, trade and sales jobs	24.7	75.3
Agricultural jobs	48.1	51.9
Production related jobs	44.1	55.9
Other jobs	50.9	49.1
Purchasing power per person (PPP\$)	867\$	1734\$

Source: CBS, 2063

*Ten years or above; extended activities are included here (see Meena Acharya, 2003).

The above table shows that there are only 15% women household heads who play decisive roles in allocation of the household resources. The status of property ownership is quite depressing. Women's involvement in non-agricultural sectors is low. Likewise, it can be said that their participation in decision-making level is low (only 14%). Women are left behind in other official, industrial and trade related jobs as well.

From the above description, it is clearly observable that women are compelled to live a dependent life. On the other hand, women's involvement is more in agricultural sector and less in non-agricultural sectors comparing that with the men. Women's personality development has also been affected due to their more involvement in household and surrounding jobs. Status of women's involvement in various professions has been presented below.

2.1.3 Status of Empowerment

Civil Services:

There are altogether 11% women in the civil service which is regarded to be the permanent government of the country. Moreover, women's access to the decision-making positions is somehow nominal (about 2% in the senior level posts). Women's representation in

first, second and third class gazetted-posts is less than 6%. The most number of women are in the non-gazetted third class (*Mukhiya*) post (30%). Table 2.7 below presents the number of civil servants.

Table: 2.7
Description of Civil Service Personnel by Their Levels

Level	Female	Male	Total	Female Percentage
Special Class	1	50	51	1.96
Gazetted				
First	17	326	343	4.96
Second	73	1,874	1,947	3.75
Third	345	5,552	5,897	5.85
Non-gazetted				
First	1,499	13,171	14,670	10.22
Second	2,404	19,164	21,568	11.15
Third	2,763	6,328	9,091	30.39
Fourth	50	1,447	1,497	3.34
Classless	1,559	23,439	24,998	6.24
Not received	2	6	8	75.00
Total	8,713	71,357	80,070	10.88

Source: Civil Records Division, 2064

Teaching, Security, Media, Trade and Business:

While observing women's representation in teaching profession, there are 35.5% women teachers in the primary level, 18% in the lower secondary level and 9% in the secondary level (DoE, 2063). Thus, there are remarkably less number of women teachers in the higher levels than that of the lower levels. Women's representation is only 17.2% in the school management committees of a total of 25,948 schools (MoES, 2064).

According to the record of 2064, there are about 3,000 women employees (5.5%) in Nepal Police. Similarly, there are 1,070 women personnel (1.2%) in Nepal Army. Most of them are nurses, doctors and other technicians (Nepal Army, 2065).

In the media sector, women's participation is about 12%.

Women's involvement in the industrial and commercial sector is also very low. There are no women among 6 officers and 15 subject specific committees of the FNCCI. Similarly, there is only one woman in the Executive Board comprising 31 members, representing Makwanpur CCI (FNCCI, 2009).

Judicial Sector:

According to Table 2.8 below, women have not been able to get upper level posts in the judicial sector. There are much fewer women judges than men. For example, there are only 2 women judges out of 22 in the Supreme Court and only 1 from among 78 in the Appellate Courts.

No woman has been able to get the post of government attorney above the level of gazetted third class till date. There are only 2 women government attorneys out of 218, which is quite disappointing situation.

Women represent about 8% place among some 12,000 private lawyers including senior advocates and advocates. There are 2 women senior advocates out of 52 (4%). Likewise, record of Nepal Bar Council shows that there are 7% women from among 9,731 pleaders (*Abhibakta*) and 0.45% from among 1,093 agents (*Abhikarta*).

Table: 2.8
Women's Representation in Judicial Sector

Level	Female	Male	Total	Female Percentage
Judges	4	220	224	1.78
Supreme Court*	2	20	22	9.09
Appellate Court**	1	77	78	1.28
District Court**	2	131	133	1.50
Government Attorney*	2	216	218	0.91
Senior Advocate/ Advocate*	916	10,913	11,829	7.74

Source: *Supreme Court, 2065; National Women's Commission, 2065*

* Data of 2065, ** Data of 2064

2.2. Historical Background of Women's Participation in Politics

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.

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 (Majupuria, 2007).

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 lead 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 favour 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. 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.

2.3. Status of Women's Political Participation

2.3.1 Women Membership in Political Parties

There is no tendency of publishing actual data of members by political parties in Nepal. While talking, there is tradition of increasing the numbers. Even the democratic political parties have been like the parties with underground organizations due to lack of systematic records management practices.

A study 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

lack of specific database. Since this study is focused on this subject matter, detailed illustration and analysis are presented in Chapter Three below.

2.3.2 Women in Local Bodies

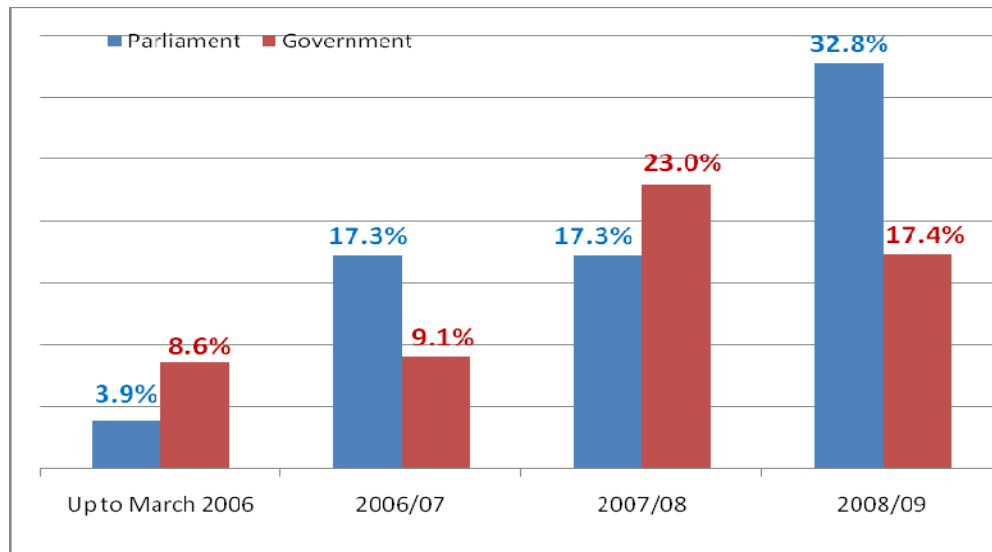
Legal provision was made in 1998 for reservation of women's seat in each Ward of the Village Development Committee or Municipality by amending the laws relating to the local body elections. After this, about 100,000 women participated in the local elections of 1998 and about 36,000 women were elected 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.

2.3.3 Women in Parliament and Government

From the general elections of 2000, a total of 12 out of 205 (5.9%) women were elected as Members of the Parliament. There were 57 women in the Interim Parliament formed on 15th January 2007 with a total of 330 Members (17.3%). The Interim Parliament had 36.1% women Members from the CPN (Maoist), 14.4% from CPN (UML), 7.5% from NC and 13.1% from all other parties. From the elections held in 2008, 32.8% women have been elected in the Constituent Assembly which also oversees the responsibility of the Parliament.

Figure 2.1 below presents the comparative description of women's participation in the Parliament and the Government from the date before second popular movement to till date.

Figure 2.1
Comparative Status of Women's Participation in the Parliament and the Government before and after the Second Popular Movement



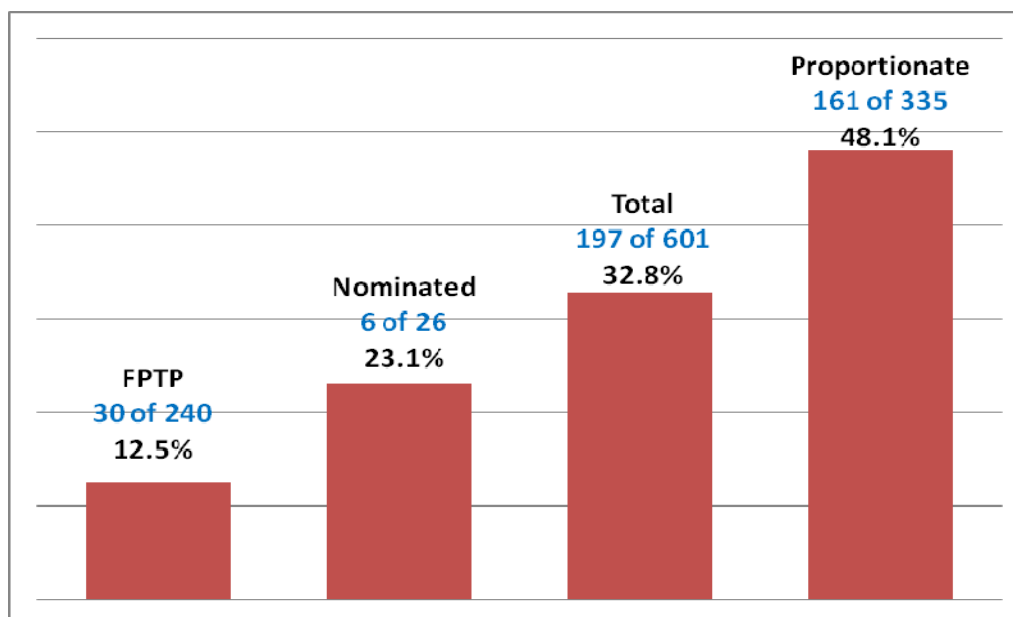
2.3.4 Women's Representation in the Constituent Assembly

There is about 33% representation of women in the historical Constituent Assembly formed in 2008. From among 30 women Members elected under FPTP system, 24 are from CPN (Maoist), 2 each from the NC and MJFN and one each from CPN (UML) and TMDP.

Under the Proportionate system, 18 political parties out of 25 have made women's representation to the CA. CPN (Maoist) has 50 women Members, the largest number under this category. Under the nomination category, there are 3 women Members from CPN (Maoist), largest under the category as well.

Figure 2.2 below presents the number of women CA Members elected under FPTP, Proportionate and Nomination categories.

Figure 2.2
Number of Women in the Constituent Assembly



2.3.5 Women in the Council of Ministers

Dwarika Devi Thakurani was appointed as the Assistant Minister for Health and Self-governance in the first cabinet after the end of Rana regime in 1951 under the premiership of B.P. Koirala formed on 26th May 1958. This is the beginning of women's representation in the cabinet in Nepal.

There was no more than one woman in many councils of ministers formed during the Panchayat regime.

There were only altogether 43 women members of the 41 cabinets formed on various dates between the first and second popular movements. In totality, this ratio is 4.8% (Ministers of Nepal, 2064).

Women's representation in the council of ministers has not been a matter of priority even after the second popular movement. There were 6 women ministers in the cabinet formed on 10 January 2008, the highest ever representation of women (20%). There are 4 women out of 23 in the present cabinet (17.4%).

Since the government is the chief actor of state administration, adequate achievements could not be gained in policy formulation and implementation in the field of women rights and empowerment mainly due to women's low representation. Despite the parliament resolution to ensure at least 33% women's representation in each and every state organ, no attention has been given to fulfill this target even in case of the council of ministers, which has been a challenging issue.

2.3.6 Women in the Constitutional Bodies and Other Political Positions

There is no reasonable participation of women in the posts of political appointment such as constitutional organs, National Planning Commission, other commissions, General Managers of various corporations, Committee officials, etc. Table 2.9 below presents the number of women in the positions of constitutional organs and political appointment.

Table: 2.9
Women's Representation in Constitutional Organs and Posts of Political Appointment

Organizations	Female	Male	Total	Female Percentage
Election Commission	0	4	4	0
Public Service Commission	1	4	5	20
Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority	0	2	2	0
Attorney General	0	1	1	0
Auditor General	0	1	1	0
National Human Rights Commission	1	4	5	20

Source: National Women's Commission, 2065/ Public Service Commission, 2065

No woman has been appointed the chief of any constitutional body yet. There was a women member in the Election Commission some time ago but her tenure has already been completed. There are no women from among the recently appointed five NPC Members. Thus, there is lack of women's access to the policy making level. This situation pinpoints that concerned agencies and individuals especially, women leaders and rights activists are either indifferent towards this very significant issue or they are not capable enough for proper lobbying and intervention.

2.4. *The Efforts of Women's Advancement and Development*

A brief outline on the stages of women development is presented hereunder before talking about the efforts made for gender equality and women empowerment in Nepal.

Stages of Women Development:

1. **Women in Development:** The decades of 1950 to 1970 come under this stage. This concept adopts the welfare approach and deals women as the advantaged group without their active participation in the development programs.
2. **Women and Development:** This concept emerged during the decades of 1970 to 1990. It had accepted women's roles in financial sector and emphasized on the structural changes in economic-politics.
3. **Gender and Development:** This concept emerged after the decade of 1990 with the sense of women empowerment to eliminate gender discrimination. It has espoused the view to reach the target of equality by availing equal rights for women in all aspects.

2.4.1 International Treaties and Agreements

While looking at the efforts regarding women's rights in the international level, the demand of getting equal opportunity to participate in every sector of the national life has been risen only in the twentieth century. The campaign of women's rights seems to have begun at the international level institutionally since the celebration of first International Women's Day on 8th March 1910 A.D along with demands from women for equal educational, social, economic and political rights.

The UN Charter states the norm that the world community should respect the equality between men and women, and human rights. The UN had formed the *Commission on the Status of Women* in 1946 with the objectives of improving women's political, social and economic status.

The UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 has emphasized on the protection of human rights.

In 1951, the ILO passed the Convention on Equal Wages. The Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1952 was passed to ensure assure the political rights of women. This Convention guaranteed women's right to vote. Similarly, the ILO passed the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in Occupation and Employment.

The International Women's Year, 1975, International Women's Conference of the same year and International Women's Decade (1976-1985) have brought the new dimensions in women's development.

In 1979, the UN General Assembly passed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to manage and institutionalize women's rights. This Convention has been proved to be the milestone for the gender equity and equality. The party nations of this Convention have to submit the initial report after one year of approval and the periodic reports in every four years.

The Second International Women's Conference was held in 1980 in Copenhagen of Denmark followed by the Third in Nairobi of Kenya in 1985 and Fourth in Beijing of China in 1995.

The United National Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in 1992 in Rio De Janeiro of Brazil has emphasized to combine the issues of women that with the environment. Similarly, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in 1994 in Cairo of Egypt has addressed the need of strengthening women in economic, social and political sectors.

All the International Women's Conferences, started in 1975 and the latest held in 1995 in Beijing, have stressed the need of women's access to decision making level of the politics. However, the achievements in this regard are not so satisfactory. The Second Asia Pacific Ministerial Conference on Women held in 1994 in Jakarta, Indonesia has concluded that women's participation in the decision making levels of the state is very low although some women have gained the leadership positions of the state and the government with help of their family relationships in the Asia Pacific Region (Bhusal, 2064).

Various human rights instruments have preserved many rights of women including the right to non-discrimination, right to equality, right to short-term special measures, right to change in inferiority complex, traditional role and attitudes, right against exploitation, right to health, right to equality in citizenship, equality in employment, equality in education, equality before law, equality in marriage and social life, right to equality in rural women, and right to participation in public and political life and so on. The responsibility to preserve these rights remains in the side of the nation. All the three organs of the state are responsible for this. The state is responsible to reform the constitution, laws, tradition or institutional structures if they are discriminatory. The door is open to seek justice from even the international level in case of failure from the state to recognize and manage these rights at the national level. In this situation, the fact that how to transfer the standards determined by these human rights instruments into the constitution that is being formulated through the Constituent Assembly is utmost important for all of us (Malla: 2064).

2.4.2 Efforts at the National Level

Today, Nepal has become party of 20 international and 2 regional human rights instruments. Nepal has already acceded to CEDAW and its Optional Protocol unconditionally on 22nd April 1991. Similarly, from among the South Asian conventions, the Convention against Girl Trafficking for Prostitution has already been enforced. According to the Interim Constitution and Treaty Act, it is the responsibility of the nation to follow such conventions. These conventions have the recognition as the law of the nation (Malla: 2064).

There have been done some positive actions by various governments formed after the popular movement of 1990 such as scholarships to 41,000 girl students, employment to at least one lady teacher in each primary school, establishment of the reproductive service centers in each electoral constituencies, establishment of the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare, establishment of the National Women Commission, launching the Women Awareness and Income Generation Programmes, 11th amendment of the Civil Code (*Muluki Ain*), amendment of the Civil Service Act in favor of the women, inclusion of gender issues in the national plans etc. However, it is estimated that these efforts have influenced only at a nominal level with regard to women's political participation.

The political parties have also made some decisions and conducted some programmes to enhance women's participation at various levels but they have not been effective as per the expectations. It is a challenge for women politicians not to get adequate opportunities for the access to the decision making level posts of party structures and responsible government positions (Bhusal: 2064).

2.5. State Policies, Programmes and Their Shortcomings

2.5.1 Constitutional Provisions:

The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2062 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: 2064):

- a) **Fundamental Structure of the Constitution:** The commitment of progressive restructuring of the state to solve the communal, ethnic, regional, gender and other problems is reflected in the preamble of the Interim Constitution itself. In this context, impartiality, equality and women's rights are the crucial elements of the fundamental structures.
- b) **Fundamental Rights:** For the first time, the Constitution has guaranteed the right to impartiality by making provision that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of being a woman. Besides this, the following ten fundamental rights provided by the Constitution are noteworthy:
 - i. No discrimination based on the gender while enforcing the general law of the nation.
 - ii. No discrimination for equal work between men and women in wages and social security.
 - iii. Provision of result-oriented equality that may be obtained through special measures by laws for women's safety, empowerment or development.
 - iv. Right to reproductive health and reproduction for every woman.
 - v. No physical, mental or any other kind of violence against women, and such acts made punishable by law.
 - vi. No exploitation of any kind of anybody in the name of customs, traditions and practices.
 - vii. Prohibition from trafficking and enslaving anybody.

- viii. Equal rights of son and daughter in paternal property.
- ix. Right to social security for women as provided by the laws.
- x. Right to participation in state structures for economically, socially and academically backward women on the basis of principle of proportionate inclusion.

In addition to the above, discrimination against women only for being women shall be punishable and reasonable compensation should be provided for this. Likewise, the constitutional provision of religious secularism is very significant from the women's rights perspective.

- c) **Constitutional Provision Ensuring the Participation:** 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).
- d) **Provisions Made under State Responsibility and Directive Principles:** The Constitution has made the provisions for ending the discriminatory legal provisions, ending the gender, cultural and religious discrimination, and restructuring the state in a democratic and progressive manner eliminating the centralized and unitary mechanisms. The Constitution prohibits the political parties to discriminate on the basis of sex while awarding their membership. The state shall adopt the policies to involve a maximum number of women in national development. For this, the state shall make and adopt special measures for women's education, health and employment. The Constitution has made provisions that the state shall adopt the policies of making special measures of social security for single women (widows), special measures based on positive discrimination principles for all women, and providing allowances for the incapable women. Similarly, the state shall be responsible for the effective implementation of the international laws accredited by the nation.
- e) **Remedies for Enforcement of Fundamental Rights:** Article 32 of the Constitution has made the provision that any citizen can apply in the Supreme Court in case of improper ban over fundamental rights. Such application may also be lodged to nullify any law or part of it which is contrary to the Constitution. Similarly, there is the provision of writ in case of absence of remedy under constitutional rights or if such remedy is inadequate or ineffective, or the issue is related to public rights or concern.

Shortcomings of the Constitution: There are a number of shortcomings in the Interim Constitution from the gender perspective. This constitution has also provided for most of the rights not by the constitution itself but by the laws to be enacted.

The Constitution still discriminates between men and women with regard to marriage with a foreigner. Despite including women under the definition of 'descent' as men, the male-dominated motive still prevails while awarding the citizenship certificate to the spouse and children of a woman simply because of her marriage with a foreigner. Only the children of a Nepalese woman may be awarded the citizenship if they are born in Nepal and their

permanent residence is in Nepal, and such citizenship may only be naturalized not decent. This provision has just ignored the truth that a woman also can go to a foreign country; can marry with a foreigner as men can do; and can give birth to a child in a foreign country. It has challenged the concept that the equality should be ensured in rights and in consequences for marrying with a foreigner by both the sexes. It seems to be difficult to expect the equality in outcomes (Malla: 2063).

The Interim Constitution has again repeated the old practices of giving priority to the civil and political rights, and placing the economic and social rights under the 'directive principles'. Moreover, there remain shortcomings such as lack of attention towards victim justice system, inability to ascertain clear legal measures against the breach of fundamental rights, inability of providing for right to economic freedom, and so on.

The Interim Constitution, 2063 has been formulated as a part of the campaign to democratize the governing system of Nepal. It has incorporated the subject matters of women rights, gender equality and women empowerment as major duties and responsibilities of the state. The declaration made by the House of Representatives for complete gender equality has created the legal and moral accountability for the government to implement it.

2.5.2 Legal Provisions:

The residues of discriminatory laws made and being enforced for a long time to determine special social, financial and individual roles of women still prevail in Nepalese legal system. A study of 2006 shows that there are 173 provisions in 83 laws which discriminate men and women. Such laws are mostly related to citizenship, employment, health, property rights, education and court procedures (Malla: 2064).

Many discriminatory laws have been amended by the Some Laws Amendment Act, 2063 even after eleventh amendment in the Civil Code. Some of these include: priority to the widows in case hearing, deletion of the insulting words, annulment of discriminatory bases for divorce, first right to guardianship to mother, women's complete right to property, acceptance of unmarried daughter as heir, recognition of women as household head, provision of punishment in abortion after identifying the sex, inclusion of sexual harassment as crime, broadness in definition and punishment of rape, recognition of marital rape as crime, uniformity in age for marriage, women's capacity to inform about birth of child, etc.

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

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).

2.5.3 The Status of Women Development in the Course of Planned Development

(a) National Development Plans

The practice of special provisions related to the women's participation and empowerment was started first in the Sixth Five Years Plan (2037-2042). In this Plan, the policy of women's capacity building through enhancing their participation in the programs like education, health, family planning, etc was adopted.

The Seventh Plan (2042-2047) had adopted the policy of increasing women's participation in development process to enhance their productivity and capacity. The Eighth Plan (2049-2054), the first plan after popular movement of 1990, had adopted the policy of mainstreaming women in development and advancing them socially and economically.

The Ninth Plan (2054-2059) had adopted the policy of women's mainstreaming to development through elimination of discrimination between men and women and empowerment.

The Tenth Plan (2059-2064) had targeted to eliminate all discriminations against women for obtaining the goal of gender mainstreaming, gender equality, women empowerment, economic growth and poverty alleviation. This plan also had specific targets of bringing the gender development index to 0.550, gender empowerment standard to 0.500 and women's access to policy making to 20%.

The Interim Plan (2065- 2067), the first plan formulated under the republic Nepal, has its **long-term vision** of women empowerment and gender equality of building new Nepal as a just, gender inclusive and equitable country by ensuring women's fundamental and equal rights. Its objectives have been determined as follows:

1. To build an equitable and gender inclusive society by ensuring equal rights of women of all castes, creed and regions in the social, political and economic aspects of national development.
2. To put an end to all forms of violence and discrimination against women including human trafficking.
3. Social rehabilitation of conflict-affected and displaced women and to ensure the active participation of women in conflict resolution and the peace process.

Similarly, the Plan has specific targets of raising the gender development index to 0.556, gender empowerment standard to 0.450 and women's representation in the policy making bodies to 33%.

The Plan has planned to adopt the strategies of gender mainstreaming, policy reforms, legal reforms, positive actions, empowerment, special programmes etc. to fulfill its objectives.

Major programmes to be implemented during the Plan period include: Women Empowerment Programme, Women Development Programme at central and district level, Gender Equality and Women Empowerment Programme, Implementation, Monitoring and Reporting on International and Regional Instruments Related to Rights of Women Programme, and Capacity Building of the Women Empowerment Mechanism Programme.

It is estimated to spend 28 billion Rupees for the programmes related to women development, empowerment, gender mainstreaming and others during the Interim Plan period.

(b) Gender Equality Action Plans, Declarations and Budget

National Action Plan for Gender Equality and Women Empowerment, 2061

Especially, this work plan has been prepared to implement the commitments made with regard to areas of women's concern (poverty, education and training, health, violence, armed conflict, economy, women in decisive process, institutional structure for women development, human rights, media, environment and girl children) passed by the Fourth World Women Conference held in 1995 in Beijing, China.

The Action Plan Prepared for the Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 2060

Nepal has already conceded the CEDAW in 1991. The conclusive suggestions have also been obtained after submission of the report under the monitoring system of this Convention. So, in the context of its implementation, this strategic action plan has been prepared as a women rights document for transformation of their life.

The National Action Plan against Trafficking of Women and Children for Sexual and Labour Exploitation

Trafficking of women and their exploitation in foreign employment have been serious problems. Nepal has already acceded the South Asian Convention against Women Trafficking for Prostitution. In this context, this Action Plan has been prepared to develop detailed definition of trafficking, conceptual clarity and issue-wise strategies.

Important Parliament Declarations and Government Programmes

The House of Representatives had passed a special resolution on 30th May 2006 ensuring at least 33% women's representation in all state machineries. Moreover, other resolutions have also been passed to amend discriminatory laws, protect women against violence, provide citizenship certificate in the name of mother, etc.

The Budget and Programme of Fiscal Year 2065/066

The budget has adopted the transitional economy, rapid economic growth and social justice and security as its fundamental principles. The budget states the policy of walking ahead with the balance of private and cooperative sectors as two legs of the transitional economy. It has made reforms in provisions of social security allowances being provided to the elderly citizens, widows and physically challenged persons. Under this, Rs.500 per month

shall be provided to Dalits, Widows, and citizens above the age of 60 years from Karnali Zone.

The budget has remarkably increased the amount in educational sector (44.5%). Some of the new and significant provisions include establishment of additional 3,500 Child Development Centers and managing alternate schools to provide access to housewives and working women in school education. The budget also states to run intensive programmes of poverty alleviation in 55 districts with low human development index figures by directly targeting the communities including poor people, women, Dalit, Janajati, Madheshi etc. who have been made underprivileged.

Special Programmes in the Budget for Women Empowerment:

The budget has implemented the concept of gender responsible budget. Accordingly, 13.9% of total budget i.e. 32.91 billion Rupees has been allocated for the programmes of direct benefits for women. In addition, following six programmes have been determined under the title of "Women Empowerment, Transformation in Living Standards":

- Conducting programmes helpful to attain gender equality through ensuring women's participation in economic, social and political processes for their empowerment,
- Expanding the Women Development Programme, related to poverty alleviation, gender equality and social inclusion, now being implemented in 1,843 VDCs, in all other VDCs,
- Continuing the programmes related to economic, social and legal empowerment and institutional development being conducted in 15 Districts including Baitadi, Ramechhap, Rautahat and others,
- Institutionalizing the National Women's Commission by providing it with necessary resources,
- Providing cash and logistic support to 4,000 vulnerable and conflict-affected families (children and members) from Achham, Banke, Bardiya, Rolpa and Rukum Districts under Decentralized Support Strengthening Programme,
- Providing additional grants to concerned organizations for the development of capacity building of the physically challenged persons.

2.6. Policy Arrangements of the Political Parties Related to Gender and Inclusion

Gender and inclusion related policies of political parties, included in the study, have been collected from their Constitutions, Bylaws, intra-party decisions and other available printed policy documents.

2.6.1 Democratic Parties

(a) Nepali Congress:

Nepali Congress party was introduced by some Nepalese in Banaras, India as the All Indian Nepalese National Congress on 31st October 1946, and established on 9th April 1950 from Calcutta Conference. This party is directed from the principle of democratic socialism (Adhikari, 2059).

The Constitution of the Nepali Congress, 2017 has made provision of electing representatives for the Regional Assembly numbering 4 including 25% women from the Village Assembly, 3 including 33% women from Metropolitan City Assembly, 2 including 50% women from Sub-metropolitan City or Municipality Assembly. The Constitution also states that while nominating representatives in General Assembly or General Committee (Mahasamiti), the President should make representation from among the women, Dalit, Janajati, backward communities and other renowned people from various occupations. However, exact number is not prescribed.

Similarly, there is provision that attention should be given at the time of nomination in all levels of the party to represent 10% women members and people from different geographical, social and other important sectors including Dalit, Janajati and professionals. Moreover, a mandatory provision has also been made that at least one Dalit should be included in the working committees from Ward to District level from among the members of respective Assembly (NC, 2059).

(b) Rastriya Prajatantra Party (National Democratic Party):

This party was established in 1990. The main principles of this party are nationality, democracy and liberalism. Although, this party is supposed to be a rightist and monarchist, it had presented itself as a republican party at the time of the CA Elections.

The Constitution of the party has made provision of 5% women's compulsory representation in each working committees of all levels of the party. It also states that priority should be given to Terai residents, women, Janajati and Dalits for their maximum participation, keeping in mind the location, availability and nature of the organization, while electing and nominating members in village/municipal, regional and district Working Committees (RPP, 2064).

(c) Rastriya Janashakti Party (National People's Power Party):

This party was established on 13th March 2005. This party has aimed to build a new Nepal through peaceful revolutionary changes in political, economic, social and cultural sectors. For now, this party has adopted the working policy of broader democratic unity.

The Preamble of the Constitution of this party has stated that participation of different communities, religions, ethnicities, castes, indigenous nationalities, women, Dalit, oppressed, Madheshi communities in governance system of the state will be ensured. It also states that a new Nepal will be built with attainment of social justice by means of providing substantial equality and equal opportunities to each citizen through adopting the principle of positive discrimination.

The Constitution has made provision of ensuring the representation of aforementioned groups from Ward to central level units of the party. Similarly, priority should be

given to backward groups, indigenous nationalities, women, Dalit, Madheshi and youths while nominating in various posts. Likewise, 20% women's representation will be mandatory in party working committees of all levels (RJP, 2062).

2.6.2 Communist Parties

(a) CPN (UML):

Communist Party of Nepal was established on 22nd April 1949. CPN (UML) was formed after unification of CPN (Marxist) and CPN (ML) on 6th January 1991. Manmohan Adhikari was the President and Madan Bhandari was the General Secretary of the unified party. This party has adopted the philosophy of **people's multiparty democracy** as its operational programme (KC, 2064).

The Constitution of CPN (UML), 2059 has made some provisions of positive discrimination for women. A women member will be eligible for organized membership after completing one year of ordinary membership whereas men should complete two years. Similarly, a woman having 7 years experience of full time party worker may be eligible to be candidate of central committee member whereas a man member should have 10 years experience (UML, 2059).

The ninth meeting of the Central Committee of CPN (UML) had passed a resolution in favor of awarding citizenship in mother's name. The 12th meeting of the Committee has decided to issue various intra-party circulars related to gender and inclusions on the condition of approval by the party General Meeting. These circulars were enforced from 30th May 2007. These decisions have stressed the need that the party should adopt the policy of inclusions from the bottom level to increase the participation of women, Dalit, indigenous nationalities, Madheshi and people from the remote areas. The party has accepted the fact that it is impossible to establish inclusive democracy in society without presenting the party in inclusive form. For this purpose, the party has adopted the policy of increasing party membership from among the aforementioned excluded groups, implementing the positive discrimination policy and determining comparatively liberal standards. It is decided to make the party Constitution and Bylaws in tune with the concept of inclusive democracy. Moreover, it is decided that in party District Committees, women's representation will be 33%, there will be at least 3 Dalits and proportionate representation of indigenous nationalities, Madheshi and Dalit communities based on their population in the district (UML, 2064).

(b) UCPN (Maoist):

Formation of CPN (Maoist) was initiated along with the National Convention of CPN (Ekata Kendra) held in May 1994. The party has been named as Unified CPN (Maoist) with further unification of CPN (Maoist) and CPN (Ekata Kendra Masal) on 3rd January 2009. People's Front Nepal (PFN), the election front of CPN (Ekata Kendra Masal) has also been integrated into UCPN (Maoist). This party has adopted the philosophy of building Nepal a **people's federal republic** country.

The Preamble of the Constitution of the CPN (Maoist) has stated that the party has played remarkable role to make people of various groups, castes, regions and communities the real owner of state power by accepting the issue of national power as the main issue of the revolution; by giving attention towards problems such as people's national independence,

people's democracy, people's livelihood, right to ethnic self-decision and self-governance; and by making them conscious, organized and revolutionary. The following provisions have been made under the party's objectives in the Constitution:

- Making the general women, who are oppressed and scattered throughout the country, revolutionary by means of awareness building, organizing and providing them political and philosophical orientation on relevant issues for women's rights;
- Being active for women's emancipation by continuing the struggle against all kinds of exploitations, oppressions and inequalities to women from the state and the society;
- Struggling for ensuring women's proportionate participation in all levels of the state powers; and
- Organizing the discussions, interactions, workshops, training, assemblies, rallies etc at massive level for women's political and ideological development.

This description is prepared based on the then prevailing documents prior to publication of the Constitution and other policy documents of UCPN (Maoist).

Similarly, the Contemporary Proposal of ANWA (R) states that there should be guarantee of women's 50% representation along with special rights to create the environment for competition by ensuring the proportionate participation in every sector of state policy development (ANWA-R, 2063).

(c) National People's Front:

National People's Front, which is the open front (Baidhanik Sangathan) of the underground party CPN (Masal), was formed in 1995. This party believes in Maoism or people's neo-revolution principles and has adopted the working policies of culture of nationalism and people's democratic powers.

The Preamble of the Constitution of NPF states that radical changes are necessary for the establishment of people's democracy in real sense, protection of nationality, development of national industry and agriculture, solving the problems of laborers, peasants, women, indigenous nationalities, Dalits, alien Nepalese and other various groups and levels of people.

The party Constitution also has made mandatory provision of women's representation in party organizations of all levels. However, the number is not determined. It also provides for special priority to women, indigenous nationalities and Dalits while nominating representatives for the National Convention by the National Committee (NPF, 2063).

(d) CPN (Unified):

CPN (Unified) was formed on 26th February 2007. The immediate working policy of the party has been determined to be making democratic republican Constitution and restructuring the state of inclusive and federal nature.

There are some provisions of positive discrimination in the Constitution of CPN (Unified). The probation period for the candidates of other than higher level sources including women, Dalit and minority communities shall be only half i.e. six months. Special provisions may be applied for representation of women, Dalit, Terai residents/ Madheshi communities, backward regions and indigenous nationalities while determining the selection criteria of the

representatives and observers for the National Assembly. However, no specific provision has been made.

The Constitution has stated the functions, duties and rights of the Central Committee that the Committee should adopt an intensive policy with special plan for the leadership of women, Dalit, oppressed, marginalized groups and indigenous nationalities.

(e) Nepal Workers and Peasants Party:

This party was established in the name of "Nepal Workers and Peasants Organization" on 23rd January 1975 in Gorakhpur, India. It was formed in the present name (NWPP) in 1977. This party has still run its party machineries in semi-underground style (KC, 2064).

NWPP has its straightforward policy of establishing the socialist system. The major objectives of the party as enlisted in its Constitution include to try to safeguard and promote the interests and rights of all working-class (*Shramjibi*) people including workers, peasants, women, youths, students, teachers, employees, intellectuals, businessmen, journalists, ex-soldiers, medium and lower capitalists, etc.

Similarly, the Constitution has made the provision that it should be encouraged to put one women member out of 5 in Cell Committees formed at VDC and Ward, Village and Tole level of the municipality (NWPP, 2060).

(f) CPN (ML):

This party was formed on 13th March 1998. According to the immediate programmes of the party, the work list of the party will be to maintain an inclusive system under the capitalist complete democracy into which people from all groups, castes, regions, sexes, languages and cultures could participate.

The Constitution of the party has made provision of positive discrimination in terms of membership. The probation period for the candidates of members come from the groups other than that from landlords and Dalal and Autocratic capitalist groups including women, Dalit and minority communities shall be only half i.e. six months.

In the organizational principles, policies and working methods of the party, it is stated that while expanding the party, cadres should be recruited from among various casts-ethnicities, students and revolutionary groups of elementary level.

(g) CPN (United):

CPN (United) was formed in 1981. This party has adopted the political philosophy of socialism through national people's democracy (Janabad).

The Preamble of the Constitution of the party states that the party has lead the revolution of emancipation of workers, peasants, various working-class groups and levels, youths, students, women, intellectuals, businesspersons, exploited, oppressed, Dalit and indigenous nationalities representing these groups.

The functions, duties and rights of the party members state that members should be aware and struggling against the discrimination based on religion, caste, group, sex, language, region, or oppression, exploitation, communal feelings and dividing attitudes by means of these factors.

Party's political review of March 2007 states that new political leaderships will be created by expansion of the party organizations among women, indigenous nationalities, Dalit and other sectors of the society to make party units fully inclusive (CPN Unified, 2064).

2.6.3 Other Parties

(a) Nepal Sadbhavana Party (Anandidevi):

This party was established in 1985 with the main objectives of protecting the rights and interests of the Madheshi people. This party has been highlighting the issues of citizenship in the Terai region and advocating for recognizing Hindi as the second language of Nepal.

The Preamble of the party Constitution states that the main purpose of the party shall be to eliminate the political, economical, social, linguistic, cultural, gender, regional, community and racial discrimination and exploitation. There is the provision of allocating at least 15% women's representation in party committees up to the district level and 10% in the central level. While nominating by the President, priority should be given to women and minorities and marginalized communities. Similarly, the Constitution has made clear provision that there should be 1 woman out of 9 members of the Parliamentary Committee of the party (NSPA, 2063).

(b) Madheshi Janaadhikar Forum Nepal:

MJFN was established as a non-governmental organization in 1998 (2054) and converted into a political party in 2007 (2063). This party has publicized its directive principles to be the social democracy. However, this party is mainly a sector-based party advocating to ensure the Madheshi rights and representation (NEP, 2008).

The objectives of the party, as stated in its Constitution, is to struggle for establishing society with equality, equity and prosperity through struggle against all discriminations against all indigenous nationalities, backward communities, Dalit, women, Muslim, minorities, etc. The Constitution provides for making the Parliamentary Committee an inclusive one (from ethnic, regional, sexual, linguistic, communal and minority perspective). However, the Constitution is silent about the quantitative representation of women and others in various party units (MJFN, 2054).

According to the political proposal submitted in the Second General Meeting of the party, it is stated that the eighth issue of the Madheshi movement is to provide reservation and priority in the state and every opportunities to the minorities and Dalits including backward castes of Madheshi society, indigenous nationalities, women, oppressed, Muslim etc. (MJFN, 2065).

(c) Sadbhavana Party:

This party was established in 2008 as a breakaway group of NSPA. This party is a rightist party having the regional base (NEP, 2008).

As stated in the Preamble of the party Constitution, objective of the party is to build federal, democratic, republican and equitable society by eliminating the political, economic, social, linguistic, cultural, gender, regional and other discriminations prevailing for hundreds

of years against Madheshi communities, hill indigenous nationalities, women, Dalit and others of Nepal.

There is the provision of at least 10% women's representation in party committees from Ward to the District level and General Assembly Representatives. Similarly, 11% women should be there in the party Parliamentary Committee (SP, 2064).

(d) Terai-Madhesh Loktantrik Party:

This party was established on 28th December 2007. This party presents itself as a republican, democratic and federalist party. In practice, regional concern is one of major principles of this party as well (NEP, 2008).

The Preamble of the party Constitution states that the party takes political initiatives to eliminate the prevailing discrimination against Madheshi, minorities, indigenous nationalities, Dalit and women of Nepal. The Constitution has made provision of at least 33% women's representation in village, municipal, regional and district level party Committees. Similarly, the Constitution provides for 12% women's representation in the Central Working Committee. It is stated that at the time of nomination, gender balance should be maintained. Likewise, there is provision in Article 46 of the Constitution, of giving priority to backward groups, indigenous nationalities, women, Dalit and youths for the places to be nominated (TMDP, 2064).

2.7. Comparative Analysis of Inter-party Policy Provisions

Some provisions related to gender and inclusions have been found in the policy documents such as Constitution, Bylaws and others of major political parties of Nepal. However, these provisions are not sufficient.

Concerned group or community itself can play more effective role for its interest, rights and advancement. So, women's departments and organizations are formed by almost all the political parties to oversee the matters related to women such as their participation and access to meaningful positions. Likewise, there are organizations of Dalits, indigenous nationalities and other deprived communities but the role of these organizations has yet to be effective at the expected level in the political parties.

There is domination of male leaders from so-called upper level castes in leadership position of most of the political parties. Party constitutions, bylaws and other fundamental policy documents have yet to be reformed in tune with the recent changes and commitments. This, sometimes, has made the implementation of even a few programmes and campaigns of the parties weaker and less effective. This condition prevails in almost all the political parties.

While observing comparatively, the Constitution and other documents of the political parties established at the later dates have more gender and inclusion-friendly provisions.

This Chapter has presented clear picture of the overall status of representation and policies regarding women's empowerment at the national level. Subsequent Chapters present the analysis and approaches on measures to be taken to improve women's representation and inclusions at the district level and the roles to be played by the district level party units and women leaders in this connection.

Chapter – Three

Status of Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion in Politics

During the study, it is found that the political parties themselves have no actual, detailed and well-arranged description of their leaders and cadres from basic to central level. So, this study has tried to present the realistic picture of women's participation at central and district level units of the political parties.

This study includes the description of about thirty thousand leaders affiliated to various political parties and their sister organizations. While collecting this information, all the available parties have been contacted as far as possible.

This Chapter presents and analyzes the status of women and excluded communities in Nepalese politics. In this course, it presents the number of men and women leaders (**participation** ratio) in various political parties. It also presents the participation ratio of minorities and marginalized communities including Dalit, indigenous nationalities, Madheshi and others (**inclusion** status). Inclusion among women leaders themselves has also been analyzed. Similarly, women and excluded communities' access to decision making positions (**empowerment** status) is also examined in this Chapter.

3.1 Central and District Level Committees and Sister Organizations of the Political Parties

The present study includes a total of 29,546 political cadres. At central level, the inventory includes a total of 1,967 leaders covering 11 central party working committees and 62 sister organizations. Among them, 1,402 are male and 565 are female.

Likewise, the description of 27,579 district level political cadres (20,422 male and 7,137 female) from the 407 district working committees and 1,886 sister organizations has been collected and analyzed. District level inventory covers 18 political parties whereas central level covers 12 parties.

Based on number, the top five political parties at central level include CPN-UML (466 cadres, 22.8%), NC (293 cadres, 14.4%), CPN-Maoist (290 cadres, 14.2%), CPN-Unified (196 cadres, 9.41%) and RPP (169 cadres, 8.3%). Similarly, inventory of 161 cadres from NCD (8.2%) and 465 cadres from other six parties (24%) are included in the central level inventory. The lowest number is 50 (2.5%) from NSP-A.

Likewise, at the district level, the inventory covers 8,700 (32%) from CPN-UML, 6,608 (24%) from NC, 4,088 (15%) from NCD, 2,166 (8%) from CPN-Maoist and 1,726 (6%) from PFN. Remaining 4,219 (16%) has been covered by other 13 political parties. The parties whose coverage is less than 50 are RJMP, RPP-Nepal and CPN-Marxist at the district level.

Table 3.1 below shows the quantitative description of working committees of the political parties and their sister organizations covered by the inventory survey.

Table: 3.1 - Description of Working Committee Members of Political Parties and Their Sister Organizations

SN	Political Party	Working Committee						Sister Organizations						Grand Total
		Central Level			District Level			Central Level			District Level			
		F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	
1	UML	6	62	68	251	1,824	2,075	116	282	398	2,088	4,537	6,625	9,166
2	NC	5	40	45	113	1,669	1,782	72	103	175	1,383	3,443	4,826	6,828
3	NC(D)	3	25	28	106	1,436	1,542	37	96	133	843	1,703	2,546	4,249
4	Maoist				108	485	593	96	194	290	519	1,054	1,573	2,456
5	PFN	12	49	61	94	485	579	6	19	25	495	652	1,147	1,812
6	RPP	2	31	33	31	367	398	33	103	136	141	371	512	1,079
7	NPF	3	35	38	25	267	292	25	33	58	222	444	666	1,054
8	Unified	9	40	49	24	148	172	57	90	147	218	298	516	884
9	NSP(A)	7	43	50	29	230	259				108	215	323	632
10	ML				17	120	137	25	22	47	108	108	216	400
11	RJP	5	36	41	30	145	175				45	69	114	330
12	NWPP				5	76	81				52	120	172	253
13	SMB	2	15	17	4	41	45	27	35	62	27	30	57	181
14	Marxist	1	12	13	3	14	17	16	37	53				83
15	RJMP				7	30	37				12		12	49
16	Samata				2	11	13				16	8	24	37
17	SP				10	19	29							29
18	RPP-Nepal				1	23	24							24
	Total	55	388	443	860	7,390	8,250	510	1,014	1,524	6,277	13,052	19,329	29,546

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

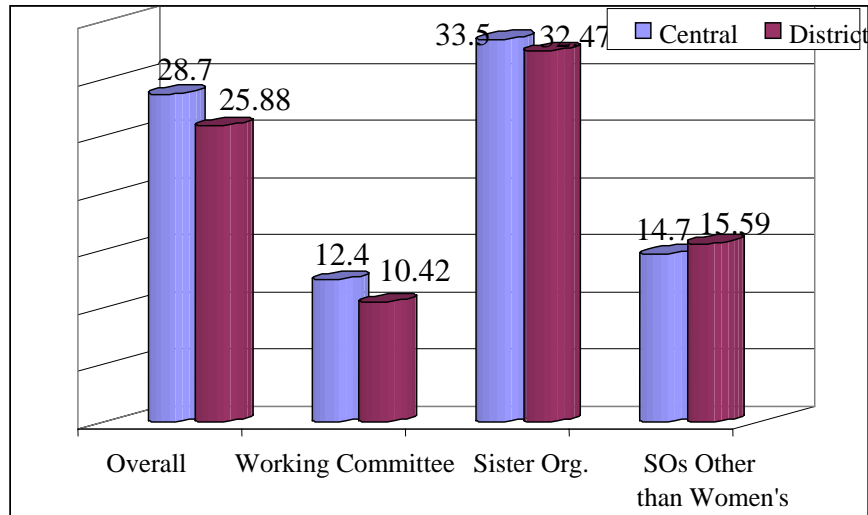
Adequate data could not be collected from some political parties including the CPN (Maoist) due to their policies and lack of sufficient interactions during the time of inventory collection. Moreover, some political parties such as MJFN, TMDP, SP, etc. had not been formed at the time of the survey.

3.2 The Status of Women's Participation in Political Parties

It has already been mentioned that focus of this study is the analysis of women's participation in major political parties of Nepal. This section presents women's participation ratio in central and district level working committees and sister organizations of the political parties.

The Figure 3.1 below shows the overall women's participation ratio, participation in working committees, sister organizations and sister organizations other than women's.

Chart 3.1: Women's Participation in Various Units of Political Parties (%)



The participation rates by categories as shown in the above figure are described in following sections.

3.2.1 Participation at the Central Level

The overall participation of women in the party committees at central level is found to be 28.7%. Table 3.2 below provides participation ratios of women in central working committees (CWC), sister organizations (SOs), overall committees and sister organizations except women's organizations for 12 major political parties.

Table 3.2 Women's Participation in CWCs and SOs by Parties

SN	Political Party	Total Coverage	Women's Participation (%)			
			Overall	CWC	Sister Orgs.	Sister Orgs. other than Women's
1	Nepali Congress	220	35.0	11.1	41.1	8.8
2	CPN (UML)	466	26.2	8.8	29.1	17.5
3	CPN (Maoist)	290	32.8	-	32.8	21.1
4	CPN (Unified)	196	33.0	16.3	38.8	5.3
5	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	169	20.7	6.1	24.3	8.8
6	Nepali Congress (D)	161	24.8	10.7	27.8	8.6
7	National People's Front	96	29.2	7.9	43.1	10.8
8	CPN (ML)	88	34.1	12.2	53.2	21.4
9	National People's Front	86	18.6	18.0	20.0	20.0
10	CPN (United Marxist)	79	36.7	11.8	43.5	20.5
11	CPN (Marxist)	66	25.8	7.7	30.2	7.5
12	NSP(A)	50	14.0	14.0	-	-
Total (Average)		1,967	28.7	12.4	33.5	14.7

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

Above table shows that women’s representation at the central level of political parties and their sister organizations (including women’s organizations also) is near to the party commitments (33%). However, in CWC and SOs other than women’s organizations, this representation rate is less than half comparing to the overall representation. This rate of women’s participation is low especially in the context of demands by women activists for proportionate representation (50% or more) and commitments from the parliament, government and the parties themselves for at least 33% women’s representation.

Therefore, it is extremely necessary for the political parties to proceed with specific policies and programmes to address the present commitments.

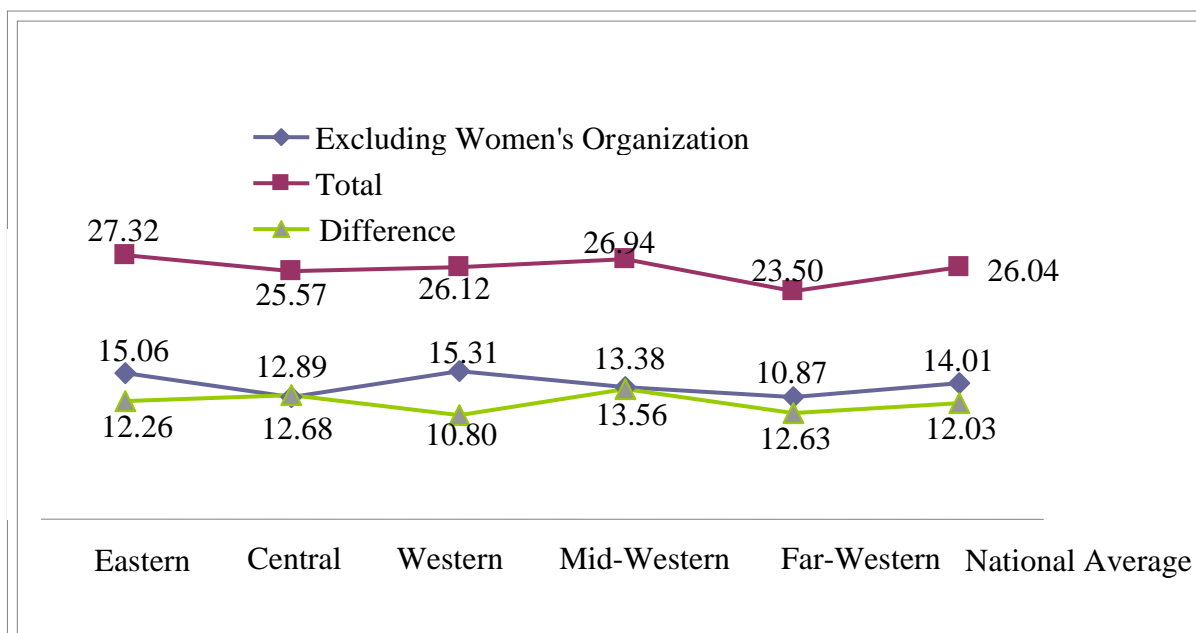
The participation rates by CWC and SOs for each political party is presented in Annex-3.

3.2.2 Participation at the District Level

The present study was mainly focused to collect inventory of cadres affiliated with district level party working committees and district committees of SOs. Figure 3.2 below shows the women’s participation rates at the national and regional level, and gaps between overall participation of women and participation excluding women's organizations.

Chart: 3.2

Women's Participation at the District Level by Development Regions (%)



The graph shows that the overall participation rates in Central and Far-Western Region are below by 1% and 3% respectively than national average of 26.04%. The situation is worse in Far-Western Region and better in Eastern Region.

When excluding the women's organizations, the Eastern and Western Regions show more women's participation than other Regions. The Far-Western Region has the least participation rates.

The average gap between with and without women's organizations is 12.03% which is near to the average participation rate (14.01%).

The analysis of women's participation in DWC shows that women's representation is nearly 11%. This is the biggest problem and challenge on the way of women's proportionate participation and access to meaningful positions.

The gap between women's participation including women's organizations and excluding women's organizations is nearly double. Until and unless this gap is shortened, no progress could be made in women's access to meaningful positions and efforts towards this from various sectors could not be successful. The political parties should put special efforts to narrow down this gap. They should be focused in the regions where the participation rates are low.

Table 3.3 presents the status of women's participation at district level in all the political parties covered by the inventory survey.

Table : 3.3: Women's Participation at District Level

SN	Political Party	Total Coverage	Women's Participation (%)			
			Overall	DWC	Sister Orgs.	Sister Orgs. other than Women's
1	Nepali Congress	6608	22.64	6.34	28.70	12.90
2	CPN (UML)	8700	26.89	12.10	31.50	17.50
3	Nepali Congress (D)	4088	23.21	6.87	33.10	16.10
4	CPN (Maoist)	2166	28.95	18.21	33.00	12.20
5	People's Front Nepal	1726	34.13	16.23	43.20	23.00
6	National People's Front	958	25.78	8.56	33.30	14.50
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	910	18.90	7.79	27.50	7.30
8	CPN (Unified)	688	35.17	13.95	42.20	24.40
9	NSP (A)	582	23.54	11.20	33.40	4.90
10	CPN (ML)	353	35.41	12.41	50.00	20.60
11	Rastriya Janashakti Party	289	25.95	17.14	39.50	15.90
12	NWPP	253	22.53	6.17	30.20	7.00
13	CPN (United Marxist)	102	30.39	8.89	47.40	6.30
14	Janamukti Party	49	38.78	18.92	-	-
15	Samata Party	37	48.65	15.38	66.70	38.50
16	SP	29	-	34.48	-	-
17	RPP-Nepal	24	-	4.17	-	-
18	CPN (Marxist)	17	-	17.65	-	-
Total (Average)		27,579	25.88	10.42	32.47	15.59

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

Based on the above table, comparative position of women's participation among the parties covered by the survey is presented in upcoming paragraphs. For this purpose, 18 parties have been divided into three categories on the basis of inventory coverage as follows:

- Category-1: Coverage of more than 1000 (NC, UML, NCD, Maoist and PFN),
- Category-2: Coverage of 100 to 1000 (NPF, RPP, Unified, NSP-A, ML, RJP, NWPP and United Marxist) and
- Category-3: Coverage less than 100 (RJMP, Samata, SP, RPP-N and Marxist)

Table 3.3 shows that overall women's participation is similar in category-1 and 2 parties but participation in SOs is better in category-2 parties than of category-1 (37.94% and 33.90% respectively). The situation is just reverse in case of SOs other than women's (16.34% and 12.61%). In DWC, category-3 parties are the best in women's representation (18.12%). Comparing other categories, parties of category 1 seem to be better than 2 (11.95% and 10.76%).

The above situation suggests that political parties need to come up with specific initiations for enhancing women's participation at the basic level.

Number of party/SOs and leaders/cadres affiliated with those units from all 75 districts is presented in Annex-4².

3.3 Women's Representation in Executive Posts of Political Parties

The real participation of women in political parties and state structures counts only when there will be such participation in decision making positions. This is also true in case of inclusion of minority/marginalized groups' women. Such participation has been termed as "Empowerment" in this Chapter.

3.3.1 Representation in the Major Positions of Working Committees

Although, women's overall participation is increasing, there is lack of proper access to decision-making positions both in the parties and the state structures. This study has revealed that only one among 11 (9.1%) party chiefs is women at central level and six among 394 (1.5%) at district level. Table 3.4 below presents women's representation rates in executive committee positions of political parties.

Table: 3.4
Women's Access to Meaningful Executive Positions of Political Parties

Position	Central Level			District Level		
	Total No.	Women	%	Total No.	Women	%
President/Chief	11	1	9.1	394	6	1.5
Vice-President/ Deputy Chief	20	0	0.0	331	14	4.2
Secretary	16	0	0.0	273	5	1.8
Joint-Secretary	8	0	0.0	164	6	3.7
Treasurer	6	0	0.0	228	18	7.9
Member	382	54	14.1	6,860	811	11.8
Total	443	55	12.4	8,250	860	10.4

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

² The detailed tables of district-wise participation and inclusion status are available in the RSN Head Office.

The above table shows a disappointing situation in terms of women's access to meaningful party positions both at central and district level. In CWC, the women's representation is only as member. There is no women's participation in major positions like Vice-President, Secretary, Joint-Secretary and Treasurer.

In the case of DWC, the overall participation of women is 10.4% (2% below than that of the central level). Women's representation in the posts other than members of DWC ranges from 1.5% (President) to 7.9% (Treasurer). There are 11.8% women as members of the DWC. This is not an encouraging situation. However, the representation in other major positions indicates that the number of party chiefs and other major positions may increase in future.

Table 3.5 below presents the list of women party chiefs at the district level prevailing during the time of survey.

Table : 3.5
District Level Women Party Chiefs

SN	Name	Post	Party	Party Unit	District
1	Sita Devi Yadav	President	NC	DWC	Siraha
2	Goma KC	President	NC(D)	DWC	Okhandhunga
3	Yamuna Bhusal	Secretary	CPN (Unified)	DC	Arghakhanchi
4	Deepa Sitoula	Secretary	CPN (Unified)	DC	Jhapa
5	Tirtha Devi Silwal	President	CPN (ML)	DC	Makwanpur
6	Bindu Devi Srivastava	President	NSP(A)	DWC	Bardiya

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

Above table shows that women's representation in major positions is higher in Eastern Region where women's access to education and economic activities is also higher.

3.3.2 Representation in Major Positions of Sister Organizations

Table 3.6 below presents the women's representation in President, Vice-President, Secretary, Joint Secretary, Treasurer and Member of the sister organizations both at central and district levels. The analysis excludes women's organizations to get real picture of the representation.

At central level, out of 1,189 members, the number of women is just 175 (14.7%). Excluding the members, the women's participation rate is just 8.4%. The representation in Deputy Chief, Joint-Secretary and Treasurer is above 8.4% (near to 14%).

Table 3.6: Women Chiefs of Party Sister Organizations (Excluding Women's)

Position	Central Level			District Level		
	Total No.	Women	%	Total No.	Women	%
President/Chief	33	0	0.0	1,179	39	3.3
Vice-President/ Deputy Chief	80	9	11.3	991	120	12.1
Secretary	69	4	5.8	943	44	4.7
Joint-Secretary	7	1	14.3	620	94	15.2
Treasurer	25	4	16.0	794	206	25.9
Member	975	157	16.1	10,986	1,906	17.3
Total	1,189	175	14.7	15,513	2,409	15.5

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

At district level, the overall participation rate is 15.5%. The highest proportion is found in Treasurer (26%). The representation ratio except members and treasurer is just 8%. The representation in highly responsible posts like Party Chief (3.3%) and Secretary (4.7%) is more disappointing. Thus, women's representation in the sister organizations other than that of women's organizations is less significant both in terms of responsibility and number. Table 3.7 below presents the number of women in major positions of DWC of 18 political parties.

Table 3.7: Women's Representation in Major Party Positions at District Level

SM	Political Party	Major Party Positions						Total
		Chief	Deputy Chief	Secretary	Joint-Secretary	Treasurer	Member	
1	NC	1	2	0	1	3	106	113
2	CPN (UML)	0	2	1	0	0	248	251
3	NCD	1	2	0	0	6	97	106
4	RPP	0	1	0	0	0	30	31
5	PFN	0	3	1	1	5	84	94
6	CPN (Maoist)	0	2	1	2	1	102	108
7	NSP (A)	1	1	0	0	0	27	29
8	NWPP	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
9	Samata	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
10	SP	0	0	1	1	1	7	10
11	NPF	0	0	1	1	0	23	25
12	CPN (Unified)	2	0	0	0	1	21	24
13	CPN (ML)	1	0	0	0	0	16	17
14	RJP	0	0	0	0	0	30	30
15	CPN (Marxist)	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
16	CPN (U Marxist)	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
17	RJMP	0	0	0	0	1	6	7
18	RPP-Nepal	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Total	6	14	5	6	18	811	860

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

The information as revealed in Table 3.7 above shows that CPN (Unified) has the most number of women party chiefs at district level. Although, there are only 8.3% women chiefs in this party, this ratio is more than the overall ratio of 1.5%. There are no women party chiefs in major parties like UML and Maoist who have expressed commitments for gender equality and inclusions.

Table 3.8 below presents number of women in major positions of sister organizations (excluding women's organizations) at district level by political parties.

Table : 3.8
Women's Representation in Major Positions of Party Sister Organizations (Excluding Women's Organizations) at District Level

SM	Political Party	Major Positions						Total
		Chief	Deputy Chief	Secretary	Joint-Secretary	Treasurer	Member	
1	NC	4	31	12	22	48	391	508
2	CPN (UML)	9	43	9	34	74	796	965
3	NCD	4	18	2	14	43	246	327
4	RPP	0	2	0	1	4	22	29
5	PFN	5	10	9	8	16	147	195
6	CPN (Maoist)	13	3	7	5	5	113	146
7	NSP (A)	0	0	0	0	1	10	11
8	NWPP	0	0	0	1	2	6	9
9	Samata	0	0	0	0	1	4	5
10	NPF	0	5	1	5	5	59	75
11	CPN (Unified)	2	7	2	2	7	76	96
12	CPN (ML)	2	1	1	1	0	23	28
13	RJP	0	0	1	0	0	12	13
14	CPN (U Marxist)	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Total		39	120	44	94	206	1,906	2,409

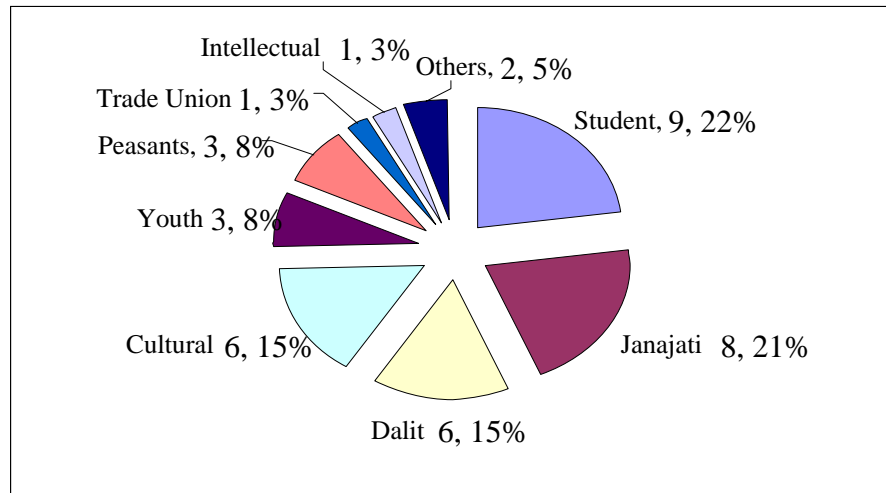
Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

In party sister organizations at district level, CPN (Maoist) has the most number of chiefs (13). Similarly, CPN (UML) is the second with 9 chiefs. There is no woman chief in seven parties out of fourteen. Although the situation of district level (10%) is better than that of the central level, it is still not satisfactory.

While looking organization-wise, Students' Organizations are the most favorable in terms of providing women with the leadership positions.

Figure 3.3 below shows the number of women chiefs by sister organization.

Chart: 3.3
Women Chiefs by Sister Organizations



The above chart shows that 9 out of 39 (22%) women chiefs are from Students' Organizations. This is followed by the Janajati Organizations (21%). On the other hand, there are only 3% women chiefs in Intellectual Organizations and Trade Unions. Similarly, the situation of organizations of peasants, youth and others is also not reasonable.

Name list of women chiefs of district level sister organizations is placed in Annex-5.

Based on above presentations, it can be concluded that the commitments of political parties for at least 33% women's representation in party units and positions are hard to fulfill if they continue with present approaches and vision. Instead, there is need of drastic changes and reform in system as a whole with focused policies, programmes and implementation strategies.

3.4 Ethnic/Caste Participation in Politics

The Government of Nepal (GON) has been implementing various policies and programmes since long time to increase access of deprived communities' to service and resources for overall national development. However, the impacts of these efforts are found less effective. As a result, the government, political parties and civil society organizations have initiated the right-based approach to ensure the access of deprived sector to the governance, services and resources.

The issue of inclusion has become a major agenda after the second popular peoples' movement of 2006. The ethnic, Dalit and marginalized communities are organized and creating pressure in political parties and governance for proportional representation. At present, the issue of inclusion has been a major agenda in the political parties as well. In this context, the inclusion status of various political parties has been analyzed in this report.

For the purpose of present study, the 101 caste group classified in Population Census 2001 has been followed. To make analysis specific and relevant to the inventory, these castes are further grouped into seven caste categories as follows:

- i. Brahmin/Chhetri
- ii. Terai middle castes
- iii. Dalit
- iv. Newar
- v. Hill Janajati
- vi. Terai Janajati
- vii. Other minorities

Table 3.9 below presents the name of castes under Dalit, Hill Janajati, Terai Janajati and other minorities categories for the purpose of analysis from the *inclusion* perspective.

Table: 3.9
List of Castes/Ethnicity under Different Groups

<i>Dalit</i>	<i>Hill Janajati</i>	<i>Terai Janajati</i>	<i>Other Minorities</i>
Kami, Damai/ Dholi, Sarki, Chamar/ Harijan/ Ram, Musahar, Dusadh/ Paswan/ Pasi, Tatma, Khatwe, Dhobi, Bantar, Chidimar, Dom, Gaine, Badi and Halkhor (15)	Magar, Tamang, Rai, Gurung, Limbu, Sherpa, Gharti/ Bhujel, Kumal, Sunuwar, Majhi, Danuwar, Chepang (Praja), Thami, Bhote, Yakkha, Darai, Thakali, Pahari, Chhantyal, Bote, Brahm/ Baramu, Jirel, Aadibasi/Janajati, Dura, Lepcha, Rajani, Byansi, Hayu, Walung, Raute and Yalmo (31)	Tharu, Dhanuk, Rajbansi, Santhal/ Satar, Jhangad/ Dhangad, Gangai, Dhimal, Tajpuriya, Meche, Kisan, Koche, Munda, Kusbadiya/ Pattharkatwa and Kusunda (14)	Muslim, Churaute, Panjabi/ Sikh, Unidentified Dalit, Unidentified Castes (5)

Source: CBS, 2007

The inclusion ratios have been analyzed to assess the status of inclusion in party working committees and sister organization as follows:

1. Overall representation in party committees and sister organizations,
2. Overall representation among women leaders.

3.4.1 Overall Status of Inclusion in Party Committees and Sister Organizations

The study shows that there is domination of Brahman and Chhetri in the party working committees and sister organizations both at central and district levels. They hold 55.6% in central level and 56.2% in district level party structures against the population size of 32.19%.

Inclusiveness among women leaders is highly imbalanced. The proportion of Brahmin/ Chhetri group is above 60% in central and district levels among women leaders. There is similar situation in women's organizations. It shows disappointing status of inclusiveness among the women leaders. The women's participation from Madheshi community is far below.

Table 3.10 below shows that the representation of Hill Janajati and Dalit is improving from the inclusive point of view. However, the participation of Madheshi communities is very low compared to their population.

Among the sister organizations (excluding women's organizations), the status of inclusion seems to be a little bit proportional than CWC, DWC and women's organizations. The proportion of Brahmin/Chhetri group is maintained around 50%. The proportion of Dalit and Hill Janajati is proportional to their population. But, the status of inclusion from Madheshi community is further worse.

Table: 3.10
Caste/Ethnic Distribution of Party/Sister Organization's Working Committee Members (%)

Caste Group	Party Leaders Overall		Women Leaders		Women Sister Organization		Sister Organizations (Except Women's)		Proportion of Total Population
	Central	District	Central	District	Central	District	Central	District	
Brahmin/Chhetri	55.6	56.2	60.0	57.7	67.5	61.9	49.1	52.7	32.19%
Terai Middle Caste	3.7	5.5	1.4	2.4	0.9	3.3	2.2	1.4	12.69%
Dalit	7.1	11.6	4.4	11.2	3.0	7.3	6.5	15.7	10.81%
Newar	8.9	4.9	9.4	4.9	7.5	5.7	12.2	4	5.38%
Hill Janajati	18.3	16.4	20.7	19.4	17.5	17.3	25.2	21.9	22.63%
Terai Janajati	4.3	3.2	3.2	3.0	2.7	3.2	3.9	2.9	8.53%
Other Minorities	2.1	1.5	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.5	5.98%
Unidentified	-	0.7	-	0.7	-	0.4	-	0.9	1.79%

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

In overall, the status of inclusion is similar at central and district level. The central level sister organizations seem to be more inclusive except that of Dalit than district level.

Table 3.11 below presents the status of political participation of various castes/ethnic groups by political parties.

Table: 3.11
Caste/Ethnic Composition of Central Working Committee and Sister Organizations of Political Parties

SN	Political Party	Total Number	Brahmin/ Chhetri		Terai Middle Caste		Dalit		Newar		Hill Janajati		Terai Janajati		Other Minorities	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	NC	220	124	56.4	7	3.2	29	13.2	23	10.5	26	11.8	6	2.7	5	2.3
2	UML	466	292	62.7	10	2.1	28	6.0	34	7.3	63	13.5	13	2.8	26	5.6
3	NC(D)	161	113	70.2	5	3.1	3	1.9	12	7.5	22	13.7	6	3.7	0	0.0
4	RPP	169	107	63.3	7	4.1	3	1.8	17	10.1	27	16.0	4	2.4	4	2.4
5	PFN	86	46	53.5	3	3.5	4	4.7	10	11.6	22	25.6	0	0.0	1	1.2
6	Maoist	290	63	21.7	3	1.0	56	19.3	62	21.4	80	27.6	25	8.6	1	0.3
7	NSP(A)	50	17	34.0	22	44.0	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	8	16.0	1	2.0
8	NPF	96	70	72.9	1	1.0	4	4.2	1	1.0	18	18.8	1	1.0	1	1.0
9	Unified	196	108	55.1	8	4.1	3	1.5	9	4.6	66	33.7	2	1.0	0	0.0
10	ML	88	71	80.7	1	1.1	2	2.3	1	1.1	10	11.4	3	3.4	0	0.0
11	Marxist	66	41	62.1	0	0.0	3	4.5	2	3.0	14	21.2	5	7.6	1	1.5
12	United Marxist	79	42	53.2	5	6.3	3	3.8	4	5.1	11	13.9	12	15.2	2	2.5
Total		1,967	1,094	55.6	72	3.7	139	7.1	175	8.9	360	18.3	85	4.3	42	2.1

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

The analysis of inclusion by political parties shows that there is domination of Brahmin/Chhetri group in CWC and central level SOs of all the political parties except CPN-Maoist (21.7%). The inclusion of Hill Janajati (27.6%) in CPN-Maoist is more than that of Brahmin/Chhetri group. Similarly, the proportion of Dalit is also noteworthy (19.3%) in this party. NC follows CPN-Maoist with 13.2% Dalit participation. However, inclusion of Madheshi groups in CPN-Maoist is poor than other political parties.

The inclusion of Madheshi i.e. Terai Middle Class group and Terai Janajati group is 44% and 16% respectively in NSP-A.

Table 3.12 below shows the district level status of inclusion by political parties.

Table: 3.12
Caste/Ethnic Composition of District Level Party/Sister Organizations Leaders

SN	Political Party	Total No.	Brahmin/Chhetri		Terai Middle Caste		Dalit		Newar		Hill Janajati		Terai Janajati		Other Minority		Unidentified	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	NC	6,608	4,104	62.1065	353	5.3	591	8.9	383	5.8	938	14.2	160	2.4	77	1.2	2	0.03
2	UML	8,700	4,971	57.1379	268	3.1	1206	13.9	386	4.4	1522	17.5	261	3.0	83	1.0	3	0.03
3	NC(D)	4,088	2,440	59.6869	231	5.7	382	9.3	268	6.6	585	14.3	126	3.1	55	1.3	1	0.02
4	RPP	910	474	52.0879	112	12.3	101	11.1	64	7.0	94	10.3	26	2.9	39	4.3	0	-
5	PFN	1,726	738	42.7578	54	3.1	291	16.9	92	5.3	491	28.4	44	2.5	15	0.9	1	0.06
6	Maoist	2,166	1,098	50.6925	147	6.8	261	12.0	63	2.9	296	13.7	106	4.9	26	1.2	169	7.80
7	NSP(A)	582	166	28.5223	224	38.5	16	2.7	4	0.7	3	0.5	87	14.9	82	14.1	0	-
8	NWPP	253	158	62.4506	40	15.8	18	7.1	13	5.1	10	4.0	3	1.2	11	4.3	0	-
9	Samata	37	19	51.3514	0	-	8	21.6	2	5.4	8	21.6	0	-	0	-	0	-
10	SP	29	5	17.2414	8	27.6	1	3.4	1	3.4	11	37.9	1	3.4	2	6.9	0	-
11	NPF	958	553	57.7244	4	0.4	191	19.9	10	1.0	174	18.2	23	2.4	1	0.1	2	0.21
12	Unified	688	305	44.3314	12	1.7	51	7.4	19	2.8	270	39.2	29	4.2	2	0.3	0	-
13	ML	353	263	74.5042	2	0.6	22	6.2	12	3.4	34	9.6	18	5.1	1	0.3	1	0.28
14	RJP	289	141	48.7889	41	14.2	51	17.6	15	5.2	24	8.3	7	2.4	10	3.5	0	-
15	Marxist	17	7	41.1765	5	29.4	1	5.9	2	11.8	0	-	1	5.9	1	5.9	0	-
16	United Marxist	102	55	53.9216	0	-	5	4.9	18	17.6	21	20.6	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	0.98
17	RJMP	49	6	12.2449	0	-	0	-	0	-	43	87.8	0	-	0	-	0	-
18	RPP-Nepal	24	9	37.5	8	33.3	1	4.2	0	-	0	-	2	8.3	4	16.7	0	-
	Total	27,579	15,512	56.2457	1,509	5.5	3,197	11.6	1,352	4.9	4,524	16.4	895	3.2	410	1.5	180	0.65

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

The status of inclusion at district level is some what similar to central level. Among top five political parties (based on number of inventory), inclusion of Dalit is highest in PFN (16.9%) and lowest in NC (8.9%). The inclusion of Madheshi and Newar is lower at district level than that of the central level.

3.4.2 Status of Inclusion among Women Leaders

The status of ethnic composition among women leaders at the central level of political parties is presented in Table 3.13 below.

The table shows that the number of Brahmin/Chhetri is highest (60% in average) among the women leaders. Women's representation from Hill Janajati is 20.7%. The inclusion of Terai Middle caste, Dalit, Terai Janajati and other minorities is very poor among the women.

Table: 3.13
Caste/Ethnic Composition of Women Leaders at Central Level of Political Parties

SN	Political Party	Total Number	Brahmin/Chhetri		Terai Middle Caste		Dalit		Newar		Hill Janajati		Terai Janajati		Other Minorities	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	NC	77	50	64.9	1	1.3	2	2.6	9	11.7	10	13.0	4	5.2	1	1.3
2	UML	122	83	68.0	3	2.5	2	1.6	14	11.5	15	12.3	2	1.6	3	2.5
3	NC(D)	40	25	62.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	4	10.0	9	22.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
4	RPP	35	19	54.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	14.3	9	25.7	1	2.9	1	2.9
5	PFN	18	7	38.9	0	0.0	1	5.6	3	16.7	7	38.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
6	Maoist	96	39	40.6	1	1.0	11	11.5	12	12.5	26	27.1	7	7.3	0	0.0
7	NSP(A)	7	4	57.1	2	28.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0
8	NPF	28	19	67.9	0	0.0	3	10.7	0	0.0	5	17.9	1	3.6	0	0.0
9	Unified	66	39	59.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	6.1	23	34.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
10	ML	30	24	80.0	0	0.0	1	3.3	0	0.0	5	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
11	Marxist	17	14	82.4	0	0.0	2	11.8	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
12	United Marxist	29	16	55.2	0	0.0	2	6.9	2	6.9	7	24.1	2	6.9	0	0.0
Total		565	339	60.0	8	1.4	25	4.4	53	9.4	117	20.7	18	3.2	5	0.9

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

The party-wise analysis shows that the PFN and CPN-Maoist are more inclusive than other political parties.

The party-wise status of inclusion among women at district level is presented in Table 3.14 below.

Table: 3.14
Caste/Ethnic Composition of Women Political Leaders at District Level

SN	Political Party	Total No.	Brahmin/Chhetri		Terai Middle		Dalit		Newar		Hill Janajati		Terai Janajati		Other Minority		Unidentified	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	NC	1,496	936	62.6	34	2.3	130	8.7	100	6.7	251	16.8	33	2.2	10	0.7	2	0.1
2	UML	2,339	1,424	60.9	26	1.1	277	11.8	95	4.1	449	19.2	60	2.6	7	0.3	1	0.0
3	NC(D)	949	583	61.4	20	2.1	90	9.5	61	6.4	173	18.2	21	2.2	1	0.1	0	0.0
4	RPP	172	105	61.0	13	7.6	13	7.6	17	9.9	20	11.6	4	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
5	PFN	589	235	39.9	9	1.5	111	18.8	28	4.8	196	33.3	7	1.2	3	0.5	0	0.0
6	Maoist	627	341	54.4	18	2.9	80	12.8	17	2.7	93	14.8	32	5.1	4	0.6	42	6.7
7	NSP(A)	137	44	32.1	42	30.7	1	0.7	1	0.7	0	0.0	28	20.4	21	15.3	0	0.0
8	NWPP	57	43	75.4	2	3.5	3	5.3	4	7.0	3	5.3	2	3.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
9	Samata	18	13	72.2	0	0.0	1	5.6	1	5.6	3	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
10	SP	10	2	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	6	60.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	0	0.0
11	NPF	247	132	53.4	0	0.0	46	18.6	4	1.6	58	23.5	6	2.4	0	0.0	1	0.4
12	Unified	242	92	38.0	0	0.0	24	9.9	4	1.7	110	45.5	12	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
13	ML	125	91	72.8	0	0.0	9	7.2	5	4.0	12	9.6	7	5.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
14	RJP	75	39	52.0	8	10.7	14	18.7	6	8.0	5	6.7	2	2.7	1	1.3	0	0.0
15	Marxist	3	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
16	United Marxist	31	18	58.1	0	0.0	2	6.5	4	12.9	5	16.1	1	3.2	0	0.0	1	3.2
17	RJMP	19	5	26.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	73.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
18	RPP-Nepal	1	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total		7,137	4,105	57.5	172	2.4	801	11.2	349	4.9	1,398	19.6	216	3.0	49	0.7	47	0.7

Source: RSN (Inventory/Survey Questionnaires, 2007)

The above table show that as at the central level, Brahmin/Chhetri dominate the participation at the district level. As in overall representation, PFN is the most inclusive for Dalit and Hill Janajati and CPN (Maoist) is the best for Terai Janajati among women. The NSP-A, who has its base in Terai, has moderate level of inclusion among Terai Janajati and minorities but very low among Dalit.

To sum up, the present status of deprived communities' representation in all the major political parties is not satisfactory. So, to improve in inclusion status, political parties need to come up with specific policies, programmes and measures as soon as possible.

Chapter - Four

Problems and Prospects of Women's Political Representation

There is need of vast reforms in policies and programmes of the state and the political parties related to women's representation and inclusion. Besides, drastic changes are necessary in thinking and behaviour of the party leaders and women leaders themselves. Furthermore, radical changes are also sought in prevailing social concepts and practices.

This Chapter presents the issues and opinions of district level party chiefs and women leaders on women's political participation and inclusion. These issues have been analyzed based on their nature, behavioural relationship and present status of participation. While analyzing, frequency tables have also been created after coding the views as per their similarity.

4.1. Institutional Views and Programmes of Parties on Women's Political Representation

This section contains the suggestions received from district level chiefs of various political parties on the problems, issues and challenges of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion in various political parties and the measures of addressing them. These suggestions have been collected from chiefs of various political parties from 67 districts through questionnaire survey. In this connection, it is tried to analyze the following matters:

- Major agenda in the DWC meeting,
- Priority to be given to women related subject matters in the meeting,
- Details of petitions,
- Problems of representation,
- Measures of solving the problems,
- Programmes conducted by the parties to address the problems,
- Issues of inclusion,
- Party creativity for women empowerment,
- Party view on inter-party collaboration, etc.

Thus, the purpose of this analysis is to identify the problems on women's participation in politics and find out the way outs to address them.

4.1.1. DWC Meeting and Women Issues

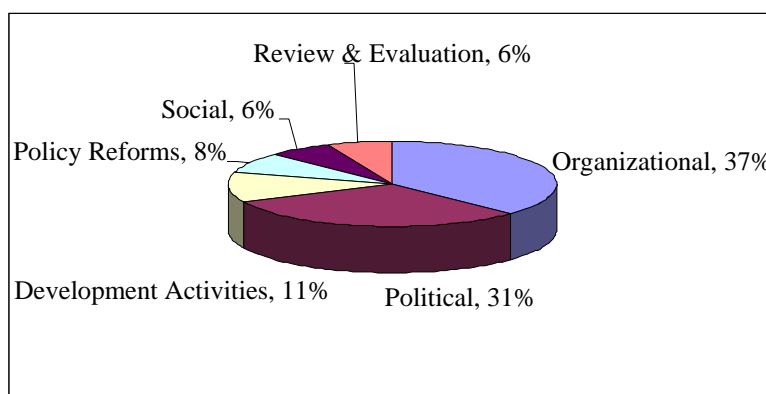
In political parties, policy formulation and implementation works are performed by the CWC at the central level and the DWC at the district level. So, women's access, participation and activeness in the WC play vital role with regard to their empowerment. The status of women's participation in the latest DWC meeting, major agenda of the DWC and priority to women related subject matters have been presented here.

(a) Major Agenda at DWC Meeting

As shown in Figure 4.1 below, the most prioritized area of the DWC meeting is organizational matters of the party (37%). This includes organizational expansion of the party, membership distribution and renewal, publicity, implementation of central policies and programmes, management of the party office, etc.

Figure: 4.1

Major Agenda of the DWC Meeting of Political Parties



Above figure shows that other priority areas of the DWC meeting are political matters (31%), matters of developmental activities (11%), policy reforms (8%), social matters (6%) and review and evaluation related matters (6%).

Analyzing the above situation, it is seen that the political parties still have given more emphasis in the organizational matters. Consequently, other sectors such as political, social, strategic and developmental works have become the areas of less priority. This is not a rational situation.

Table 4.1 below presents a total of 1,356 responses with their frequency distribution regarding the agenda that get priority in the DWC meeting.

Table: 4.1

Major Agenda of District Level Party Working Committee

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Policy Reform	Inclusion	Ethnic and regional inclusion within party	43	3.2
2			Women's representation in the party	26	1.9
3		Empowerment	Disadvantaged communities' access to policy making	16	1.2
4		Mainstreaming	Party's role in political changes	22	1.6
5	Social	Discrimination	Social discrimination, Madhesi/Janajati issues and women's awareness	19	1.4
6		Disputes	On local disputes	15	1.1
7			Awareness campaigns and opposition to foreign interferences	38	2.8
8			People's empowerment and citizenship	15	1.1

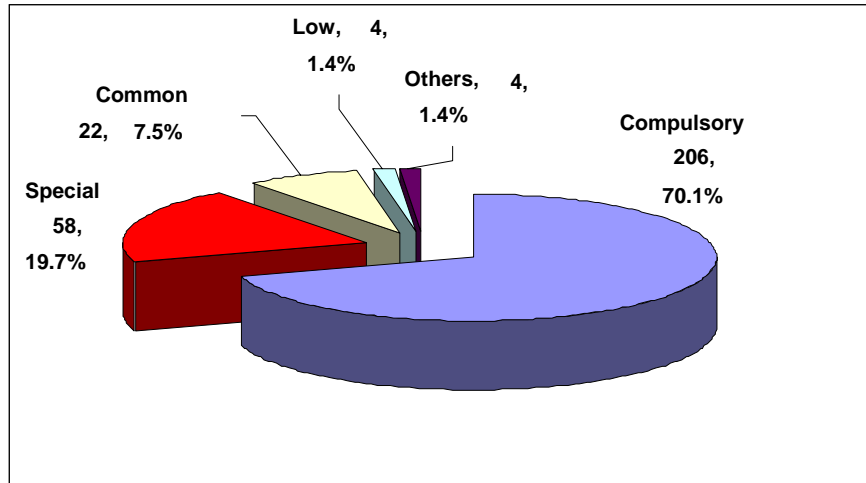
9	Political	Inter-Party	All-party relationship and implementation of the decisions	37	2.7
10		Intra-party matters	Issues of nationality and democracy	28	2.1
11			Political conflict, organizational expansion and inclusive policy	27	2.0
12			Mass movement programmes	18	1.3
13			Party's upcoming programmes, progress reports, publications and work division	49	3.6
14		State power	Institutionalization of democracy	27	2.0
15			Constituent Assembly and state restructuring	78	5.8
16			Contemporary political issues	140	10.3
17		Organizational	Organization building & expansion	Party organization building, expansion and party members' disciplines	209
18	Membership distribution and renewal			31	2.3
19	Organizational strengthening		Publicity of party policies and programmes	30	2.2
20			Party's special campaigns	15	1.1
21			Organizational strengthening	47	3.5
22			Training on party policies	37	2.7
23	Organizational management		Central policy implementation at local level	22	1.6
24			Financial management and party building construction	56	4.1
25			Leadership development of women and minorities	27	2.0
26		Roles of sister organizations	31	2.3	
27	Development Issues	Local development	Development agenda: road, water supply, education, health, etc.	146	10.8
28	Review & Evaluation	Intra-party activities	Review of programmes and decisions and progress reports	57	4.2
29			Party directions, party unification, responsibilities and accountabilities	27	2.0
30		State power	Allocation of plans, supervision, monitoring the peace accord	23	1.7
Total				1,356	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

(b) The Priority Given to Women Related Agenda at DWC Meeting:

Analysis of priority given to women related agenda among all agenda of DWC meeting has been done here in this section. The analysis is based on the response by the respondents on the question that which level of priority is given to women's agenda-compulsory, special, common or low. Besides, the nature of matters fallen under compulsory and special priority has also been analyzed. Figure 4.2 presents the compilation of 294 respondents' views.

Figure 4.2: Overall Status of Priority to Women’s Agenda at DWC Meeting



According to Figure 4.2, about 90% of the party chiefs have said that women related agenda get significant priority at the DWC meeting. However, in practice, the results do not support so. This might have been due to lack of proper implementation of the policies and programmes. Table 4.2 below presents the party-wise status of priority given to women’s issues at DWC meetings.

Table: 4.2

Priority to Women’s Agenda in DWC Meeting by Party

S.N.	Name of the Party	Compulsory		Special		Common		Low		Silent		Total
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1	UML	49	77.8	10	15.9	2	3.2	1	1.6	1	1.6	63
2	NC	44	73.3	11	18.3	5	8.3	0	0	0	0	60
3	NCD	34	63	15	27.8	4	7.4	0	0	1	1.9	54
4	PFN	23	69.7	4	12.1	4	12.1	2	6.1	0	0	33
5	RJM	10	71.4	3	21.4	0	0	0	0	1	7.1	14
6	Maoist	10	76.9	2	15.4	1	7.7	0	0	0	0	13
7	United	9	75	2	16.7	0	0	0	0	1	8.3	12
8	ML	7	63.6	3	27.3	1	9.1	0	0	0	0	11
9	RPP	6	60	2	20	2	20	0	0	0	0	10
10	NSP-A	5	55.6	1	11.1	3	33.3	0	0	0	0	9
11	RJP	5	83.3	1	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
12	NWPP	2	40	2	40	0	0	1	20	0	0	5
13	U-Marxist	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
14	Unified	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	RPP-N	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Grand Total		206	70.1	58	19.7	22	7.5	4	1.4	4	1.4	294

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

From the status of the top ten political parties in terms of the number of respondents, as shown in Table 4.2 above, the CPN (UML) has given the highest priority to the women’s

issues at their DC meetings. Other parties have also given significant importance to the women related agenda in their DWC meetings.

On the other hand, 2 party committees of the PFN and one each of the CPN(UML) and NWPP have given women’s agenda the lowest priority.

The party-wise situation also concludes with the fact that women related agenda are prioritized in political parties but in saying only. They have yet to be proceeded in a systemic way with proper follow-up mechanisms ensuring their effective implementation.

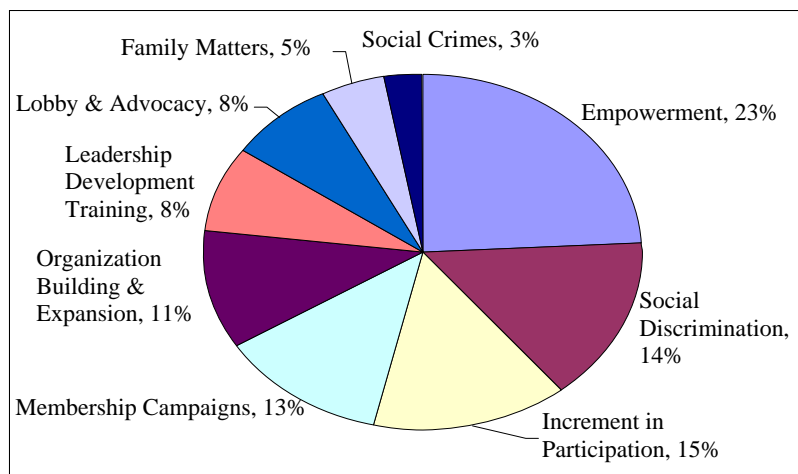
(c) Major Agenda of DWC Related to Women:

In this section, it is tried to analyze the nature of agenda related to women, which are discussed at DWC meetings (see Figure 4.3). Major subject matters related to women include women empowerment (40%), women’s participation (38%) and the social issues (22%).

Figure 4.3 presents these major subject matters dividing them into nine groups. Empowerment, leadership development training and advocacy/lobbying capacity development are under the **women empowerment** heading. Likewise, increasing participation, membership campaigns and organizational expansion are under **participation**. Similarly, **social issues** comprise of social discrimination, domestic issues and social crimes.

Figure: 4.3

Women Related Issues Discussed at the DWC Meeting of Political Parties



The subject matters under **women empowerment** include training for women leaders on the contemporary issues and enhancing leadership skill development, orientation and increasing opportunity of awareness, opportunities of access to decisive posts, programmes to increase financial capacity, opportunities of academic improvement, training on techniques of pressure and advocacy for women rights, interests and dignity etc.

Participation includes the subject matters such expansion of women membership bases in political parties, institutional development and enhancement of effectiveness of the women’s organizations, and the opportunities to party affiliated women to participate in the programmes of other agencies.

From the above presentation, it can be made clear that women related agenda of DWC of the political parties are chiefly political. The common issues of women being raised by

women rights activists seem to get low priority in the political parties. Moreover, the leadership position holders of the political parties are not confident towards women’s capability. This is proved from their views that emphasize more on women’s capacity building measures. Because of this, even the capable women leaders are deprived of the opportunities. Similarly, another challenge in this respect is that district level party units have given less priority to the programmes for enhancing women’s participation at the grass-roots level.

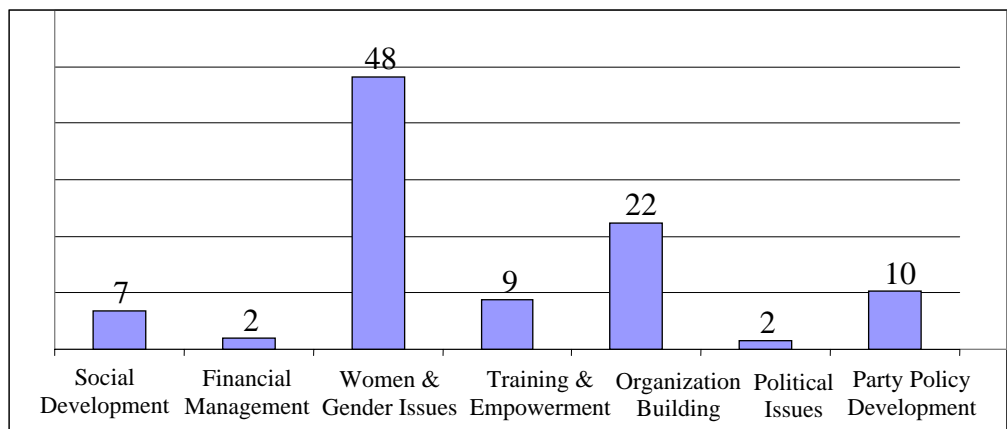
4.1.2. Women’s Participation in Political Decision Making Process

DWCs of the political party make various decisions in various ways. Most of the issues do not go up to the DWC to be decided. Matters such as participation in various programmes, daily administrative and managerial works, representation in various organizations and such others are decided by the party chief or authorized officials. Areas of women’s participation in decision-making in such subject matters have been analyzed in this section.

Most of the political parties have said that there is significant participation of women in their decision-making process. Figure 4.4 below presents the issues in which there is women’s participation in decision making process.

Figure: 4.4

Nature of Decisions Made in Party Organization with Women's Participation (%)



As seen in the above figure, there is women’s participation in decision making mainly in matters related to women (48%). It is followed by organizational development in priority (22%). Women’s participation is very low in the matters like party policy making (10%), training and empowerment (9%), social development (7%), political issues (2%) and financial management (2%).

It becomes clear from this situation that there is lack of women’s access to the more decisive and significant subject matters of the DWC.

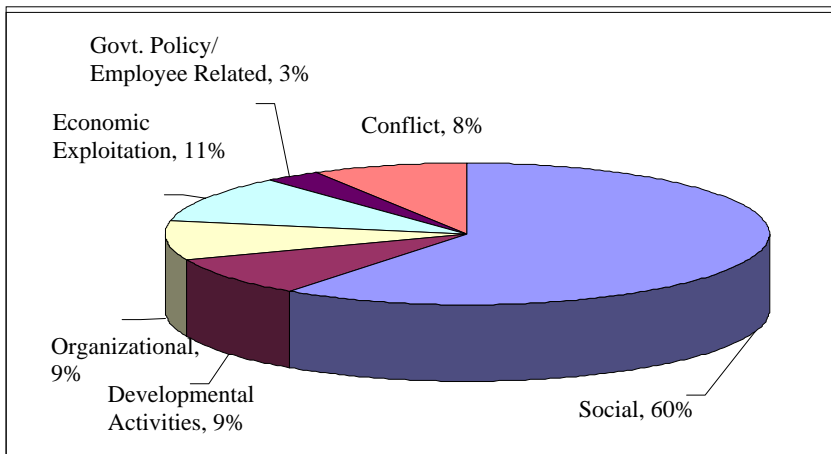
4.1.3. Complaints Received by District Level Political Party Units

The description of complaints received by the district level units of the political parties and the subject matters of women related complaints have been analyzed in this section. The survey shows that written and oral complaints are submitted to the offices of the political

parties at the district level on various subject matters. Figure 4.5 below presents the entire subject matters of the complaints received by the district units of the parties.

Figure: 4.5

Complaints Received in District Level Political Party Units



According to above figure, most of the complaints received by in the district units of the political parties are related to social issues. They include matters of social malpractices such as social discrimination, untouchablity, theft, trickery, scolding and humiliation, gambling etc. Similarly, issues related to marital and familial relationship and roads and public properties also include under social complaints.

Likewise, other areas of complaint include financial matters such as money lending, employment etc. (11%), formulation and implementation of local development plans (9%), organizational issues such as party discipline and responsibility (9%), conflict related issues such as forced acquisition of house and land, donations, kidnapping, obstructions (8%) and other issues such as transfer of teachers and employees, irregularities, responsibility of government offices etc.

a) Women Related Complaints

Women related complaints received by the district level units of the political parties have been analyzed hereunder. This analysis is based on a total of 527 responses received.

Figure: 4.6

Nature of Women Related Complaints (%)

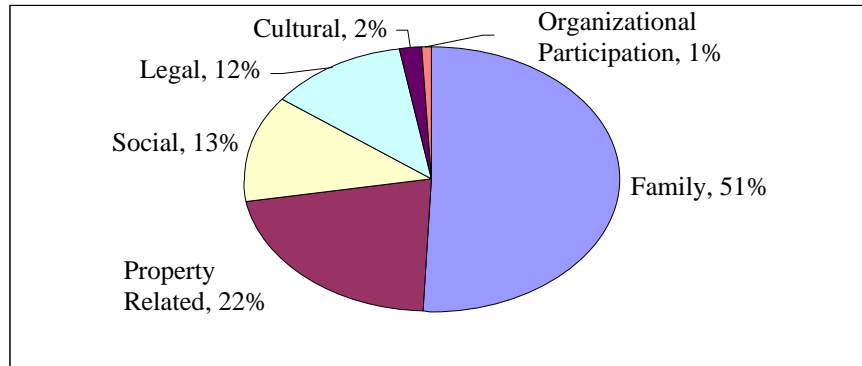


Figure 4.6 shows that the highest number of complaints are related to family issues (51%) and the lowest number of complaints to women’s access to party organizations and opportunities (1%). Table 4.3 below presents the details.

Table: 4.3

Nature of Women Related Complaints Received by Party

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Complaints	Number	%
1	Family	Marital	Polygamy	84	15.9
2			Love/inter-caste/child marriages	26	4.9
3			Divorce	39	7.4
4			Gambling, alcoholism, women's conducts and untouchability	7	1.3
5		Domestic Violence	Family disputes	94	17.8
6		Oppression	Oppressions to widows	9	1.7
7			Witchcraft	8	1.5
8	Property issues	Financial dealings	Financial dealings	14	2.7
9		Share in property	Deprived from property, cheatings from husband and in-laws	100	19.0
10	Legal	Crimes	Illegal abortion, forced pregnancy	12	2.3
11			Rape	18	3.4
12			Girls trafficking	18	3.4
13		Inequality	Legal inequality and problem of citizenship	14	2.7
14	Social	Discrimination	Ethnic and social discrimination	22	4.2
15			Gender discrimination	13	2.5
16			Discrimination in employment opportunities	10	1.9
17		Torture	Physical and mental torture	24	4.6
18	Religious/cultural		Dowry, malpractices, religious exploitation	11	2.1
19	Orgl. participation	Activeness	Lack of organizational participation and leadership development opportunities	4	0.8
Total				527	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

As shown in the table above, the family related complaints include the matters such as marriage, divorce, family disputes, domestic violence etc. Other complaints include on money lending, share in property, fraud etc.(22%). Similarly, there are complaints related to legal issues such as illegal abortion, rape, girls trafficking, citizenship etc. (12 %). There are also complaints on social issues including caste discrimination, gender discrimination, partiality in employment, torture, sexual exploitation etc. (13%). The least number of complaints are on religious and cultural issues like exploitation in the name of religion, malpractices etc. (2%).

(b) Conflict Related Complaints

Because of the civil war initiated by CPN (Maoist) that remained for the last ten years in Nepal many individuals and family were displaced from their places and many had to face the loss of lives and properties. People affiliated to the parties close to the then government were suppressed by the Maoists and Maoists themselves by the state side. In this circumstance, district units of the political parties played roles for conflict resolution by listening to the conflict affected people and mediating in the issues.

Complaints related to conflict that were dealt by the district units of the political parties have been analyzed in this section. Table 4.3 below presents the party-wise description of annual average number of complaints registered with party offices, action taken and under consideration by the party.

Table: 4.4

Conflict Related Complaints Registered with Political Parties (of 2063)

SN	Political Party	Average Annual Number	Cases Decided	Cases to Be Decided
1	CPN (Maoist)	101	65	37
2	Nepali Congress	38	18	13
3	Nepali Congress (D)	34	23	8
4	CPN (UML)	15	11	4
5	National People's Front	15	3	12
6	CPN (United)	11	10	2
7	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	8	4	4
8	People's Front Nepal	8	3	5
9	NSP(A)	7	1	2
10	Nepal Workers & Peasants Party	2	2	2
11	CPN (ML)	1	1	1
Total		240	141	90

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

From the table above, it is seen that the highest numbers of annual complaints have come to the CPN (Maoist) whereas CPN (ML), NWPP, NAP-A, PFN, RPP and other parties are among the least number of complaints receiver. The number of complaints registered with

CPN (Maoist) is about five times more than that of the average. It was so chiefly due to practices of judicial settlement by CPN (Maoist) forming the parallel courts at local and district level during the civil war period. The number of complaints in NC and NCD seems to be in the same line whereas it is below the average in CPN (UML), RJM and CPN (United).

From the fact that there are more complaints in NC than that of the other communist parties, it is demonstrated that NC leaders and cadres were more affected by the civil war than of other parties.

On the other hand, in settlement of the complaints, CPN (UML) and CPN (United) seem to be a little bit ahead.

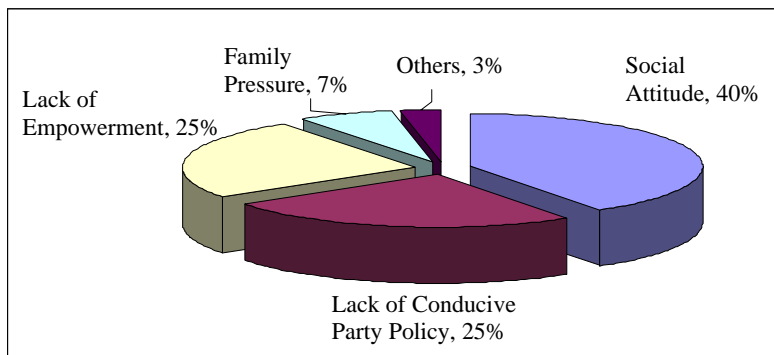
4.1.4. Reasons for Women’s Low Representation in DWC

There is only 10.4% women's participation in DWC of the political parties (see Chapter Three). Moreover, the women’s access to decisive posts of the DWC is further disappointing (only 1.5% women presidents). It is necessary to analyze the difficulties and challenges behind this situation and move ahead to tackle these issues with specific measures to address them. This section presents and analyzes the reasons behind low women’s participation in the DWC of the political parties.

Figure 4.7 presents five major reasons for women’s low representation in DWC of the political parties.

Figure: 4.7

Reasons for Women's Low Participation in Politics (%)



As presented in the figure above, social perception and situation are the most significant reasons (view of 40% party chiefs) for women’s low representation in DWC of the political parties. Other major reasons include the lack of favorable party policy and opportunities of empowerment. Both of these reasons have got equal weight i.e. 25%/25%. Tendency of discouraging women to be involved in politics and sometimes, putting pressures not to be involved, by their own family is another obstacle for their political involvement (7%). Similarly, conflict and geographical remoteness also exist as obstacle to women’s access in politics (3%).

Table 4.5 below presents the reasons of women’s low participation in DWC of the political parties which is based on a total of 1,305 responses.

Table: 4.5

Reasons for Women’s Low Representation in DWC of the Political Parties

S.N.	Title	Sub-Title	Reasons	Number	%	
1	Lack of conducive party policy	Lack of opportunities	Lack of gender equality in practice	14	1.1	
2			Practice of not giving opportunities to women in parties	25	1.9	
3			Parties according less priority to women	22	1.7	
4			Inadequate party-membership & access to party programmes for women	25	1.9	
5		Policies	Lack of conducive provisions in party constitution and lack of planned activities	45	3.4	
6			Party's organizational structure, new party & split of party	17	1.3	
7		Empowerment	Women's low number in party & lack of access to policy making level	33	2.5	
8			Lack of proper political environment	25	1.9	
9			Lack of political awareness & access to media	40	3.1	
10			Lack of women's continuity in party	21	1.6	
11		Attitude of Leadership	Lack of encouragement from men, underestimating women's capacity & unitary decision making practices	16	1.2	
12			Conduct of state power	Patriarchal & feudal state character	33	2.5
13				Lack of proper state policies	14	1.1
14	Family pressure	Lack of motivation	Family pressure, barriers & need of permission from men	74	5.6	
15			Lack of encouragement by guardians for politics	14	1.1	
16	Lack of empowerment	Lack of self-confidence	Lack of self-confidence in women for politics	41	3.1	
17			Lack of commitment for active leadership	22	1.7	
18		Lack of political awareness	Lack of women's interest in politics	54	4.1	
19			Lack of women's initiation for political involvement	25	1.9	
20			Lack of political & women rights awareness	137	10.5	
21		Leadership capacity	Lack of women leadership development	44	3.4	
22		Social vision	Lack of economic access	Unwillingness of employed women in politics	21	1.6
23	Disinterest for politics due to economic hardships			93	7.1	
24	Cultural		Ghumto system, traditional barriers & customs	75	5.7	
25	Patriarchal structure		Male dominated society and patterns	115	8.8	
26			Reproductive/nutritional roles & higher household responsibilities	111	8.5	

27		Lack of education	Lack of women's access in higher education	99	7.6
28		Insecurity	Physical torture, criticism & insecurity	14	1.1
29	Others	Others	Conflict between government and rebels	22	1.7
30			Geographical remoteness	14	1.1
Total				1305	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

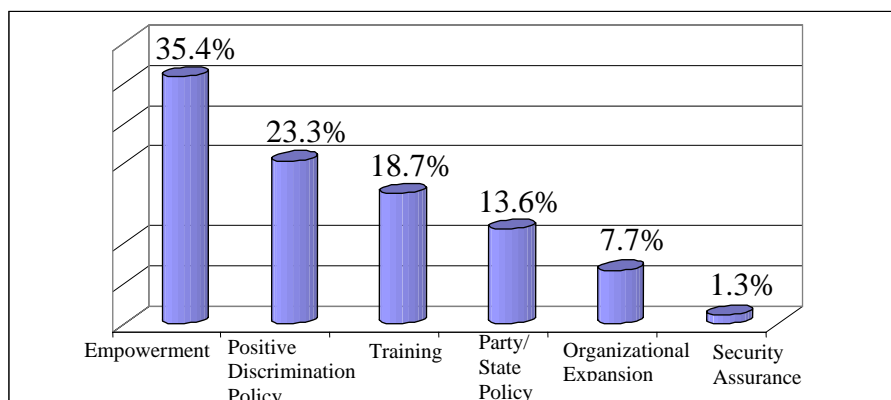
According to the above table, the party chiefs have pointed out the lack of political awareness among the women as the biggest problem of their low representation in politics. Other prioritized reasons lack of capacity in women themselves and social and family related problems. However, there is enough ground to suspect that the party chiefs, mostly male leaders, have over-prioritized the fact that women have not come forward in politics due to their own causes.

4.1.5. The Initiatives for Increasing Women's Representation in Political Parties

This section presents the important subject of how to address the problems of women's political participation. In this connection, Figure 4.8 below, shows the initiatives for increasing women's participation in politics. These are the views of DWC chiefs of the political parties.

Figure: 4.8

Initiatives Needed to Enhance Women's Participation in Political Parties (%)



From the figure above, it is seen that about half of the respondents have given special emphasis on the women's empowerment activities to increase their participation in political parties (empowerment 35.4%, training 18.4%). Other steps to be taken for the enhancement of women's participation includes the need of policy reforms (36.9%). In this option, policy of positive discrimination has alone the weight of 23.3%.

In a male-dominated social structure like ours, it is thus, confirmed that there is no alternative of making policy provisions based on the concept of positive discrimination for women's proportional participation. For example: (a) Women's political participation remarkably increased after the mandatory provision made by the Local Self-Governance Act for at least one women in each Ward of the VDC and Municipality in 1999; and (b) There are

about 33% women in the historical Constituent Assembly mainly due to the mandatory provision in law to make at least 50% women candidates in PR seats of the Assembly by the political parties. State policies, programmes and laws have been reformed or continued to reform for at least 33% women's representation in civil service and all other state structures. In this way, the state and the political parties have accepted the fact that provision of positive discrimination is an important need of the day.

For increasing women's participation in the political parties, the respondents have also viewed that special attention should be given to the organizational matters like expansion and strengthening of women's organizations of the political parties, campaigns for increasing women membership, formation of inter-party women's networks etc. (7.7%). In the same way, special guarantee of security for women who are involved and want to be involved in politics is also recommended by the respondents.

From the presentation above, to increase women's participation in political parties it is the first necessity to enhance their capacity through effective implementation of various women empowerment programmes. There is very low participation of women in decisive posts of political parties and the state, and the parties have pointed out the lack of capacity as major reason for this situation. On the other hand, hundreds of women are seen to be more than or as capable as their male counterparts in political parties. From this, it can be envisaged that even the capable women are deprived of opportunities.

It is seen necessary to give special focus on women empowerment also for creating adequate pressure in the issues of women's rights and leadership and to conducting the campaigns of advocacy.

A total of 1,277 responses received in this respect are presented in the Table 4.6 below.

Table: 4.6

Initiatives Needed to Increase Women's Participation in Political Parties (Views of District Party Chiefs)

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Positive discrimination policy	Opportunity/reservation	Opportunities to women in every sector	106	8.3
2			Special provisions and opportunities to women in higher education	54	4.2
3			Implementation of 33% reservation policy	66	5.2
4		Special programmes	Budget allocation in women's favour & social prosperity	19	1.5
5			Women's increased membership, expansion, access to decision making positions & candidacy	40	3.1
6			Developing class consciousness in society	13	1.0
7	Security assurance		Assurance of women's physical security	16	1.3
8	Training	Political & legal training	Political, theoretical & organizational orientation	193	15.1
9			Political publicity	14	1.1
10			Awareness on women's rights	32	2.5
11	Empowerment	Participation	Women's participation in workshops, seminars &	57	4.5

	rment	ion	programmes			
12				Motivating & mobilizing women	16	1.3
13			Capacity building	Awareness programmes by party for rural women	52	4.1
14				Creating environment for freedom from family barriers	57	4.5
15				Economic independence	57	4.5
16				Emphasis on women education	66	5.2
17				Training & skills for leadership development &, self-confidence	73	5.7
18			Ending the discrimination	Abolishing social malpractices & discrimination	74	5.8
19	Party & state policy	Laws & policies	Women's quota for membership & candidacy in political posts	35	2.7	
20			Women's political interest & honesty of the leadership	19	1.5	
21			Formulation & revision of women rights related laws and policies	48	3.8	
22			Equal property rights & equal participation in work	12	0.9	
23			Revision in party constitution & policies, & their proper implementation	25	2.0	
24			State restructuring, free education for children & facilities	14	1.1	
25		Programmes	Specific programmes to increase women's participation in party & people's organizations	21	1.6	
26	Organizational expansion	Organization building	Organizing women in people's organizations	32	2.5	
27			Forming democratic networks & women's assemblies	22	1.7	
28		Organization expansion	Preferences to women in party membership- open round the year, easier procedures	26	2.0	
29			Implementation of women's membership drive campaigns with special emphasis	18	1.4	
Total				1,277	100.0	

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

4.1.6. Programmes Conducted by the Political Parties to Enhance Women's Participation

In the context of women's poor participation in the political parties, the questions were put to the district level party chiefs on what sort of initiatives they have taken for the increment of women's participation. Table 4.7 below presents the number of such programmes on the basis of their responses.

Table: 4.7**Description of Political Parties on Implementation of Programmes for Enhancing Women's Participation**

SN	Political Party	Programmes Implemented		Programmes Not Implemented	
		Number	%	Number	%
1	CPN (UML)	53	84.1	10	15.9
2	Nepali Congress	38	63.3	22	36.7
3	Nepali Congress (D)	29	53.7	25	46.3
4	People's Front Nepal	23	69.7	10	30.3
5	CPN (Maoist)	11	84.6	2	15.4
6	National People's Front	10	71.4	4	28.6
7	CPN (United)	8	66.7	4	33.3
8	NSP (A)	5	55.6	4	44.4
9	Nepal Workers & Peasants Party	5	100.0	0	0.0
10	CPN (ML)	5	45.5	6	54.6
11	RPP	2	20.0	8	80.0
12	Rastriya Janashakti Party	2	33.3	4	66.7
13	CPN (United Marxist)	2	100.0	0	0.0
14	CPN (Unified)	0	0.0	1	100.0
15	RPP-Nepal	0	0.0	1	100.0
Total		193	65.7	101	34.4

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

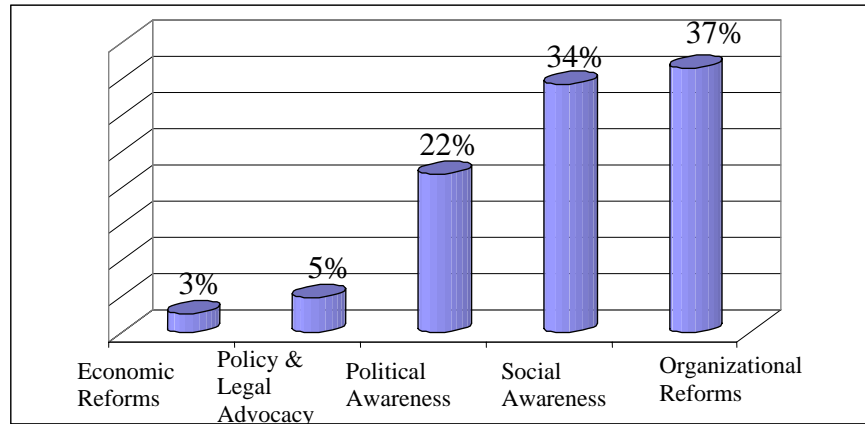
Among fifteen parties covered by the survey, thirteen parties have conducted more or less programmes related to increment of women's participation. The highest numbers of programmes were conducted by CPN (UML). Other parties such as NC, PFN, CPN (Maoist) and RJM have conducted programmes to some extent. But other parties have no significant number of programmes conducted.

Details and status of the programmes

This section presents the nature of the programmes conducted by the political parties for the increment of women's participation.

Figure: 4.9

Nature of the Programmes Implemented by Political Parties



As shown in the figure above, among programmes conducted by the parties, the programmes on awareness building were the most prioritized ones (56%). In this, social awareness has 34% priority and political awareness has 22%. The programmes on organizational improvement (37%) included the activities related to formation, expansion, coordination and contacts. In addition, the parties have conducted the programmes on policy and legal advocacy (4%) and programmes of economic reform (3%).

From the above details, we can conclude that the political parties have yet to implement remarkable and effective programmes with concrete and special priority to increase women's participation in the parties. The above mentioned programmes mostly include the organizational and managerial activities of the party. Initiation of political parties in women centered programmes is extremely necessary in the coming days.

Table 4.8 below presents a total of 753 responses dividing them in three columns based on their similarities.

Table : 4.8

Programmes Implemented by Political Parties to Increase Women's Participation

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Programmes	Number	%
1	Social awareness	Empowerment	Women's awareness development programmes	94	12.5
2			Leadership development training	29	3.9
3			Workshops, seminars, mass meetings, rallies and events on women's rights	69	9.2
4			Women literacy programmes	14	1.9
5			Campaigns against untouchability, motivation to Dalit women & action taken on women's complaints	10	1.3
6		Increasing participation & awareness	Participation in local public interest issues/ campaigns	30	4.0
7			Various political awareness programmes	22	2.9

8	Economic reforms		Financial support for women organization's programmes & income generation & skill development programmes for women	19	2.5
9	Organizational reforms	Organization building	Formation of women's organization in every VDC	50	6.6
10			Team for formation of people's organizations in each VDC	12	1.6
11			Women's participation in formation of people's organizations	40	5.3
12		Expansion	Circulars to VDC level party units to increase women membership	12	1.6
13			"One male party member make one women member" campaign	59	7.8
14			Involved larger number of women in people's organizations	36	4.8
15		Strengthening	Made women's participation in each village/ Ilaka party committee & monitoring it by a special team	44	5.8
16			Regular programmes through party women department	20	2.7
17		Political awareness	Training & awareness	Orientation to rural women	63
18	Orientation about CA Elections & women candidacy			16	2.1
19	Mass meetings, workshops, interactions, door-to-door visit programmes			35	4.6
20	Non-formal education, educational awareness, coordination with NGOs			11	1.5
21	Participation		Made women participant at party programmes	31	4.1
22	Demonstration		Demonstrations by women	9	1.2
23	Policy & legal advocacy	Policy provisions	Made women representatives mandatory in district/central meeting or general assembly	20	2.7
24		Increasing access, opportunities/ reservation	Initiation for making provisions of opportunities & reservation in party constitution, & access to state power positions for women	8	1.1
Total				753	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

4.1.7. State of Inter-party Women's Collaboration and Networks

After the royal coup of 1st February 2005 and subsequent oppression to the democratic political parties, all such parties have begun to collaborate in common issues. Consequently, the people's movement of 2006 (*Janaandolan-II*) became successful in joint collaboration of the then seven political parties and the CPN (Maoist). This tradition of inter-party

collaboration in conduct of the state is also prevailing in other social and political spheres. The efforts and practices of inter-party collaboration in the common issues of women's political rights, interests, access and effectiveness are some examples in this respect.

The practice of inter-party women's collaboration was then started at a minimal level at the central level and in some districts. Many women leaders have been familiar to its rational and effectiveness after formation of Women's Democratic Network in various 54 districts of Nepal under the campaign of Women's Democratic Network. Women empowerment in the real sense is impossible until and unless there will be a single voice among the women leaders even having different political thoughts, principles and values on the issues of women's participation, empowerment and access, and the enhancement of women's participation is impossible without women empowerment.

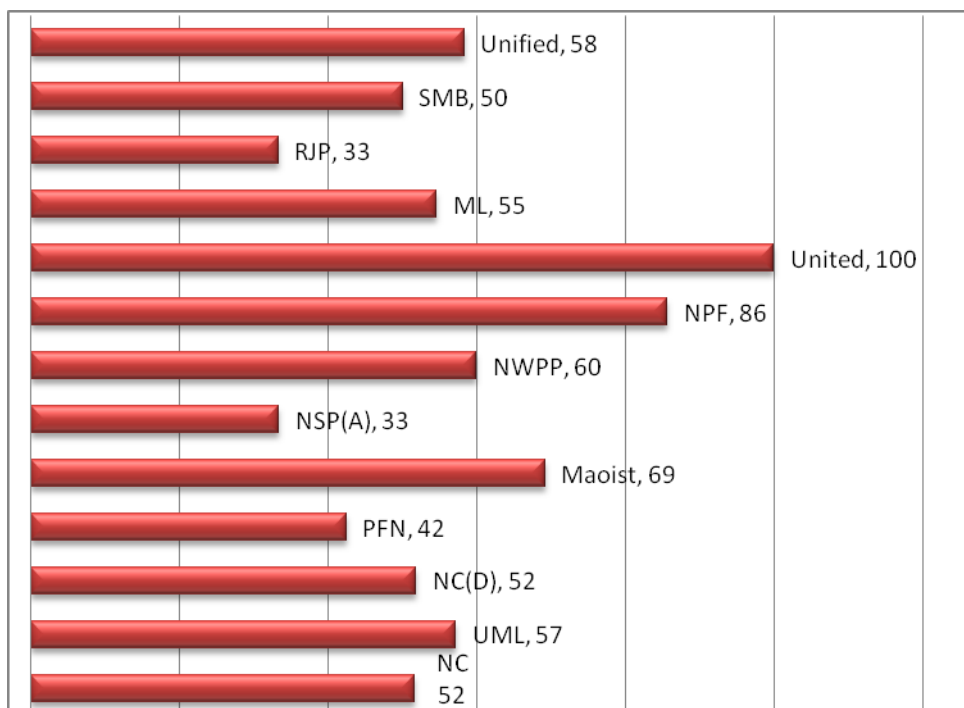
This report is based on the research conducted before the formation of WDNs in various districts. This section presents mostly the views of male party leaders.

(a) Application of Women's Inter-party Collaboration System

Figure 4.10 below presents the information on the level of women's inter-party collaboration practices carried out by various political parties.

Figure: 4.10

Application of Inter-Party Women's Collaboration System (%)



As shown in the figure above, at the time of the survey, only about half of the party chiefs (52% on average) have said that they had practices of women's inter-party collaboration (some parties having only one or two respondents are seen 100%).

In the context that political parties had yet to begin this collaboration by themselves, Women's Democratic Network Project played the coordinating role by bringing women

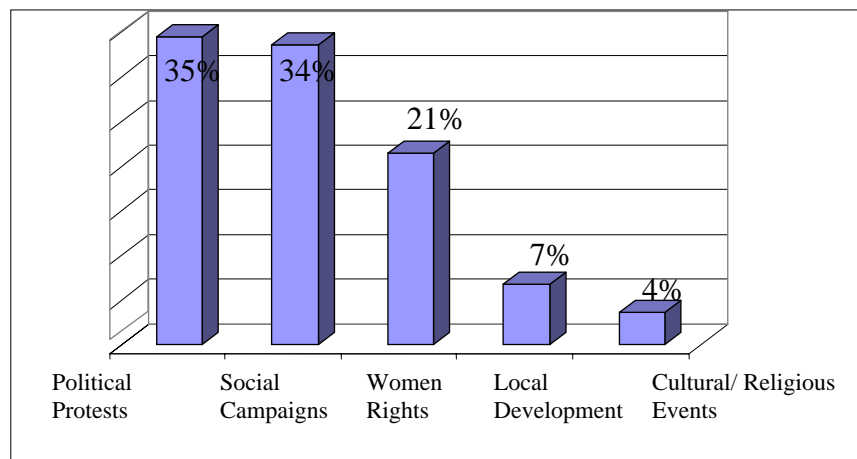
leaders of various parties into a single forum to work together in their common issues. Thus, it can be estimated that present status is more improved, however specific study in this respect is still remaining.

(b) Areas of Inter-party Women’s Coordination and Collaboration

Figure 4.11 presents the areas in which women’s inter-party collaboration had been done in the past. The analysis on this follows thereafter.

Figure: 4.11

Areas of Inter-Party Women's Collaboration (%)



The above figure shows that the highest degree of women’s inter-party collaboration has been during the political and social reforms movements (35% and 34% respectively). While talking about the teamwork during political movements, it was the best at the time of the ‘people’s movement-II’ of 2006. Afterward, some practices of such collaboration is continue mostly in awareness building programmes, orientation on current political issues such as CA activities. Likewise, social reforms movements include the efforts of eliminating social malpractices, celebrating various days and festivals, organizations discussions, interactions and other programmes, etc.

Another important area of women’s inter-party cooperation has been the protection of women rights (21%). Besides the aforementioned matters, women’s inter-party partnership is also seen in the local developmental activities (7%) and celebrating cultural and religious occasions collectively (4%).

Table 4.10 below presents the areas of inter-party collaboration on the basis of a total of 556 responses received.

Table : 4.9

Areas of Women’s Cross-Party Collaboration and Coordination

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Areas	Number	%
1	Social reform movement	Social reforms	Programs against social discriminations	11	2.0
2			Launching social activities & social development works	21	3.8
3		Occassions &	Programmes to celebrate various days &	75	13.5

		celebrations	occassions		
4			Social pressures	6	1.1
5			Campaigns against social malpractices	14	2.5
6		Interactions	Interaction programmes	25	4.5
7			Common issues	31	5.6
8			Skill development	4	0.7
9	Women's rights	Issues of rights	Issues related to women rights	59	10.6
10		Domestic violence	Cases of domestic violence against women	28	5.0
11			Problems of women	21	3.8
12			Movement against alcoholism & women's security	11	2.0
13	Local developmental activities		Women centred local development programmes	30	5.4
14			Programmes of all-party mechanism	8	1.4
15	Political movement	People's movement	National people's movement	115	20.7
16		Training programmes	Programmes on political awareness building	28	5.0
17			Orientation programme on Constituent Assembly	15	2.7
18		Political collaboration	Collaboration for political agreement	34	6.1
19	Cultural & religious occassions		Women related festivals	15	2.7
20			Income generation programmes	5	0.9
Total				556	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

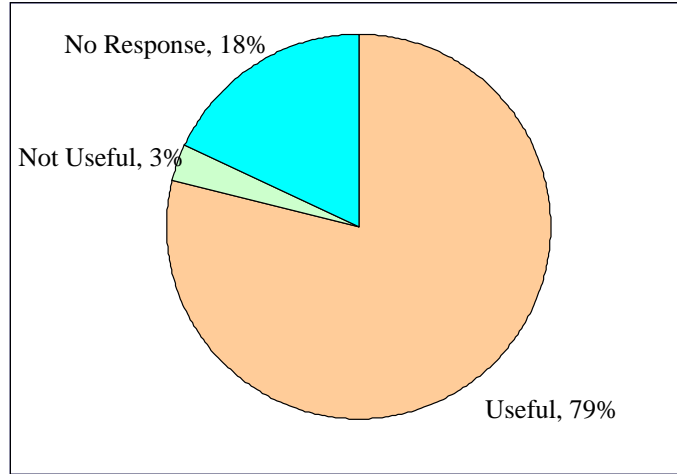
From the above deliberation, it is found that women's inter-party cooperation has been started. However, the need of further collaboration with specific roadmap is clearly seen for the necessary improvement in related policy documents of the parties and the state and their proper implementation. It is extremely difficult to fulfill the gap of women's access to various units of the parties and the state with the help of collaboration of present level. Women affiliated to all the political parties should move ahead with the campaigns of lobby and advocacy collectively and effectively along with specific plan of actions. This only can gradually contribute in the overall women's advancement.

(c) Views of District Party Chiefs on Women's Inter-party Collaboration

Figure 4.12 below presents the usefulness of women's inter-party collaboration based on the views of the district level party chiefs.

Figure : 4.12

Usefulness of Women’s Inter-Party Collaboration



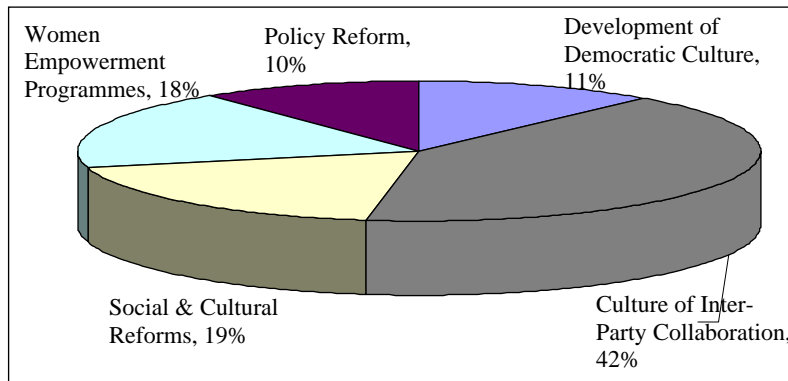
As shown in the figure above, 79% respondents have found the women's inter-party cooperation system and practices useful and only 3% have not. Likewise, 18% respondents were silent. This means, a total of 21% party chiefs could not adopt this system and practice into their organizations. So, it is necessary to develop awareness even among the persons in party leadership about women's inter-party collaboration system. However, it can be estimated that the situation has certainly been improved along with the expansion and effectiveness of the WDNs at various levels.

(d) Achievements of Women's Inter-party Collaboration

Figure 4.13 below presents the views of the respondents on the achievements of women's inter-party cooperation practices in the political parties. The responses are presented dividing them in five parts based on their similarities.

Figure: 4.13

Achievements of Women’s Inter-Party Collaboration



The development of culture of inter-party partnership among the women leaders affiliated to different political parties who were not ready even to talk frankly to women of other party in the past was one of the biggest achievements (42%). This has made possible the

activities like solving the common problems collectively, creating environment of effective lobby and advocacy, mutual learning etc.

Various social and cultural malpractices, bad customs and values are major obstructions and challenges for women's political participation and access. It will be possible to eliminate such obstructions only when women of all political parties work together with common belief. This will help to create the environment of trust in the society. In the past, social and cultural campaigns like these were affected mainly due to the political conflicts. The practices of opposition only for opposition were rampant at that time. However, these campaigns have become more effective through women's inter-party partnerships.

Other achievements of women's inter-party cooperation include social and cultural achievements (19%) such as encouragement in local developmental activities, easier mitigation of local disputes and support in eliminating the male-dominated thinking. Moreover, direct contribution in women empowerment (18%), contribution in development of democratic culture (11%) and contribution in policy reforms (10%) were other notable achievements in this regards.

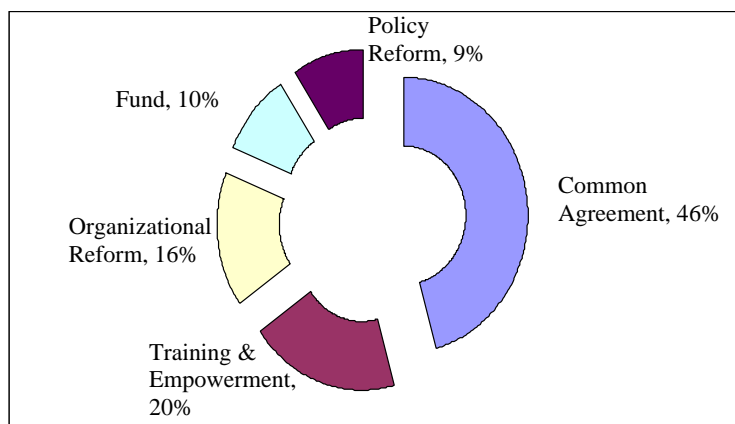
Analyzing the aforesaid achievements, it seems that the campaign of women's inter-party cooperation has simply begun for the enhancement of women's political participation and access to meaningful positions. It is remaining to develop it with proper priority. Today's collaboration is only limited to various social and cultural problems prevailing in our society. It is extremely necessary that women leaders of all the political parties should proceed with clear and positive vision to make the collaboration system more effective for the overall advancement of women.

(e) Areas of Improvement for Better Women's Inter-party Collaboration

This section analyzes the areas of improvements for more effective women's inter-party collaboration on the basis of the responses received from the district chiefs of the political parties. Figure 4.14 below presents five broad areas of improvements derived from a total of 901 responses based on their similarities.

Figure: 4.14

Sectors of Reform for Better Women's Inter-Party Collaboration



As presented in the figure above, identification of women's common problems and their solutions and development of common programmes along with their effective

implementation are the foremost necessities to make women's inter-party alliance more effective (46%). For this, it is recommended that women affiliated to all the political parties should identify the issues of internal conflicts as well and march ahead discarding the non-progressive thoughts. This campaign should be lead by the inter-party women's networks.

It is also recommended for the expansion of the WDNs up to village level (25%) and party policy reforms (9%) to make the women's inter-party cooperation more effective. The priority also has been given to women empowerment (20%) through various training, orientation etc. to the women leaders.

In addition to the above, fund allocation and its proper management and income generation programmes and employment opportunities for the economic empowerment of women are also important needs for the effectiveness of women's inter-party partnerships (10%).

Table 4.10 below presents the details of the responses received with regard to the areas of improvement for effective women's inter-party collaboration.

Table: 4.10

Areas of Improvement for Effective Cross-Party Women's Collaboration

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Empowerment programmes such as training, orientation, etc.	Training	Training for network members on political, management, legal & current issues	117	13.0
2		Awareness	Workshops, hearings & discussions on women's rights	36	4.0
3		Discussions	Interactions to develop self-confidence in women	23	2.6
4	Fund	Collection	Fund raising & its transparent mobilization	68	7.5
6		Income generation	Programmes for women employment & independency	19	2.1
7	Establishing agreement for common purpose	Identification of common problems	Identification of women's common problems	65	7.2
8			Identification of internal conflicts	18	2.0
9			Abandonment of status-quo thinking	24	2.7
10		Formulation of common policies	Unity on women issues irrespective of party politics	43	4.8
11			Maintaining agreement, cooperation & protection of party, & suggestion & pressure to party as needed	79	8.8
12			Unity for political rights	32	3.6
13			Specific policies & objectives of network	23	2.6
15	Common programmes		Interactions to address the inter-party issues; avoiding mindset of groupism	24	2.7
16			Women's role for oppressed class	12	1.3
17			Joint programmes & struggles	33	3.7

18			Special actions related to awareness & education for proportional representation	29	3.2	
19			Active participation in development activities	14	1.6	
20			Continuity in programmes of the network	20	2.2	
21	Organizational reform	Building	Common & inclusive network for rights	47	5.2	
22				Network's office at district	13	1.4
23				Formation of VDC level networks	17	1.9
24		Expansion	Unity among network members on women's problems	9	1.0	
25			Mandatory representation from network in each development committee	17	1.9	
26		Strengthening	Network's capacity building through institutional development	25	2.8	
27			Motivating capable women for network leadership through transformation of feudal culture	11	1.2	
28	Policy reform	Discussion, formulation & implementation	Developing network policies in common agreement	53	5.9	
29			Formulation of constitution, bylaws, code of conduct & their implementation	19	2.1	
30			Policy of bringing young generation in leadership in a democratic process	11	1.2	
Total				901	100	

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

4.1.8. The Reasons for Failing to Get the Leadership Position by Even the Equally Capable Women

The status of women's access to leadership positions is more vulnerable than that of their participation in politics. There are only 1.5% women in DWC leadership of the political parties. This is an alarming situation. This section presents the elements playing roles behind this situation.

Table 4.11 below presents the reasons behind failing to get leadership position by women despite their equal capabilities. The presentation is based on a total of 1,211 responses which have been accumulated into four groups and these groups are further divided into three sub-groups on the basis of their similarities.

Table : 4.11

Reasons for not Having Women's Access to Party Leadership despite Equal Capability

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Reasons	Number	%
1	Social reasons	Male-dominated society	Male-domination disregarded women	105	8.7
2			Traditional social structure	76	6.3
3			Society's denial of equal freedom for women	46	3.8

			& women's physical responsibilities			
4			Conservative social beliefs	44	3.6	
5			Lack of social regards	20	1.7	
6			Women's unwillingness towards politics	51	4.2	
7		Family reasons	Household responsibilities obstructing continuity in politics	157	13.0	
8		Educational reasons	Lack of educational/political awareness in women in general	45	3.7	
9			Trailing behind due to lower educational status	41	3.4	
10	Party & state policies	Lack of inclusive policy	Lacking adequate rights due to discriminatory state policies & less women candidacy	35	2.9	
11		State system	Unitary state system & discouraging environment	21	1.7	
12		Party policy	Lack of specific party policy on women's participation & party split	40	3.3	
13	Economic reasons	Access to economic resources	Lack of access to & control in economic resources	41	3.4	
14				Lack of equal ownership in property	24	2.0
15				Lack of women's involvement in productive activities	19	1.6
16		Poverty	Lack of income sources & financial management skills	28	2.3	
17				More importance by aware and capable women to employment than politics	26	2.1
18	Traditional party leadership	Biases	Male-dominated leadership system of the party	38	3.1	
19				Biased attitude of party leadership	35	2.9
20				Lack of political access	29	2.4
21		Deprivation from opportunities	Male leaders' mentality to occupy posts	18	1.5	
22				Lack of equal opportunities & special rights by party	55	4.5
23				Lack of self-confidence in women to take opportunities	132	10.9
24				Lack of women's organized pressure groups, discipline & contribution, and leg-pulling attitude	24	2.0
25			Lack of trust	Lack of trust to women leadership	61	5.0
Total				1211	100.0	

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

As shown in the table above, adverse social condition is the major reason that does not allow even capable women to reach at leadership post. Furthermore, male-dominated social values have stood as the biggest obstacles (overall 28.2%). Social reasons include matters

such as lack of cooperation and motivation from the family and lack of opportunity of enhancing educational qualifications.

Traditional thought of the party leadership is another important reason. Here, the term 'party leadership' is used for the male leaders who have about almost control in the present structures of the parties. Other key obstacles on the path of women's leadership include the lack of confidence in these male leaders who can play decisive roles for women's access to the leadership that women can lead the party (13.8%), depriving women of the available opportunities (10.2%) and bias towards women (8.4%).

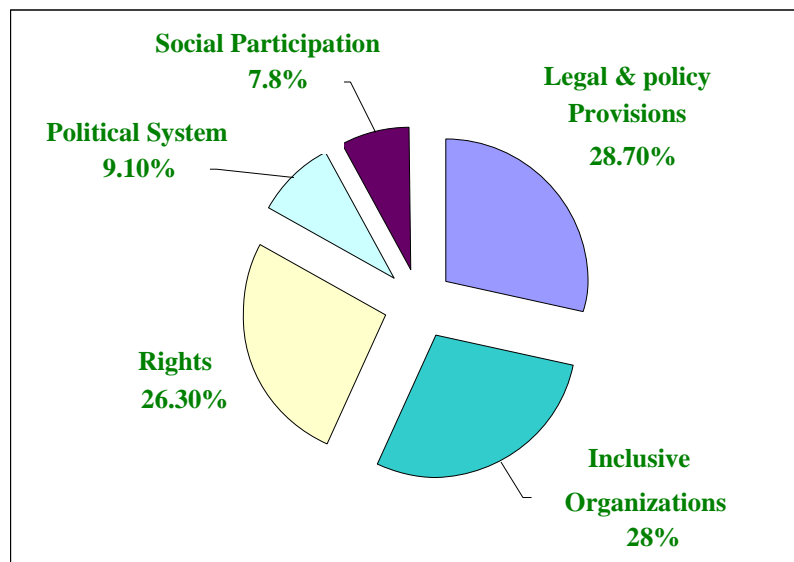
Similarly, economic reasons like lack of access to economic resource, poverty etc. (11.4%) and exclusive and unfavorable party and state policies (7.9%) are other major reasons in this regard.

Thus, the reasons behind depriving women from the leadership roles are related to the society, own political party, economic condition and the state in the priority order. From this, it becomes clear that work should be started right from the family, society and the political party to improve status of women leadership. The expected achievements might be fulfilled only after reaching to the stage of reforming the party and state policies through social awareness, women empowerment, lobby and advocacy.

4.1.9. Inclusion Related Programmes of the Parties and Sister Organizations

This section deals on the inclusion issues of minority and marginalized groups including Dalit, indigenous nationalities, Madheshi etc. in the political parties and their sister organizations. Figure 4.15 below presents the expected activities of the district level units of the parties and sister organizations for the inclusion perspective.

Figure 4.15: Inclusion Related Programmes to Be Conducted by the Parties



According to the figure above, special importance has been given to the legal and policy provisions (28.7%), inclusive organizations (28%) and security of the rights (26.3%) for ensuring inclusions in the political parties and their sister organizations.

Table 4.12 below presents the responses received from the party chiefs at district level with regard to the actions required for maintaining inclusion in the parties. A total of 1,155 responses have been summarized into 29 categories on the basis of their similarities.

Table: 4.12

Party Roles to Increase Representation of Women from among Marginalized/ Minority Groups

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Social participation	Development activities	Mandatory participation in developmental activities	12	1.0
2		Empowerment	Interaction against social discrimination; cultural awareness, etc.	52	4.5
3			Programmes on self-dependence; scholarships; and initiatives of empowerment through different organizations	26	2.3
4	Inclusive organizations	Policy provisions	Formulation & implementation of inclusive policies	90	7.8
5			Quota in employment opportunities	22	1.9
6			Representation based on class, castes & number	32	2.8
7			Right to self-determination on ethnic & regional basis; recognition to mother tongue; formation of ethnic organizations; & secularism	17	1.5
8		Opportunities	Priority in membership and nomination in committees	50	4.3
9			Priority in leadership opportunities to target groups including Dalit & disabled	51	4.4
10		Participation	Mandatory participation in party committees & units	41	3.5
11	Participation in inclusion related training		20	1.7	
12	Legal and policy provisions	Reservation	Reservation of seats for target groups in political party	134	11.6
13			Reservation in executive, parliament & judiciary	13	1.1
14			Compulsory education	25	2.2
15		Inclusiveness	Access to policy making & implementation level positions	29	2.5
16			Pressurizing the state for proper implementation of inclusion policies	42	3.6
17			Inclusion based on geography	16	1.4

18			Publicity of inclusion policies, political orientation & network building at VDC level	37	3.2
19		Elimination of discrimination	Elimination of discriminatory laws	36	3.1
20	Political system	State structure	Federal democratic republican state system	23	2.0
21		Party policy	Orientation on party policies & programmes	29	2.5
22			Proper implementation of party constitution	23	2.0
23			Opportunity in elections	11	1.0
24		Implementation	Sincere implementation of inclusion policies	20	1.7
25	Rights	Opportunities	Educational opportunities to community level women	28	2.4
26			Opportunities of self-determination, employment, free health, equal wages, etc.	47	2.1
27		Empowerment	Programmes on knowledge of inclusive policies & changing social thinking	42	3.6
28			Political awareness/training to target groups	154	13.3
29			Making participant, organized & aware towards their rights in every sector	33	2.8
Total				1,155	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

Above table shows that it is the matter of utmost priority to make party and state policies and laws inclusive for enhancing the participation of women from among the minority and marginalized communities in the parties (28.7%). Need of making the organizations inclusive is equally important suggestion received (28%). Besides this, high priority is also given to the need of ensuring the rights of women from these communities through opportunities and empowerment (26.3%).

Likewise, the respondents have also given stress to the wider publicity of inclusion policies of the parties and their proper implementation, federal state system based on the ethnicity and class and certainty of implementation of inclusion policies of the state (9%). Other actions recommended include maximum mobilization of such groups in social participatory works including developmental activities, conduct of social awareness programmes, etc. (7.8%).

Analyzing the above situation, it is clear that actions for proper inclusion of minority and marginalized women are needed from the basic level as in the issues of women's overall participation. Therefore, it is necessary to move ahead with specific and time-bound action plan towards it. Since such groups are in more vulnerable condition in terms of empowerment, effective programmes of empowerment are extremely necessary for them.

4.2. Views and Suggestions of Women Leaders on Their Political Participation and Empowerment

This section presents the issues and suggestions related to women's political participation and empowerment as felt by the women leaders themselves. The problems faced by women leaders, way-outs of minimizing these problems and social views on their political involvement are dealt here. Moreover, matters such as the programmes conducted by political parties for the increment of women's participation, inter-party cooperation and areas of support to women for their stability and activeness in politics are also analyzed hereunder.

4.2.1. Women's Political Participation: Problems and Solutions

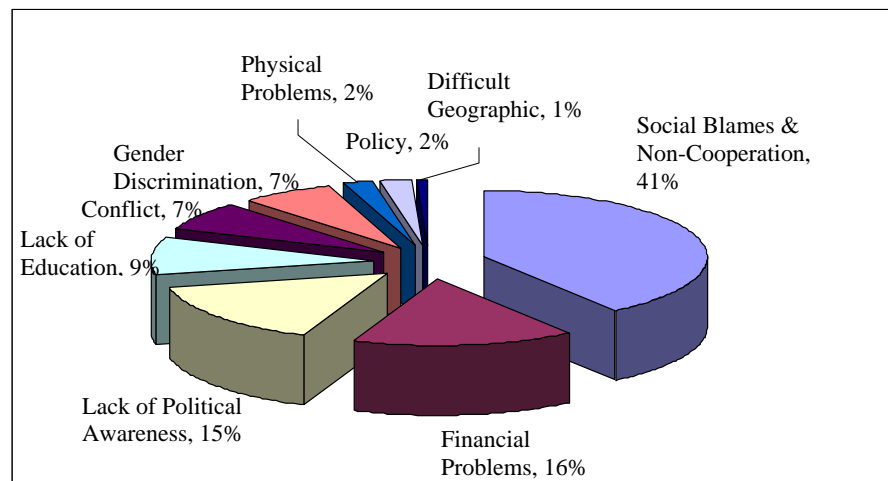
The problems on the path of increasing women's political participation and the steps to be taken to minimize these problems are dealt here. In addition to this, social perception towards women's political involvement, which has been one of the biggest obstacles, has also been analyzed in this section.

(a) Problems Faced by Women Politicians During Their Efforts of Increasing Participation

In this section, it is tried to analyze the problems that were faced by leading women politicians while trying to enhance women's participation in their party. Figure 4.16 below presents such problems dividing them into 9 categories.

Figure: 4.16

Problems Faced by Women Politicians in Efforts of Enhancing Women's Political Participation



From the above figure, the biggest problem has been pointed out to be the lack of positive and supportive role of the society towards women's political involvement (43%). Especially, lack of support and encouragement in an open and frank manner from the family to be involved in politics has been felt by women leaders. The family does not support women's involvement in politics because of fear from negative attitude of the society towards them. Similarly, it is difficult for women to be engaged in politics due to their workload and

family burden. Moreover, there are many religious practices that obstruct women's political involvement.

Another important problem is the economic problem (17%). Since politics is generally a voluntary work, women who are unable spend money for party activities, can not be involved fully despite their interest. In addition, the respondents have also viewed that even after being established in the party, they feel difficulty in paying regular and contingency fees and contributions.

The lack of political awareness has also been pointed out as equally significant problem by the respondents (17%). Because of the lack of political orientation for women, they have faced the problems like lack of increase in competitive capacity, tendency of fear from competition, deteriorating interest towards politics etc. Similarly, because of the lack of awareness, problems like lack of intra-party and inter-party collaboration among women, growth in unhealthy competition, tendency of humiliating smaller parties by the larger ones, inactiveness of knowledgeable and capable leaders, etc.

Other mentionable problems existent on the path of increasing women's participation include the lack of education, sexual discrimination, conflict etc. Comparatively, the respondents have given less priority to the problems such as women's specific physical condition, policy issues and geographical hideousness. Table 4.03 below presents a total of 3,4,95 responses in this regard accumulating them into 8 broader headings.

Table: 4.13

Problems Faced by Women Politicians in Efforts of Enhancing Women's Political Participation

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Major Problems	Number	%
1	Social allegations & non-cooperation	Family	Non-cooperation from male members, excessive pressures, responsibilities, violence & conflict	717	20.5
2		Culture	Cultural problems: religious barriers, Ghumto & dowry system	72	2.1
3		Distrust, narrow minded behaviour	Social criticisms and lack of opportunities from party	435	12.4
4			Lack of social security, corruption, charges, false cases, etc.	75	2.1
5			Men's harassment in getting meaningful party positions, underestimating women's capacity	81	2.3
6		Workload	Dual responsibility of home & party, hindrances, changes after marriage & complex issues of villages	115	3.3
7	Financial problems	Low income source & dependency	Financial responsibilities, party work in own high cost, loosing income	79	2.3

8			Problems of food, transportation & stay	60	1.7
9			Lack of own earning/ paternal property; extreme poverty	469	13.4
10	Policy issues	Lack of proper evaluation	Lack of proper evaluation practices of party cadres in party & nepotism & favours	78	2.2
11	Physical problems		Child rearing responsibility, physical weakness & insecurity	86	2.5
12	Lack of political awareness	Lack of political training	Lack of political consciousness/ leadership skills/ competitive thinking	356	10.2
13			Women's thinking politics as a dirty game, detestation & indifference towards it & lack of tricks for political success	64	1.8
14		Lack of mutual cooperation	Lack of activeness & protection of knowledgeable women, women's low participation in programmes, unhealthy competition for posts	37	1.1
15			Disturbance in programmes by other party, tortures, dominating attitude of larger parties, lack of women's unity & trust for leadership	47	1.3
16			Problem to make understand	Difficulty to make local villagers understand about politics & women's low participation due to difficult terrain	71
17	Gender discrimination	Lack of opportunities	No or nominal responsibility to women in party	57	1.6
18			Lack of family motivation, access to information, caste discrimination	31	0.9
19		Non-cooperative behaviour	Humiliation from party & male members, distrust, disregard, social inequality & attitude of diminishing women's confidence by male leaders	100	2.9
20		Discrimination within family	Gender discrimination, husband's dislike to politician wife, disinterest towards politics in higher class families	59	1.7
21	Lack of education	Quality education	Lack of education, intellectual strength & self-confidence	218	6.2
22			Inability to study party	89	2.5

			constitution, policy documents & others		
23		Awareness	Low participation in programmes, unorganized & narrow mindedness	42	1.2
24	Remoteness & conflict		Problems in organization building in remote areas due to conflict & threats from opposition parties	57	1.6
Total				3,495	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

While analyzing the status of women's participation, it is found that social, domestic and economic problems are the basic problems in the campaign of increasing women's political participation. The common charges that women are physically weaker than men and it hampers their movement during party works especially to remote villages have nominal preferences (3%). Similarly, geographical reasons have less priority (2%). On the other hand, the women leaders have given very low preference to the policy related issues (2%) although they are the basic problems.

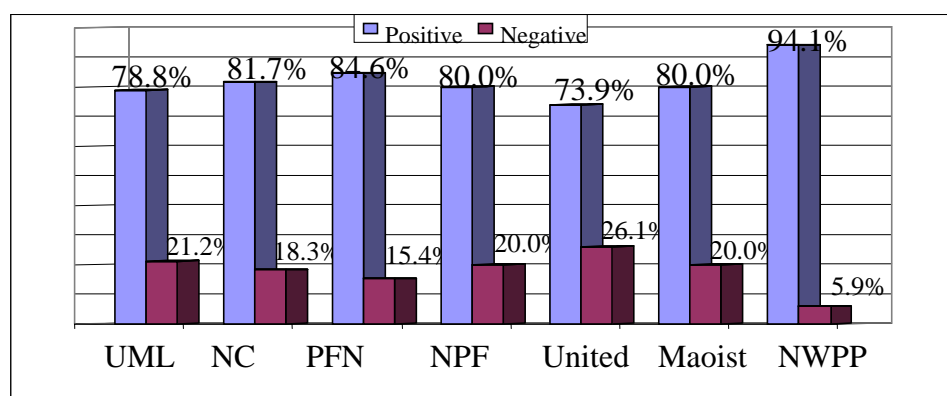
From the above deliberation, it can be concluded that the debate of increasing women's political participation has not reached to the policy level and it is still entangling around the family, village and society.

(b) Social Perception towards Women's Political Participation

Negative perception of the society is one of the significant issues on the path of increasing women's political participation. Figure 4.17 below presents the party-wise status of social perception as observed by the women leaders themselves towards their political involvement.

Figure : 4.16

Social Attitude towards Women's Political Participation



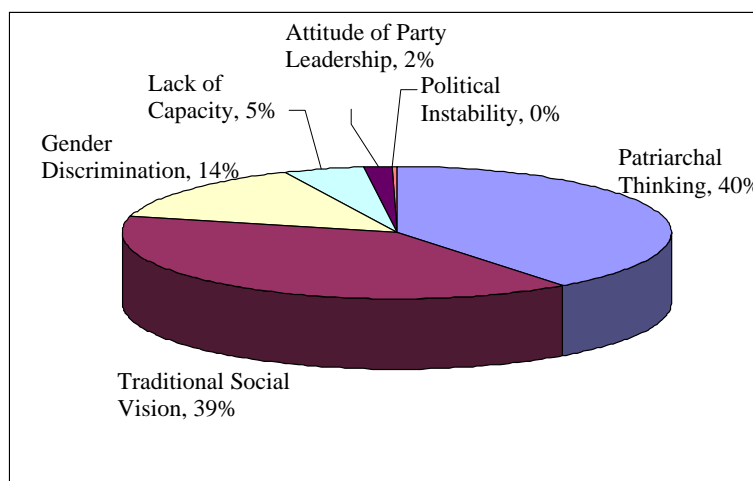
Above figure shows that about 20% women leaders of almost all the political parties have opined that they have felt negative social perception towards their political involvement. This is the view of district level women leaders. So, it can easily be assumed that women leaders of lower party hierarchy are more affected from this phenomenon. While observing

the party-wise status, women leaders affiliated to the NWPP have the lowest level negative social feelings.

Figure 4.18 below presents the reasons behind such negative social perception towards women's political involvement.

Figure: 4.18

Reasons for Negation Social Attitude towards Women’s Political Involvement



As shown in the figure above, patriarchal social thought (40%) and traditional vision (39%) are the major reasons of negative social attitude towards women's political involvement. We have age long traditions and practices that women are more involved in the household works and men have the responsibility of outdoor jobs. Women's involvement in politics is an act against this tradition.

Other reasons include gender discrimination (14%) and negative attitudes and behaviour of present political leadership (mostly male) towards women. Likewise, women have yet to enhance their capacity to refute the negative views against them (5%).

Moreover, there are many other reasons such as low educational level, lack of family support, dependency on men, discrimination by the state, political instability etc. for the negative social attitude towards women's political participation.

Table 4.14 below presents a total of 376 responses consolidating them into 16 based on their similarities.

Table: 4.14

Reasons of Negative Social Attitude towards Women's Political Involvement

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Major Reasons	Number	%
1	Patriarchal thought		Negative impression towards women's involvement in politics	63	16.8
2			Male-dominated social values	43	11.4
3			Dislike of women's roles beyond households	43	11.4
4	Gender	Social	Excessive gender & ethnic	36	9.6

	discrimination		discrimination		
5		Family	Family detestation of women's political involvement	13	3.5
6		From state	State behavior towards women as second class citizen	5	1.3
7	Attitude & behavior of political leadership		No opportunities in party activities; selfish leadership	6	1.6
8	Lack of capacity	Capacity	Gaps between said and done	9	2.4
9		Leadership skills	Inability to social awareness & influence	10	2.7
10	Social	Culture	Conservative & feudalistic customs	53	14.1
11			Women's dependency on men	6	1.6
12			Ghumto & Parda system	3	0.8
13		Lack of education	Difficulty in convincing the society due to lack of education	26	6.9
14	Lack of consciousness		Society's misunderstanding towards politics	28	7.4
15			Lack of political consciousness in society	31	8.2
16			Political instability	1	0.3
Total				376	100.0

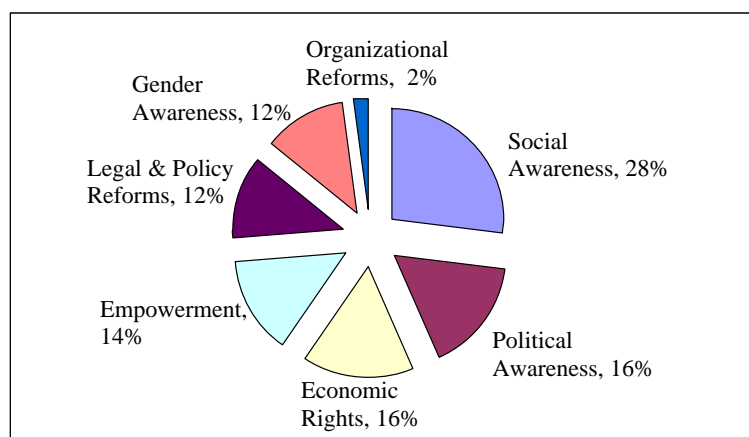
Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

(c) Measures for Minimizing the Problems of Women's Political Representation

This section analyzes the recommendations of the respondents on the measures for minimizing the problems that exist as obstacles on the way of increasing women's political participation. Figure 4.19 below presents a total of 3,437 responses accumulating them in seven categories on the basis of their similarities.

Figure: 4.19

Steps to Be Taken to Minimize the Problems of Women's Political Representation



Above figure shows that awareness programmes including social (28%), political (16%) and gender (12%) awareness have been given the highest level of priority to minimize the problems of increasing women's political participation.

Likewise, woman empowerment has got the second priority into which economic right has been given more significance (16%) than that of training, orientation etc. (14%). Legal and policy reform is another important matter (12%) whereas organizational reform has got the least priority.

If we look at the level of priority of the respondents, the women leaders themselves have put the issue of women's political participation only in the second or third tier. More prioritized issues are basically social issues. It is memorable that the foundation of political involvement is the social context. It is the social structure that promotes the endeavors of increasing women's political participation. Therefore, it is primarily necessary to develop awareness among people with traditional thinking and unfriendly social elements. For this, wider and massive level campaigns of social awareness are needed.

Table 4.15 below presents a total of 3,437 responses in a three-staged framework.

Table : 4.14

Initiatives Needed to Minimize the Problems of Women Politicians

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Social awareness	Family	Cooperation, free time & inspiration from family members for politics	373	10.9
2		Positive discrimination	Motivation from society & teamwork among women	127	3.7
3			Special facilities to women in education, health & employment, & 50% participation in all sectors	47	1.4
4			Developing positive attitude towards women's involvement in politics	35	1.0
5		Joint campaigns	Ending up the feudalistic thinking, caste discrimination, male domination & conservative practices	149	4.3
6			Social participation, coordination with other organizations, political awareness programmes & media support	159	4.6
7			Role of true frontrunner by senior women leaders, good community relationship, peace & security	33	1.0
8	Economic rights	Financial support	Paternal property rights	64	1.9
9			Party fund for party works, government budgets for women & recognition/ rewards	85	2.5
10		Employment opportunities	Women's participation in income generation activities & skill development training	299	8.7

11			Women employment, proper evaluation of works & equal wages	103	3.0
12	Organizational	Common forum	Specific responsibilities, membership drives, caste inclusion & common movements	68	2.0
13	Empowerment	Rights & opportunities	Equal opportunities to women in all sectors including property, education, communication, etc.	187	5.4
14			Opportunities for development self-confidence, leadership development & non-formal education	241	7.0
15			Women rights, participation & wakefulness	62	1.8
16	Legal & policy reform	Formulation of policies & programmes	Security assurance	44	1.3
17			33% quota reservation in party, specific programmes & rebate in levy	58	1.7
18			Guarantee of women employment & financial planning for women's organization	45	1.3
19			Women rights & equality oriented state policy	46	1.3
20			Developmental works such as education, health, roads, etc. & women's involvement there in	38	1.1
21		Programme implementation	Emphasis on women education, political education & health services	150	4.4
22			Implementation of economic, social & political security	42	1.2
23	Gender awareness	Cooperation & opportunities	Implementation of gender approach by party & priority in responsibility for women	85	2.5
24			Teamwork between women & men, motivation for politics & responsibilities	184	5.4
25		Awareness	Awareness/training programmes on political, gender & rights issues at village level	147	4.3
26	Political awareness	Political training	Party programmes for political training & orientations	372	10.8
27			Priority to women for participation in workshops, training, etc.	50	1.5
28		Ideology & campaigns	Influencing the society through exemplary works, ideas, self-realization, abiding laws, justice, inter-party patience, etc.	33	1.0
29			Women's ideological strengths, management skills, knowledge of	37	1.1

			current political literatures and multiparty system		
30			All-party mechanism to bring political campaigns to women masses	74	2.2
Total				3437	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

4.2.2. Role of Political Parties in Enhancing Women's Political Participation

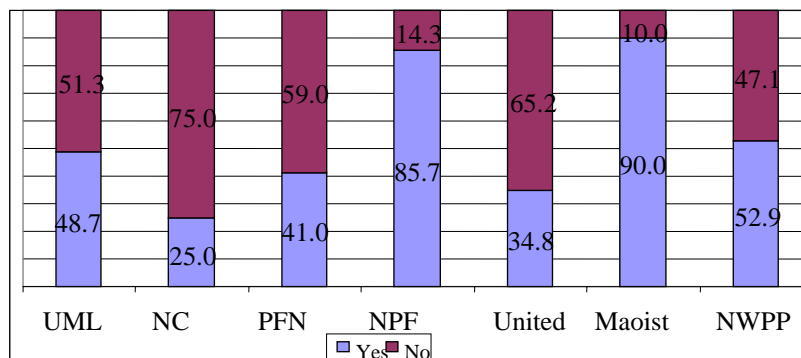
This section deals about the type of roles played by major political parties to increase women's participation in politics. For this, analysis has been carried out on whether the parties have conducted special programmes or not and if conducted, the nature of those programmes etc.

(a) Party Programmes on Women's Participation in Politics

This section illustrates about various programmes conducted by various political parties to increase women's participation in politics. Figure 4.20 below presents the data whether major seven political parties covered by the survey have conducted such programmes or not.

Figure: 4.20

Availability of Programmes of Political Parties for Enhancing Women's Participation (%)

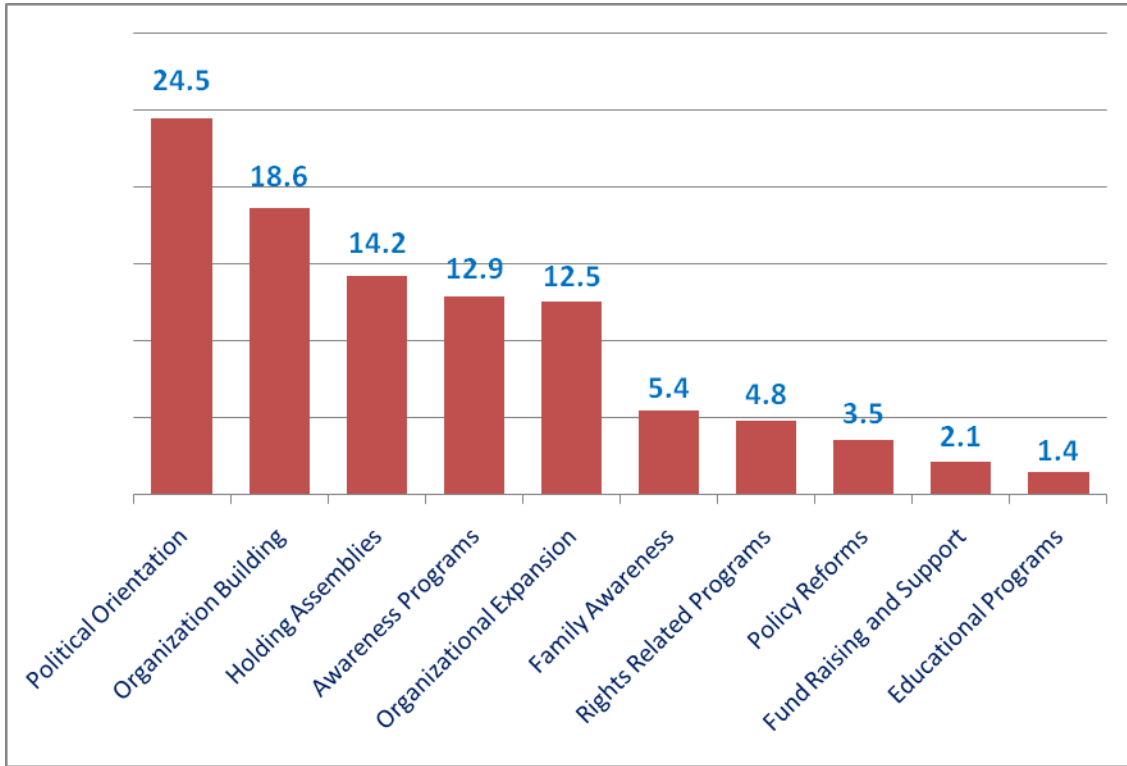


As shown in the figure above, only about 39% respondent women leaders have said that their political parties have conducted the programmes to increase women's participation. While looking party wise status, only 25% women leaders of NC said that such programmes were conducted. This ratio is 90% in the CPN (Maoist) and 86% in RJM. More than half of the leaders from CPN (UML) and PFN had negative answer.

Analyzing the above situation, it can be concluded that such programmes are immensely lacking in even the democratic political parties. This proves that the practices of conducting specific programmes focused on enhancing women's participation have yet to be effective in political parties. Figure 4.21 below presents the nature of such programmes conducted by the parties based on a total of 917 responses received.

Figure: 4.21

Programmes Conducted by the Political Parties to Enhance Women’s Participation (%)



Above figure shows that the political parties have given the highest priority to the political orientation programmes. Similarly, educational programmes are nominal there. Table 4.16 below presents in detail the programmes conducted by the parties for enhancing women's participation.

Table: 4.16

Programmes Implemented by Political Parties for Enhancing Women's Participation

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Programmes	Number	%
1	Women empowerment programmes	Political training	Political training	146	15.9
2			Production of organized & professional women party cadres	53	5.8
3			Women empowerment programmes	15	1.6
4			Training to develop ideological knowledge	11	1.2
5		Awareness	Campaigns for women awareness, empowerment & confidence building	86	9.4
6			Awareness programmes on Constituent Assembly & equality	32	3.5
7		Rights	Women health & legal rights related programmes	11	1.2
8			Raised women's 50% participation issues	12	1.3
9			Programmes on women rights/ proper rights	21	2.3

10	Policy reforms		Suggestions for party constitution amendment; implemented the campaign of "one man member make one women member"	10	1.1
11			Regular meetings & interactions	22	2.4
12	Social development	Family awareness	Programmes against domestic violence & politicalization of family members	18	2.0
13			Meetings at village and local places	18	2.0
14			Pressure for women's commission, single women's movement & coordination	13	1.4
15		Educational	Adult education classes & door-to-door campaigns for school admission	13	1.4
16	Organizational reform	Organization building	Formation of committees at villages, expansion & motivation for formation	156	17.0
17			Women's participation in sister organizations	15	1.6
18		Organizational expansion	Distribution of organized membership	84	9.2
19			Women's mandatory participation in each organization	27	2.9
20			Quota for Dalit, Janajati & Madhesi women in party working committee	4	0.4
21			Organizing assemblies	Organizing women's mass meetings	67
22			Workshops on party policies, constitution & Constituent Assembly	6	0.7
23			Increasing women's participation in various programmes	19	2.1
24			Organizing cultural programmes	16	1.7
25			Organizing monthly meetings & interactions	22	2.4
26	Economic access increment	Fund raising	Fund raising through Deusi-Bhailo & donation collection	12	1.3
27			Participation in skill development programmes	4	0.4
28		Support	Support to affected people through Cultural Club	4	0.4
Total				917	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

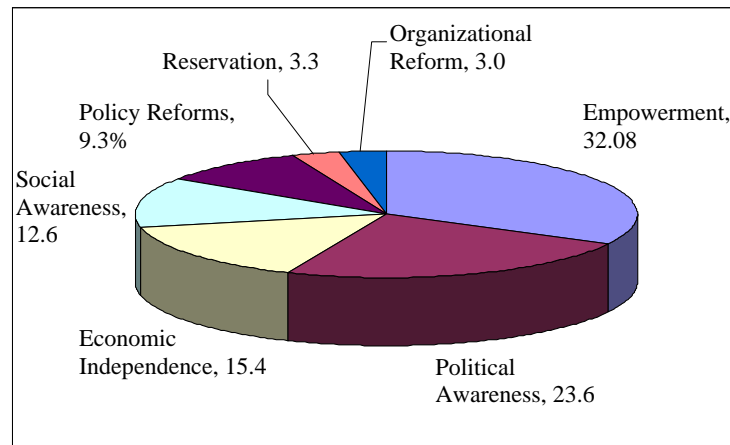
Looking at the table above, political parties do not conduct the programmes specifically to increase women's participation. The activities such as political orientation, membership distributions, formation and expansion of the organizations, awareness programmes, donations, supports etc. (78.2%) are the regular activities of parties. On the other hand, programmes such as amendment of the party Constitution, financial support to the women, participation enhancing campaigns like 'one male member make one female member' etc. have less space (21.8%). This has proved that political parties still have not given adequate attention towards enhancing women's participation.

(b) Programmes Needed to Enhance Women's Participation in Politics

Figure 4.22 below presents the characteristics of the programmes needed to be conducted to increase women's participation in politics in major seven headings.

Figure: 4.22

Programmes Needed to Increase Women's Participation (%)



According to the figure above, political parties should give emphasis basically on the programmes of women empowerment and building public awareness to increase women's participation in politics.

For the empowerment, it is recommended to conduct personality development programmes such as various knowledge and skills oriented orientations, training, informal education, political education etc. (32.8 %). Besides, programmes for economic empowerment such as income generation and equal property rights etc. have also been recommended (15.4%).

The respondents have also stressed the need of regular political awareness and orientation programmes (23.6%). Furthermore, it is suggested to form inter-party women's networks and conduct common campaigns of social awareness through these networks (12.6%).

Another important suggestion for enhancing women's participation in the political parties is policy reforms (9.3%). The parties should amend their Constitutions, Bylaws and other policy documents through analyzing them in terms of gender equality. They should also play pivotal roles in making the state policies and programmes on favour of women.

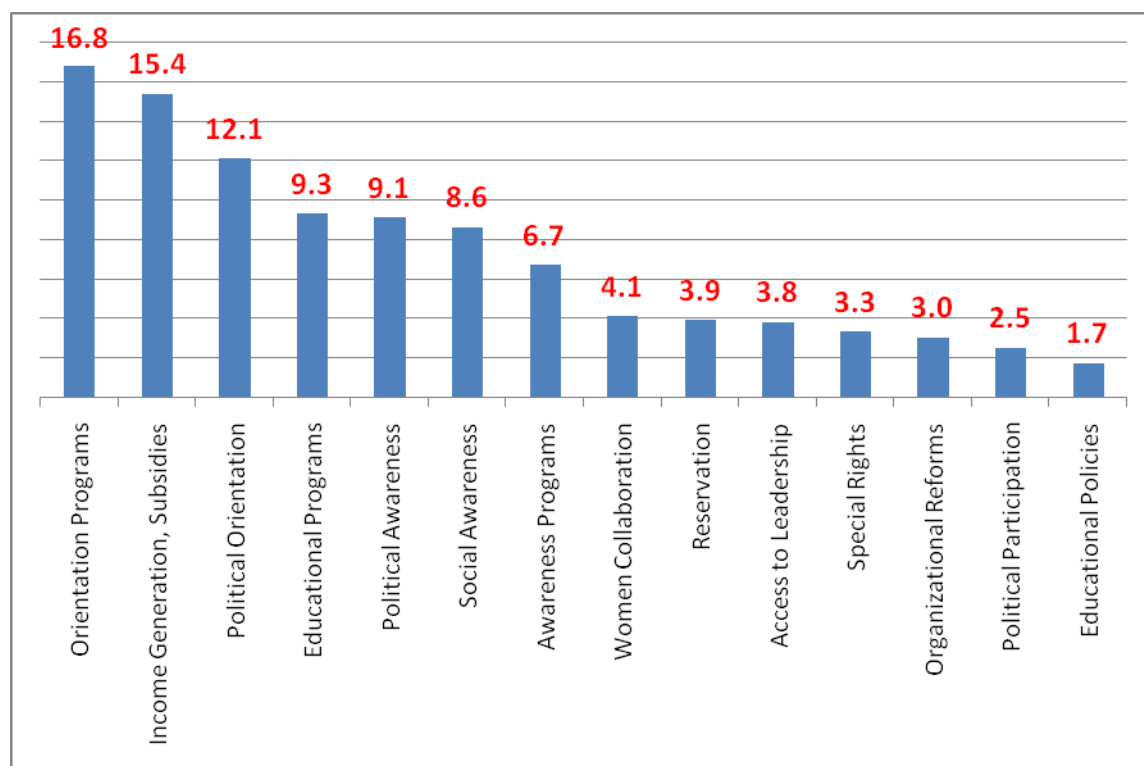
Other recommendations include that the parties should conduct women membership drive campaigns, and make the women's organizations and departments of the party more strengthened and effective.

Analyzing the recommendations above, it is found that the women leaders have stressed the need of social awareness and empowerment related programmes and measures. These are to some extent essential infrastructure with regard to the campaign of increasing women's political participation. So, enhancement of women's political participation is only possible with coordinated efforts of various stakeholders i.e. the political parties, networks, NGOs, CBOs, women rights activists etc. Such efforts should be implemented with specific plan of actions and high level of commitments. Only after this, women's participation may increase in expected level within short span of time.

Figure 4.23 below presents the programmes needed for increasing women's participation in a more elaborated way.

Figure: 4.23

Details of Programmes Needed to Increase Women's Participation (%)



The figure above also points out the need that the political parties should concentrate on women's capacity building measures including regular training, orientations, awareness, income generation, educational development etc. to improve in women's participation within the parties and to make such participation sustainable.

Table 4.17 below presents a total of 3,340 responses received from the women leaders. These responses have been accumulated into 31 programmes and they are also presented by dividing in 7 headings and 14 sub-headings.

Table: 4.17

Programmes to Be Implemented by Political Parties to Increase Women's Participation in Politics (Views of Women Leaders)

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Programmes	Number	%
1	Empowerment programmes	Training programmes	Training on gender equality & self-confidence building	119	3.6
2			Training on leadership development, leadership skills & programme facilitation skills	324	9.7
3			Training on women's rights & women development	118	3.5
4		Educational	Political non-formal education & political education	114	3.4
5			Programmes for women's intellectual development &	106	3.2

		program	public speaking (speech)		
6		mes	Non-formal education & girls' education	91	2.7
7		Awareness	Gender equality training with participation of men as well	99	3.0
8		program	Women's participation in interactions & workshops	61	1.8
9		mes	Awareness development against women violence & religious-social discrimination, and utilization of available opportunities	64	1.9
10	Organizational reform programmes		Rapid & straightforward programmes for women membership drive, party organization expansion & support to needy women	99	3.0
11	Programmes for economic self-reliance	Income generation, property & facilities	Women-centred income generation programmes & women's quota reservation	305	9.1
12			Skill development & self-reliance programmes at villages	143	4.3
13			Women's property rights & employment policies	47	1.4
14			Rebates in party levy, fees for women & party expenses for party works	19	0.6
15	Policy reform programmes	Educational policy	Women's education free & compulsory upto bachelors level, party's women education policy, basic legal education	57	1.7
16		Reservation & opportunities	Reservation for certain period & its proper utilization	69	2.1
17			Opportunity to women in every sector by family, society & party; opportunities to develop competitive capacity; priority to women's views while decision making	59	1.8
18		Access to leadership	Responsibility to women & initiation for equal participation	72	2.2
19			Development of vision positive towards women's leadership in party	55	1.6
20	Political awareness & training	Awareness campaigns	Political awareness programmes up to village level	277	8.3
21			Elimination of feudalistic cultures; inclusion & awareness on CA	24	0.7
22		Training programmes	Political training & workshops for women	327	9.8
23			Orientation on CA, party policy & current political issues	76	2.3
24	Political participation	Building women cell in each level & units of party and conducting programmes for increasing participation, participation in development activities & programme implementation	84	2.5	
25	Special rights		Positive discrimination & 50% women's participation	82	2.5
26		Responsibility to women in higher positions, candidacy & constitutional provisions	27	0.8	
27	Social	Awareness	Awareness & door-to-door campaigns on gender	179	5.4

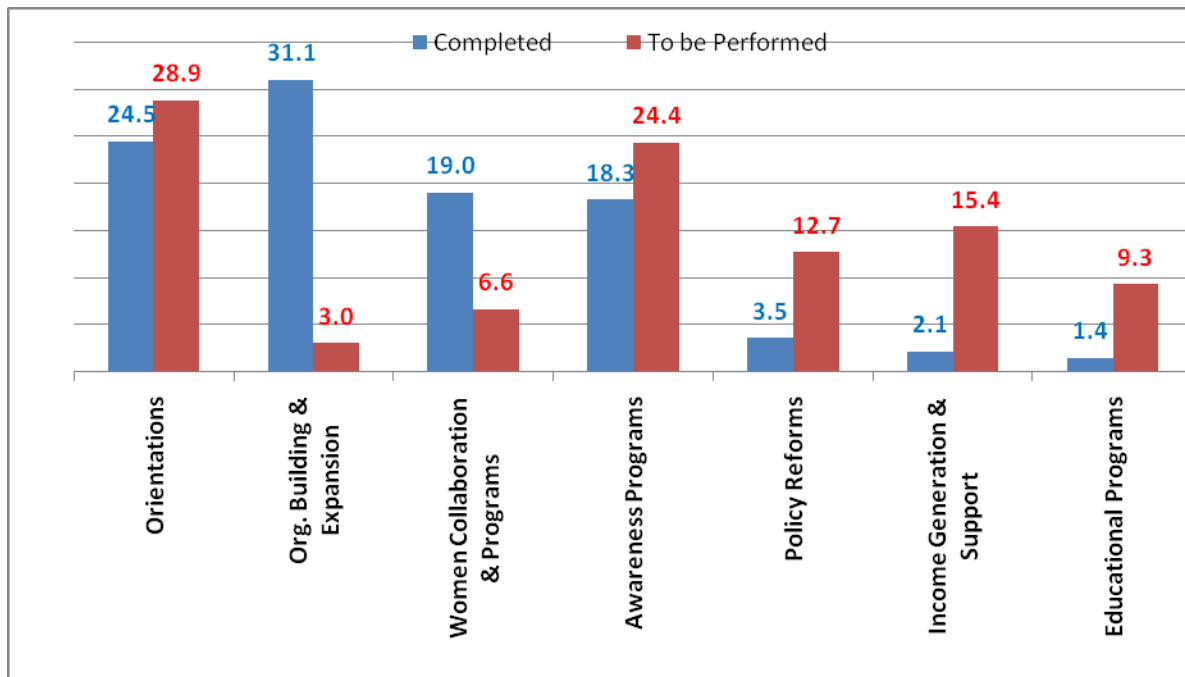
	awareness programmes	ess programmes	equality		
28			Cultural & educational programmes & educational materials	85	2.5
29			Women's health related programmes & assurance of security	23	0.7
30		Women alliance	Joint efforts by all-party women leaders for positive attitude, cooperation & inspiration from men, women, family, society, party, leadership & others towards women's politics	83	2.5
31			Formation of cross-party women's alliance & collaboration through it	52	1.6
Total				3340	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

Figure 4.24 below presents the comparative status of the women empowerment programmes conducted by the parties before and to be conducted in future based on the above deliberations.

Figure: 4.24

Comparative Status of Completed and to Be Completed Empowerment Programmes (%)



The figure above shows that orientation programmes were in priority of the parties before and they should be continued in future as well. Organization building and expansion were the most prioritized activities of the parties. However, the respondent women leaders are of the view that these may be given less priority in the days to come. Policy reforms, income generation and educational programmes should be given more importance from now onwards which were less prioritized in the past.

4.2.3. Women Political Leaders' Affiliation with NGOs

Social organizations are conducting various programmes on the protection of women's rights, awareness building and woman empowerment. Women leaders are women rights activists of their place as well. Therefore, many of them are conducting women advancement related programmes not only individually but institutionally by establishing the NGOs also.

During the survey, respondent women leaders were asked whether they were affiliated with any NGO or not. On the basis of responses received, Table 4.18 below presents the party-wise status of women leaders' involvement in NGOs.

Table: 4.17

Affiliation of Women Political Leaders in Women Rights NGOs by Party

SN	Political Party	NGO Affiliation				
		Yes	%	No	%	Total
1	CPN (UML)	76	32.2	160	67.8	236
2	Nepali Congress	68	32.7	140	67.3	208
3	Nepali Congress (D)	51	33.3	102	66.7	153
4	People's Front Nepal	4	10.3	35	89.7	39
5	National People's Front	4	11.4	31	88.6	35
6	CPN (United)	3	13.0	20	87.0	23
7	CPN (Maoist)	1	5.0	19	95.0	20
8	Nepal Workers & Peasants Party	0	0.0	17	100.0	17
9	CPN (ML)	4	28.6	10	71.4	14
10	NSP (A)	1	10.0	9	90.0	10
11	CPN (United Marxist)	1	20.0	4	80.0	5
12	Rastriya Prajatantra Party	0	0.0	4	100.0	4
13	CPN (Unified)	0	0.0	3	100.0	3
14	CPN (Marxist)	0	0.0	1	100.0	1
15	RPP-Nepal	0	0.0	1	100.0	1
Total		213	27.7	556	72.3	769

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

From the table above, altogether about 28% women political leaders are found to be affiliated with NGOs. While looking the party-wise situation, around one-third of the women leaders from NC, CPN (UML), then NC(D) and CPN (ML) are affiliated with the NGOs. However, very few women leaders of CPN (Maoist) party are affiliated with the NGOs whereas there are none in NWPP.

4.2.4. Expansion of Women's Inter-party Networks

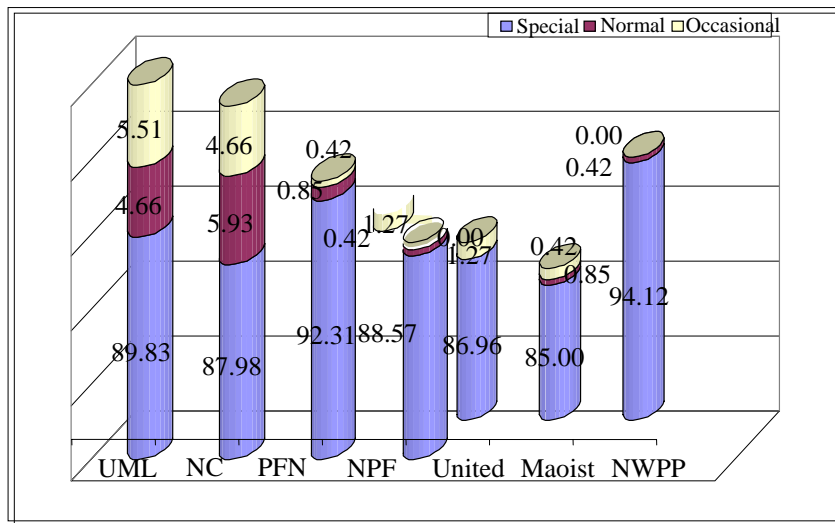
This section deals on the priorities of woman's inter-party cooperation and the measures for its expansion in the views of the respondents. This survey on need of the networks was conducted before the formation of WDNs.

(a) Priorities of Expansion of Women's Inter-party Networks

Figure 4.25 below presents the level of requirements of the expansion of women's inter-party networks for making women empowerment programmes more effective. The figure presents the priority levels as special priority, general priority and occasional (low priority).

Figure: 4.25

Priorities of Expanding Women's Inter-Party Networks (%)



According to the figure above, almost all the parties have given importance to the system of women's inter-party cooperation. However, NC and CPN (UML) still have about 5% low priorities each, which is not satisfactory. So, there is the need of developing awareness on inter-party collaboration especially for the leaders of these parties.

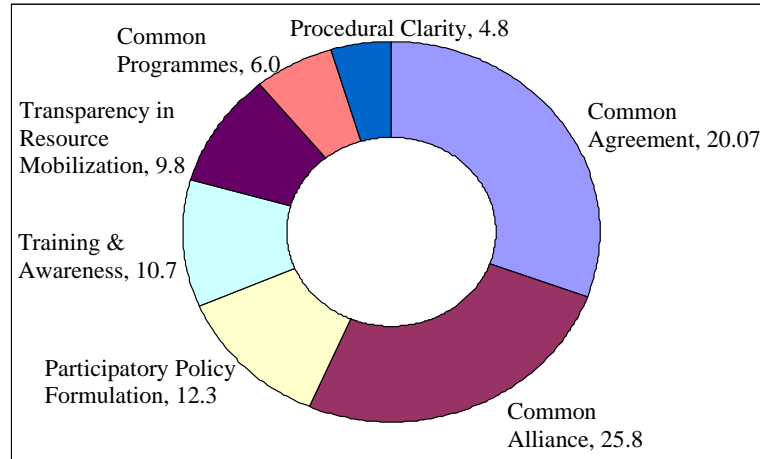
Other parties such as PFN, RJM, CPN (Maoist) and NWPP have given special priority to the inter-party woman's cooperation. However, these parties were found to be less aware in representing their women leaders in WDNs. So, all the parties have yet to realize the importance of such collaboration for overall women's advancement.

(b) Methods of Expansion of Inter-party Collaboration

This section presents the methods of women's inter-party collaboration. Figure 4.26 below shows a total of 3,082 responses received by accumulating them into seven parts.

Figure: 4.26

Methods of Expansion of Inter-Party Women’s Collaboration (%)



As shown in the figure above, the respondents have given the highest priority to ascertaining common agreement in the process of broadening the women's inter-party collaboration for women empowerment (30.7%).

Other most prioritized areas include the formation of common networks, their expansion, strengthening and effective conduct (25.8%). The respondents have also stressed the need of empowering the network members from village to central level.

There are recommendations that the networks should identify their own resources and mobilize such resources transparently to ensure the effective inter-party women's collaboration through the networks (9.8%). The procedures of conduct of the network should be specific and effective.

On the basis of above recommendations, it may be concluded that the system of inter-party women's cooperation has just started and there are many things to do in this area. The respondent women leaders have given emphasis to women's unity in common issues (20.3%), expansion of the networks (9.1%), financial resource mobilization (7.2%) and training (5.3%). These are quite relevant matters. So, the women leaders have accepted the possibilities of women empowerment by means of the networks. This is the matter of satisfaction.

All recommendations received from the respondents are presented in Table 4.19 below.

Table: 4.19

Approaches of Developing Cross-Party Women's Networks for Women Empowerment

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Common consensus	Sense of unity, coordination & impartiality	Women's unity for their rights irrespective of party affiliation	626	20.3
2			Cordial relationship, coordination & interaction with all parties, organizations, agencies & government bodies	222	7.2

3		Division of work	Careful division of work & specific responsibilities	17	0.6	
4			Common programmes, using as a rights forum & regular meetings	80	2.6	
5	Participatory policy formulation	Network, objectives & policies	Conduct of network as per its specific objective, constitution & policies	120	3.9	
6				Developing common work plan & policies	63	2.0
7				Coordination & interaction with parties on network policies	93	3.0
8		Inclusive mechanism	Inclusion of Janajati, Dalit and other minorities in network	65	2.1	
9				Implementation of effective women related programmes	38	1.2
10	Mobilization of resources	Management & resource identification	Organization management & transparency in programmes	42	1.4	
11				Identification of resources, availability & proper mobilization	221	7.2
12				Resource management, government support & financial aid to needy ones	39	1.3
13	Formation of common network	Formation	Formation of central network from national conference	47	1.5	
14		Expansion	Formation of networks from central to VDC level	282	9.1	
15				Working alliance with all (large or small) parties, organizations & media support	73	2.4
16		Institutional development & strengthening	Establishing & managing network offices	89	2.9	
17				Network's active role with specific work plan	26	0.8
18				Empowerment of network members	148	4.8
19			Programmes	Organizing central assembly of the network & bringing programmes to VDC level	129	4.2
20	Common programmes	Meetings & alliance with parties	Regular meetings & programmes	60	1.9	
21				Organizing joint meetings, assemblies & mass meetings with all parties & agencies	64	2.0
22		Programmes	Regular programmes of the network	30	1.0	
23				Programmes for women's common interest & their expansion to poor women	30	1.0
24	Procedural clarity	Inclusive	Inclusion of women from all castes & regions in the network	119	3.9	
25		Leadership selection	Caring, democratic, just & capable leadership	16	0.5	
26		Monitoring	Monitoring, evaluation & review in time to time	12	0.4	
27	Training, orientation &	Training	Political, administrative and special training from central to VDC level	164	5.3	
28				Raising voice for women's rights beyond the party interest	17	0.6

29	awareness	Leadership development	Leadership development programmes for impartial and caring leadership	82	2.7
30		Awareness campaigns	Campaigns for equality, awareness & problem solving among women	44	1.4
31			Political empowerment, women rights & access to CA	24	0.8
Total				3082	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

4.2.5. Women's Creative Stability in Politics

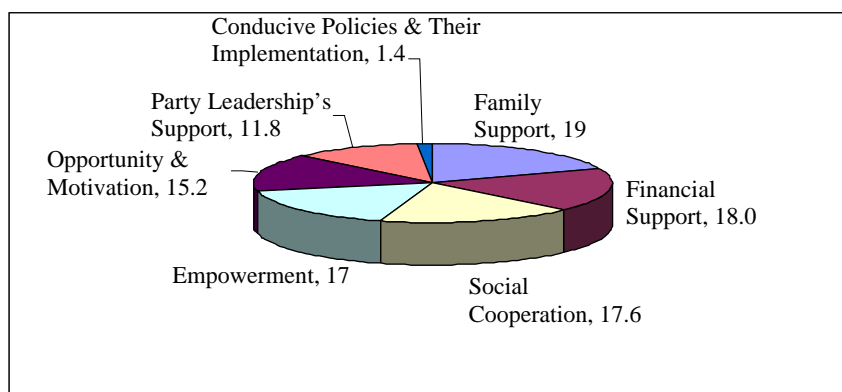
The creative stability of women leaders in Nepal is found to be another big challenge. This has affected the expansion of women politics.

Many examples can be found that women political leaders and cadres leave politics with changes in their family status. Women end their active political career especially after their marriage or having children. Many women are compelled to leave politics even after being involved for years because of not being able to make agreement between the household responsibilities and political involvement. Likewise, economic dependence, lack of social support, lack of opportunities for capability building etc. are also major obstacles for them.

This section mentions about the essential supports to the women to sustain actively in politics. Figure 4.27 below presents 7 accumulated headings from a total of 3,464 responses received.

Figure: 4.27

Support Needed for Women to Sustain in Active Politics (%)



As shown in the above figure, the respondent women leaders have equally prioritized the family support, financial support, social support, opportunities of empowerment and encouragement for their political sustainability and activeness. However, family support is the most important matter in their views. They have emphasized on support, trust and encouragement from the family and society and freedom from the household burden.

The respondents have also given significance to the creation of opportunities for empowerment. Similarly, they have expected the positive attitude, support and honesty for giving opportunity of leadership to women from the male party leaders.

However, the respondents are seen less aware towards the need of making state and party policies women centered and ensuring their proper implementation. This shows that women leaders are still engaged in primary and fundamental issues.

Analyzing the aforesaid recommendations, it is found that as in the case of enhancing women's participation, their sustainable activeness in politics has been more affected by the family and social elements than that of the political factors. It is obviously disappointing that women still expect approval, support and encouragement from their family to retain their political career. Many women leaders have expected the support of party leadership (chiefly male) which is the product of male-dominated mindset prevailing not only in the society but also in the political parties. The party leadership at present should be more sensitive towards this phenomenon.

In this context, influential and effective campaigns, lead by the women's inter-party networks, are extremely necessary to tackle this situation with involvement of all the women leaders, political parties, sister organizations, women rights organizations and activists. These campaigns should emphasize on women's political participation, empowerment and stability.

Table 4.20 below presents all the responses received accumulating them into 30 categories.

Table: 4.20

Support Needed for Women to Continue Their Political Career

S.N.	Title	Sub-title	Particulars	Number	%
1	Financial support	Economic opportunities	Support from party & state for resource mobilization	318	9.2
2			Equal economic rights, employment & transportation facility	88	2.5
3		Income generation programmes	Skill development & income generation programmes	45	1.3
4			Economic empowerment	61	1.8
5		Financial management	Proper management of financial resources	75	2.2
6			Women's economic self-reliance	36	1.0
7	Support from party leadership	Inspiration	Inspiration & motivation	94	2.7
8			Positive protection of party & support form organizations	110	3.2
9		Opportunities	Involvement of women in maximum number of programmes	78	2.3
10			Women's own initiation to exercise their rights	39	1.1
11	Evaluation	Proper evaluation of women's work	87	2.5	
12	Opportunities & motivation	Education	Opportunity for higher education & environment of educational discussion	63	1.8
13		New responsibilities	More responsibilities after proper evaluation of works	90	2.6
14			Opportunity from party to work in responsible party position	110	3.2

15			Opportunity to show capability, continuity & patience	20	0.6
16		Reservation	Opportunities to in party positions, protection, reservation & motivation	244	7.0
17	Family support	Support & inspiration	Acceptance, trust, cooperation & motivation from husband & family members	558	16.1
18			Support from state & organizations	15	0.4
19		Time	Free time from household works	102	2.9
20	Women friendly policies & implementation		Programmes for developing self-confidence	25	0.7
21			Healthy environment in party for politics	23	0.7
22	Social support	Motivation	Trust, cooperation & motivation from friends, society & people	393	11.3
23			Participation in social activities, education & legal support	61	1.8
24		Positive discrimination	Guarantee of social security	94	2.7
25			Elimination of discrimination between men & women	46	1.3
26			Training	Training on current political issues	321
27	Empowerment		Training on party policies/ principles & programmes for women rights	48	1.4
28		Information on current issues	Knowledge of new technologies & media support	48	1.4
29			Ideological study, information of accords/ agreements & political visits	31	0.9
30		Capacity	Women empowerment- leadership development, anchoring training, etc.	141	4.1
Total				3464	100.0

Source: RSN (Survey Questionnaire, 2064)

From the above table, the most prioritized support areas by the respondent women leaders for their political sustainability and activeness include family encouragement (16.1%), people's support (11.3%), political orientation (9.3%), support from the state (9.2%) and providing party responsibilities (6.2%).

Chapter - Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

Nepalese women, who make up 51 percent of the total population in the country, have been raising their voice for the proportional representation in political parties and other areas. Herein the Parliament, government and parties have already expressed their promises for at least one-third positions to women. But based on the present survey data of about 30,000 leaders from central and district working committees of the political parties and their organizations, women's participation is only one third (10.42%) of the stated target. The other important fact is that the parties have made no initiatives as yet to increase the participation as per the promises.

Various political parties' programs to increase women representation have not been able to be effective in any impressive way, nor have their results impressed the society. Nevertheless, the points below present the state of programs implementations in the way they are.

1. Participation can be defined in two ways as general participation and meaningful participation. The general participation may show higher representation in terms of numbers, but it cannot give expected achievements. The genuine participation is the one which can yield expected achievement, and seeks to find justified meaning. In this sense, the meaningful participation should increase both the women's personality and quality and make them capable; the meaningful participation should thereby develop the women's personality, leadership quality and representations. Therefore, it is essential that the political parties, their sister-organizations and other agencies should set out targets annually and implement programs to develop the women's capacity for leadership right from the people's level.
2. The other side of women's participation is creation of encouraging and favorable environment at the household and community level. No matter how nice looking the policies and programs are made, if the environment is not conducive at the implementation levels, such programs cannot be fruitful. Hence prior to launching programs for increasing women's participation, it is found necessary to create conducive environment and to develop positive trends in the community and society for these programs.
3. The meaning of program to increase women's access to all organs of the state through increases in women's participation is to prepare work plan for developing the multidimensional aspects of women's talent. In this context, this Report underlines the necessity in the chain (a) to analyze in detail the obstacles in women's political participation, the problems faced by women politicians, and the approach and expectations of women, (b) to coordinate with the diversity of all classes and geographical context, (c)

to skillfully fix the short, medium and long period plan, policy, strategy and programs, and (b) to implements these programs.

4. Implementation alone is the successful touchstone of policy, plan and program. If the implementation aspect is passive, no policy and program can secure the targets. In this sense of increasing women's participation in politics, it is found appropriate to build a new mechanism in order (a) to fix the women upleftment and development in measurable forms and then drive them, (b) to set firm monitoring and evaluation system, and (c) to get the passive and hopeless aspects aware, alert and achievable.
5. As per the political parties' commitments on women participation and empowerments, the parties are found lagging in the tasks to revise their statute, regulations, directives including policy documents from the point of view of gender and inclusion and, thus, make these instruments favorable. This is one of the major reasons behind the non-fulfillment of their stated commitment.
6. It is observed that male leaders in the parties' leaderships opine that the reasons behind the lack of women's participation in their parties are the lack of political awareness in the women themselves, the lack of their capacity, and the social and family factors. While the women leaders are found as giving more emphasis to non-cooperation/ discrimination from the family and society, and give lesser weight to the matter of their capability.
7. It is found that the women leaders at the district committees themselves have lack of political awareness and knowledge to the required extent on women's political participation. For increasing women's participation, their priorities happen to fall principally on the social subjects. Thus, one ought to enter from the social mobilization activities and, thereon, use it to expand the boundaries of political participation; but no such progression has happened.
8. The debate of enhancing women's political participation is still being confined around the family, village and society; but it could not have get priority at the policy level. On the other hand, there is acute lack of enforcement of the realistic/ objective, participatory and valid programs for women participation; it is limited only in discussion, interaction, seminar and such other activities.
9. It was seen that women's access to the leading posts of central and district level working committee of most of the political parties and the organizations is extremely negligible. As chief of the organization, there is only one woman in the central working committee and six in the district working committee. Similarly among the organizations other than those of women's exclusively, no women are found to be head of any central level committees. While at the district level, the survey found that only 39 women out of a total number of 1,179 leaders (3%) are chief of district level committees. Such kind of situation cannot be deemed as encouraging or optimistic.
10. In the process of appraising the women leaders' idea on the reasons of denial of their access to leadership even if they are equally capable as men, they lay priority on the society, family circumstances, own political party, economic condition and finally the passive state, respectively. So, there is the need of eliminating the problem of women's access to leadership positions right from the basic level.

11. A good number of the prevailing laws and policies are still discriminatory from the perspective of women's participation (eg.: laws relating to the citizenship and foreign employment). It is very necessary to secure the aspect of women participation by modifying those acts and documents as soon as possible, and to strengthen the implementation aspect. It is necessary to bring together the political and administrative commitment in this work.
12. Among the decisive post of the party and other structures of the state, the participation of women has remained minimal while the parties themselves forward the incapability of women as the major cause for this low participation. Thus one can assume that even the capable women have been deprived of access to the opportunities.
13. While looking from the view of inclusiveness, the domination of Brahmen and Chhetri as the upper castes is found in every unit of the political parties. While comparing the situation within women, two third of these two upper castes of women are more active in politics (Brahman and Chhetri make up 67% of the cadres in women organizations). Though the situation of Hill Janajati (indigenous nationalities) community is comparatively improving, the situation of inclusiveness of Terain Janajati, Dalit and minorities could not be found satisfactory.
14. Even among the district working committee meetings which are deemed crucial units of political parties, it is found that the agenda on women has not got proper priority. The matters such as women's representation in the party, social discrimination, women awareness, leadership development of women and minorities have got only 5.3% place of whole DWC agenda for example.
15. The political parties were not found to conduct any special programs with solid and special priority to increase women's participation in their party. The parties conduct political training, distribute membership, form and expand committees, run awareness programs, collect funds and perform other economic activities from time to time; they, however, have designated the same programs as the women-centered programs. In fact, these programs come under the regular activities of the parties. And such activities do not make substantial contributions for enhancing women's participation.
16. The system of women's inter-party collaboration has just started in Nepal for the activities of augmenting women's political participation and access. The collaboration hitherto seems to be limited in the various social and cultural problems existing in our society. With this level of collaboration, it cannot be said that the pit/ gap of women's participation and access in the major units of political parties and the state structures will be filled.
17. The district party chiefs and women leaders too have emphasized the need to form the inter-party women networks in inclusive and fair way from the central to the districts levels, and enable these networks to honestly play their roles for solving the common problems. This is very relevant as well. The women leaders have been found to be optimistic for significant contribution in the women empowerment and advancement through the medium of the networks. However, they are not seemed to be committed and confident in moving ahead in such a manner.
18. Though the Women's Democratic Network that has set forth the campaign of women's inter-party collaboratio has just been conducted, the public has already found this

program very beneficial on its achievements for expansion of women participation. It will be difficult to strengthen the condition of women's participation without their inter-party cooperation. The survey shows that women have confidence in the working system of the present inter-party women networks. Therefore, if one can bring pragmatic policies, plans and programs and, thereby, implement the programs with a plan of action, such kind of coordination and collaboration would be a milestone in improving the condition of women's participation.

19. As in the case of women's participation, the family and social factors (55%) rather than the political ones (45%) affect the women's political enthusiasm/ dynamism. This is not a satisfactory situation. Many women leaders have sought for male party leaders' support for their sustainable political career. Such a phenomenon is reflection of the patriarchal mentality that is rooted not only in the society but also in the political party.
20. It may take long time to accept the independent existence of women in the patriarchal society. It remains a great challenge principally for the men on how they would increase women's participation meaningfully not just in politics but also in other structure of the state. Development of such mentality especially in men is the need of the day.

5.2. Recommendations

The recommendations acquired in course of the survey have been presented in five headings. The following important matters are covered on by points.

5.2.1. Representation and Participation

1. It is seen necessary that the political parties and leading women politicians should go ahead as soon as possible with the clear and valid policy and programs to achieve the challenging targets for participating in at least one third (33%) positions in all units of the political party for the time being. For this, it seems to be necessary that the political parties, women organizations, the parties' women departments, in coordination with the inter-party networks, should conduct the programs like women membership increment, access of women in leading positions, women's capacity enhancement etc. in the form of campaigns down up to the local levels.
2. It is almost determined to make the policy provisions of at least 33% women's representation in every state structure. However, its proper implementation is very challenging. So, specific standards and guidelines should be developed to ensure at least 33% women's representation and implement them by all the state organs effectively. In this connection, the political parties have prepared the "Strategic Action Plan" in WDNs' initiation, which has been placed as a separate Section of this book.
3. It is found that the provision of reservation and special rights should be made for the time being in every unit of the state and political party by following the policy of positive discrimination for women to improve the condition of access to the decisive posts and to increase the women's participation.
4. For increasing the women participation in politics, it is seemed necessary firstly to effectively conduct the programs of women empowerment and thereby increase the capacity of women. On question of women rights and leadership, it is found necessary to

give special attention to the women empowerment for creating pressure and for conducting the campaign for advocacy.

5. Since the lack of political training for women has limited the growth of their competitive capacity, made them fear from the competitions and even produced disinterest towards the politics, it is found that the political parties in the collaboration with other organizations and partners should promote the political training of women in the form of comprehensive campaigns. In addition, it is necessary to regularize these trainings. It is also appropriate to conduct the need based programs for increase of participations.
6. As politics is basically the unpaid voluntary activity, it is seen that even the women eager in politics are unable to be involved in politics due to inability to meet such expenses. Therefore, it is found that the political parties need to bear the expenses by women in political works for minimizing their economic burden for political tasks.
7. The social, political and gender awareness programs should be conducted for removing the existing conservative thought, customs and norms of society which remain as the great obstacles on the way of women's participation in politics. And the campaigns of women empowerment are seen to be made effective too.
8. It is found enormously essential for the political parties to analyze their structures from the points of gender and inclusions and, thereby, make the required modifications in their statute, regulations, policy and programs. In order to materialize this, the political parties should enforce as soon as possible with the sufficient advice from and interaction with the women organizations, networks, women leaders and other women's right activists.
9. Since there still prevail many legal provisions discriminatory between men and women and this discrimination should be eliminated as soon as possible. The government should play the most crucial role for this. Moreover, the political parties, women rights organizations and activists and leaders should also play active and supportive roles in this respect.
10. The political parties should ensure the complete implementation of the gender and inclusion related provisions and commitments made in their Constituent Assembly Election manifestoes.
11. The campaign of enhancing women's political participation should be integrated with the parties' expansionary and consciousness development activities such as political organization building, expansion, political training, seminars, awareness campaigns and similar, etc. Such programmes should be enforced as a campaign for at least a decade. Besides, this decade should be declared as the "Women's Representation Enhancement and Zero-discrimination Decade" and the political parties and state should implement various programmes accordingly. Further, it would be effective to make the non-governmental organizations and private agencies as partners of such programs.

5.2.2. Empowerment

12. Women empowerment means to enable them, at par with men, for mobilizing the provision, environment and capacity in order to use all the rights and authorities like economic, social, political, religious and cultural fields. Here, the condition of women's access to various decision making positions of the political parties has been taken as

'political empowerment'. The survey has revealed that women's access to leadership posts of the parties is very disappointing (only 1.5% women DWC chiefs). Therefore, the political parties should conduct special campaigns and movements with high level of flexibility and commitments to improve the situation at the expected level.

13. The political parties should immediately make provisions of at least 33% women's access to leadership positions in their constitutions and other policy documents and they should manage for women's leadership from local to central level accordingly.
14. Since women's access to various policy making level positions of the state is very low the political parties and the state should make policy formulations so that women get concessions for different rights, have reservations and have ability and appropriate measures to utilize these rights in such way for some time. There should be explicit legal provisions to ensure at least 33% women's representation in the leadership position of each state unit or agency.
15. There is a dire need of capacity building programmes for the women involved in politics including training, orientation, seminar, workshops etc. in the regular basis especially in the areas of leadership skill development, advocacy and lobby, presentation and facilitation skills, speech delivery skills, anchoring, mediation and other concurrent issues. These programmes should be conducted in close coordination of the women's networks, political parties, concerned state agencies, NGOs and others.
16. Due to the domination of male leaders in leadership positions of almost all the political parties, the negative attitude that women can not lead the party is prevailing. It would take not just years but rather decades to attain the target of 33% women in leadership if the present mentality could not be improved. So, it is necessary to change and improve the present leaderships' thinking for achieving the above targets.
17. The women empowerment works should be begun first and foremost from the family, society and political party to improve the condition of women leadership. The essential achievements would be possible through the progression via the social awareness, women empowerment, pressure and advocacy and, thus, only after reaching to the stages of improving the policies of the state and political parties.
18. By ensuring the women's economic rights through the women's inheritance rights on parental property, women's access to financial resources and different ways for income generation, the political parties need to play special coordinating roles with the state and government have to create environment for the actual empowerment of the women.
19. The women departments under the parties and the women organizations need to be further strengthened and made effective through the intensification of organizations building activities. Only from strengthening these organizations, the goal of empowering women political leaders could be achieved.

5.2.3. Inclusiveness

20. As with the women participation, lot of works still remains to be done at the basic level for the inclusiveness of the woman of minority and marginalized communities. So there is need to move forward with a valid and time bound work plan towards this objective of inclusions.

21. On question of empowerment, as the women of minorities and marginalized classes have been left further behind it is indispensable to conduct the empowerment programs such as special training, awareness, skill developments and like at different levels for enabling them to pose in the political leadership.
22. The parties need to make special provisions in their policies and programs for the minority and marginalized women's participation in the parties, and thereafter extensively publicize such programs and then assure the effective implementation of these programs.
23. Every state policies and programs should be made inclusive and special attention should be paid in their effective implementation. Similarly, it is also necessary to arrange federal state system on the racial and ethnic lines.

5.2.4. Inter-Party Women's Networks

24. The entire woman affiliated to political parties should be more positive and determined to act with united initiatives, campaign, pressure, lobby and advocacy and so through the medium of inter-party woman cooperation on common of issues like the woman participation, access, right, respect and like.
25. Though the inter-party woman networks have recently been built at the central and district level, these networks should be extended to the regional, zonal, constituency and village levels, respectively.
26. As the district level party chiefs and woman leaders have realized the need for inter-party network and accorded priority to it, it is necessary that all the political parties should enforce the concept of women's inter-party network and cooperation as their policy and should get representation of all the available parties in the networks.
27. On question of system for women's inter-party co-operations, it is found essential to keep more informed so far as all the woman leaders from the central to district levels as well as the people in the leadership of the party, network members and general women politicians are concerned.
28. The networks and women leaders should be more clear on identifying the women politician's common problems and then on how to address these issues. The capacity enhancement of women leaders has been the subject of priority in this context also.
29. The government needs to develop the women's inter-party networks as **local gender focal point** or **political women's resource center** by providing them with necessary resources. These networks would make representations for women at the district and other levels, empower them, and usher inclusions of women from the minority and marginalized communities. In addition, they may perform functions about women rights, welfare, self-esteem and women upliftment activities. Also, they can monitor the implementation of above works by other government and non-government organizations and agencies.

5.2.5. Other actions

30. First of all the political parties need to give special attention to make the party policies and programs including their statute, regulations, directives favorable from the gender and inclusion perspective for bringing the required improvement in the condition of political participation and access of woman.

31. The political parties need to make their time-bound strategic action plan and thereby honestly enforce it for advancing the cause of women's participation, inclusion and empowerment programs.
32. Generally one can find many examples of woman's political activities ending due to changes in familial condition. Specially, the one can find many more events where woman separates from politics after marriage or birth of baby. Therefore, the political parties need to lead special awareness programs for the households as well to prevent the effects of such demographic changes on the gender aspect of political participation in the society.
33. The study found that almost one-third of the district level political women from the main parties are also affiliated with the women rights activist social organizations. Thus, while conducting the campaigns and programs on women's participation, inclusions and empowerment, it would be more effective to work also by collaborating with the non-governmental organizations working in the related field.
34. The condition for increasing the women in politics by a given target and also to help them reach to the decisive posts within a short period can be done only through the cooperation among the political parties, inter-party women networks, government and NGOs and women right activists as well.
35. For addressing the above recommendations, it is very essential to include subjects of women rights entirely in the upcoming constitution. Likewise, it is seen essential that the prevalent gender-discriminatory and non-inclusive legal provisions should be duly modified and also new laws should be passed. Similarly, it is essential to pay special attention to make all the policies and programs of the state more favorable to the gender and inclusiveness.
36. Given the study findings that the major political parties have not been able to make their central and district level offices resourceful and effective, it is necessary that the parties need give priority to the task of equipping their offices with resources, and make them capable and influential. For this, it seems suitable for the government to avail certain budget to the recognized political parties of national level for the strengthening of their management side.

Finally, the men have the duty and responsibility to forward the works concerned with women's political participation, empowerment and inclusiveness. First of all, it is necessary for male to accept women's existence, importance and meaningful participation in a serious way. The first place and foundation to increase the participation of woman in politics is home and family and thereafter the concerned political party and the social circumstances. For making these three aspects favorable, if one guarantees the works like education, economic and social security in the law itself and, thereby, bring them into implementations, it can surely be expected that the various aspects of women's participation in politics will continue to unfold and emerge ever stronger. Women's representation in the Constituent Assembly is remarkable. Following this trend, the system ensuring women's quantitative and qualitative participation in the government, constitutional organs, various committees, taskforces and other political and state structures should be established.

Part-2

Strategic Action Plan

Chapter - One

Objectives and Processes of Strategic Action Plan

Section A of this book presents various recommendations for increasing women's representation in politics, which is very low in the political parties and their different structures as well as in the state operations at present based on its survey findings. These findings are useful to identify the issues related to low representation which will ultimately help to solve the issue of increasing women's representation in a sustainable way. This is because the survey report contains women's representation in political parties, their access to the meaningful posts and the participation ratio of excluded ethnicities. The report also deals with views of political leaders and institutional views of the political parties including their recommendations in relation to the issues and solution of the problem.

The women democratic network members have initiated to develop five years' strategic action plan of their respective political parties at the district and national level to address and tackle the gender gaps and inclusion issues. This Chapter presents the policies and programmes, objectives, methods, processes and context to be adopted by the political parties for women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion through development of such strategic action plans.

1.1. Need and Significance of the Policies and Programmes

The need and significance of the strategic action plans related to the policies and programmes to be adopted by the political parties for women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion are presented as follows:

1. It has been being realized the gap and need of specific, practical and committed policies and plans of the state related to women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion.
2. There is lack of specific policies and strategies for the implementation of commitments of the state on women's political representation and inclusion.
3. There is need of shortening the distance of saying and doing of the political parties by reforming their Constitution and other policy documents to make them gender and inclusion friendly, and ensuring proper implementation of their commitments in this regard.
4. The survey has pointed out the necessity of specific action plan for proper implementation of commitments of the state and political parties related to gender equality and inclusion.
5. The working approach and capacity of the agencies involved in the implementation of commitments of political parties and the state and prevailing laws and policies is not satisfactory.

6. There is need of permanent mechanism for public monitoring and evaluation of policy decisions and their implementation aspects.

1.2. Objectives of the Policies and Programmes

Main objective of the strategic action plan is to present a road map for enhancing meaningful participation of women from all classes in all the structures of the state and political parties. Specific objectives of the plan are as follows:

1. To develop practical and timely strategic action plans on women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion based on nationwide survey, party-wise collective exercises and approval of DWCs of the parties, and submit them to concerned political parties for their commitments of implementation from the central level.
2. To develop party-wise action plans with specific policies for the commitments of the political parties on gender equality.
3. To assess the impact of achievements and effectiveness of the implementation of proposed action plans on women's participation, empowerment and inclusion jointly by the political parties and the government. Also, to propose public monitoring mechanism for shortening the distance between targets and achievements and making the implementation aspects sustainable.
4. To propose frameworks supporting the government policies and programmes in the gender equality sectors.
5. To propose the subject matters for reform in Constitution and other policy documents of the political parties in the areas of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion. Also, to facilitate concerned political parties in developing their action plans.

1.3. Methods of Synthesis and Formulation of the Action Plans

The strategic action plans have been developed in two years (from 2007 to 2009) incorporating the inputs of almost all the political parties of most of the districts of the country. Advices have been received from women leaders and concerned experts while developing the plans. Besides, the subject matters have been clarified from a rigorous study of various reports and documents of the parties and the government. Steps of development of the plans are summarized as follows:

1. Framework of the plan was developed through interaction and exercises among WDN officials and responsible party representatives during 14 zonal training workshops (September 2007 to January 2008).
2. The framework developed from zonal workshops was further discussed in 53 districts among WDN officials and concerned party chiefs and leaders during district workshops and adjusted accordingly (May to August 2008). Annex-6

presents the district-wise list of political parties expressing their commitments on the action plans.

3. The chiefs or their representatives of the political parties at the district level developed and passed their own action plans and expressed their commitments publicly for their proper implementation during the district workshops (May to September 2008).
4. The strategic action plans passed from the district level were further discussed in regional workshops and reforms made to submit them at central level party units for their commitments (18 August to 10 September 2008).
5. Strategic action plans of 13 political parties prepared at the central level by synthesizing the plans discussed at the regional workshops. Summarized plans are presented hereunder.
6. The all-party policies and programmes have been developed by picking up common issues from the plans of all the political parties. These joint programmes are presented in Chapter Two by accumulating them into 15 points.
7. These action plans were handed over to senior leaders of the political parties by WDN CC officials during the national workshop held on 26 September 2008 at Lalitpur. During the occasion, Ms. Chitrlekha Yadav, NC leader and WDN SC Member handed over NC plans to Mr. Gopal Man Shrestha, NC Vice-President; Ms. Urmila Aryal, CPN (UML) Central Member and WDN CC President handed over the plans of her party to Mr. K.P. Sharma Oli, CPN (UML) Standing Committee Member; and Hon. Renu Kumari Yadav, Minister for Education and WDN CC Central Member handed over the MJFN plans to Mr. Sarat Singh Bhandari, MJFN Central Member.

After receiving the plans, the central leaders expressed their commitments to endorse the plans at the central level and implement them accordingly.

1.4. *Expected Outcomes*

The expected outcomes from the successful implementation of the strategic action plans are as follows:

1. The political parties can determine their targets of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion and make reforms in their policies and programmes accordingly.
2. Women's participation will increase in the political parties as per their commitments; there will be proportionate representation in meaningful posts with low participation to date; and there will be proper participation of women from the excluded communities in various posts and levels of the parties.

3. There will be proportionate representation of women and excluded communities in various state structures as well.
4. Overall, there will be a gradual eradication of discriminations including gender, ethnic, linguistic, regional and others. However, it may take a little bit long time for this and continuity of conducive policies and programmes will be significant.

Chapter - Two

Common Political Policies and Programmes of Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

2.1. *Inter-related Agencies and Subject-matters of the Strategic Action Plan*

For the purpose of eliminating gender discrimination by improving the present status of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion nationwide, there is the need of combined efforts from the state, all the state mechanisms, political parties, civil society, NGOs, donor agencies and others concerned. Moreover, high degree of interest and commitments of all these stakeholders is also necessary in this regard.

These policies and strategic action plans have been developed in the form of **national level inter-related policy bases and programmes** so that they could be effectively implemented in joint collaboration of the political parties and the government agencies. This will help the parties and the government as well to implement the policies and programmes related to gender and inclusion.

The policies and programmes to be implemented by the political parties have been placed in Chapter-Three herein as the party-wise strategic action plans.

2.2. *National Inter-related Policy Bases and Programmes*

S.N.	Policy Reform Aspects	Policy Programmes, Agencies and Process
	Areas of reform in the Constitution, Bylaws and other policies of the political party:	
1.	To specify the quantitative targets (percentage) of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion in the Preamble of the party Constitution.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To form a taskforce with proper representation of Dalit, Janajati, backward regions and other minorities and marginalized people by the CWC for the amendment in the party policy documents.• To prepare the amendment proposal by the taskforce from the due consultation with all the stakeholders including the organizations of backward castes, ethnicities and communities, party's women's organizations and other sister organizations, civil society, politicians, academicians, social activists etc. through workshops, seminars, interactions, discussions, meetings, open and closed questionnaires etc.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To approve the amended Constitution from the party General Meeting and other documents from the CWC.
2	To use proper terminologies for gender equality in party Constitution and other policy documents.	To identify the gender sensitive terminologies in the party policy documents and replace them with proper words to maintain gender equality. <i>E.g.: Using the word 'President (Adhyaksha)' in place of 'Chairman (Sabhapati)' widely used in NC policy documents.</i>
3	To make provision of reservation in the party Constitution to enhance women's participation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To make provisions of the membership (ordinary/active/ organized etc.) free of charge or with limited fees or concession in fees for short-term, medium-term or long-term periods for the women, and especially, women from among the excluded communities; and provisions of positive discrimination for women in the criteria of promotion in upper level membership category. To make provisions of seat reservation for women in the party Constitution by incorporating the inputs of the public and experts. To specify quantitative targets with regard to women's representation in the General Meeting, Assembly, taskforces, conferences and programmes that will be represented by the party, based on the policy of positive discrimination at least for five years, with the objective of increasing women's participation into the party. To conduct special programmes as campaigns for women's access to the leadership and responsible party positions as equal as or more than that of the male counterparts for at least five years to establish the proportionate participation in the party.
4	To manage the awareness oriented special educational programmes, leadership training and other various short-term and long-term orientation and training programmes for the furtherance of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion aspects.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policy Provision on Empowerment: To make provisions of orientation, training and other capacity building measures in the party Constitution and programmes for women empowerment. Special educational Campaign: To conduct special educational orientation campaigns especially for the Madhesi, Dalit, Janajati and disabled women and women from the backward regions on various political and social aspects.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training for Generalization: To conduct short-term and medium-term political leadership oriented training for the extremely backward women jointly with middle-level women members after they get special educational orientation. • Programmes for Strengthened Empowerment: To provide national level short-term and medium-term training for the women completing the training on leadership development and political issues to make them more empowered in political, economic and social aspects, and make them participate in various workshops, seminars, conferences and other participatory programmes of the party. • Curriculum and Study Materials: To prepare the curriculum and study materials of the special education, orientation etc. by the party itself; conduct the women's education and other training in coordination with the government in the event that such programmes are being conducted by the government; and conduct the training programmes concerning the political matters by the party itself in coordination with and with support from the NGOs.
5	To develop common mechanism for the effective implementation of prevailing laws, policies and directives related to gender and inclusion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To make provisions of the supervisory mechanism in the party Constitution for the half-yearly and yearly review of the effectiveness of programmes related to women's participation, empowerment and inclusion conducted by the party and government agencies. • To form a "Women's Participation Promotion Committee" by the party with at least two-third women's representation to perform activities related to women's advancement such as formulation of party policies and programmes and their review, appraisal of various programmes conducted by the party, and organization of various programmes to broaden various aspects of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion. • To prepare and submit the evaluation reports of the annual programmes and impacts in the CWC by the aforementioned Committee.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To prepare the impact assessment report of women empowerment related programmes conducted by the party and government agencies by the WDNs every three years.
6	To ensure the proportional participation of Dalit, Janajati, backward communities and regions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To make clear provision of proportionate participation of women from Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi, marginalized and weaker communities in the party Constitution and ensure its proper implementation in initiation of WDNs, ethnic federations, commissions etc. To make such provisions in state structures as well. To perform necessary study and research on related matters to guarantee the special participation of special communities.
7	To put special efforts by the parties for the proper implementation of the prevailing laws and policies related to women development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify the issues of women's participation, empowerment and inclusion in the policies and programmes in governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental sectors, and related to various aspects of women's development including education, health, income generation, rights, protection of interests, access to decision making etc. and make necessary reforms therein. To make necessary arrangements for the proper implementation of such policies and programmes through the concerned agencies. To form separate teams to oversee each of the aforementioned sectors of women development in the political parties, allocate their scope of responsibilities and conducts programmes of monitoring and evaluations.
8	To provide opportunities to women from all groups and communities for their proportionate participation in all the state organs and agencies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To collect the records of women's representation in all the state organs and agencies and formulate action plans to enhance the representation therein. To conduct research programmes focusing on the policies needed for the rational distribution of significant positions in the party structures and state agencies and organs.
9	To formulate and implement the "Gender Code of Ethics" by the political parties.	To form a study team in representation of all the deprived groups and communities, prepare the "Gender Code of Ethics" by this team and help of experts and implement it.
10	To make necessary provisions in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To organize seminars and interactions from

	the upcoming <i>Constitution of the Federal Republic Nepal</i> on women's participation, empowerment and inclusion.	<p>local to central level to collect the views and suggestions on the issues related to the enhancement of women's participation that should be addressed by the upcoming new Constitution, and submit them to the concerned agencies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To arrange for making the provisions in the new Constitution of the electoral constituency seat reservation for women in the FPTP system based on the rotation/lottery system and representation in proportionate to their population in PR system. • To manage for the involvement of networks working in the field of women's rights in such activities.
11	To make special arrangement to safeguard women's rights.	To establish a separate "Special Court" to resolve the cases and issues related to discrimination and injustices against women.
12	To declare present decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination".	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To formulate a ten years action plan to conduct special campaign for promotion of women's participation with special priority by the political parties and gradually implement it. • To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" by the GoN. • To include the gender equality related programmes in every programme of the political parties and state agencies and implement them with due priority.
13	To create friendly environment for social, cultural and religious coordination and faith.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To formulate and implement programmes for the elimination of malpractices and bad customs prevailing in the society. • To organize programmes such as street play, documentary, case studies of successful people, co-feasts, Dalits' entry into the temple, inter-caste marriage, people's cultural programmes etc. in the form of campaigns to eliminate the social malpractices in the initiation of parties' district units and mobilizing the party sister organizations, women leaders, civil society organizations and others. • To categorize the social festivals on regional, ethnic and national basis and establish practices of jointly celebrating such festivals by all the communities and groups from local to national level.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To conduct programmes related to ethnic non-discrimination and social inclusion of backward communities. • To arrange for the maximum participation of women and the backward communities in party programmes and other events.
14	To make the inter-party women's collaboration campaign more effective in the society.	To make the inter-party collaboration practices more effective by organizing various programmes for building political and public awareness through WDNs in coordination with governmental and non-governmental sectors including the civil society organizations.
15	To perform half-yearly and yearly monitoring and evaluation of the programmes related to women's participation, empowerment and inclusion, and prepare reports thereof.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To monitor and evaluate the women empowerment related programmes of the political parties and status of law enforcement by a special "Monitoring Team" formed by each political party and submit reports to the party at least twice a year by such team. • To publicize the women development reports regularly by the WDNs, commissions and ministries. • To form a "Monitoring and Evaluation Unit" with representation from the government, political parties, civil society organizations and other concerned sectors and develop it as a permanent institution, and arrange for half-yearly and yearly evaluation and reporting to the parties and the government by such unit. • To perform the impact assessment of the programmes in every 3 years and make necessary reforms in the policies accordingly. • To reward the best performing persons or organizations from the evaluation and take action against the irresponsible ones.

Chapter - Three

Party-wise Strategic Action Plans

3.1. *Main Structures and Quantitative Targets of Gender Equality and Inclusion Related Strategic Action Plans*

The structures of policy reforms presented in Chapter-Two above are useful for the government and the political parties in conducting their daily businesses and in monitoring and evaluation activities. These are based on the suggestions received from the parties during the study.

Unless and until the political parties express their strong commitments for women's participation, empowerment and inclusion, the efforts of the government can not be fruitful. So, party-wise strategic action plans have been developed right from the foundation level so that the parties could implement their own commitments endorsing them from the central level.

This section presents the party-wise strategic action plans of NC, CPN (UML) and MJF that were handed over to their senior leaders by WDNCC on 26 September 2008, and plans of other 10 parties prepared in collaboration with their leaders. Each action plan is divided into six parts namely (1) Policy reforms, (2) Specific decisions and programmes, (3) Access to policy level, (4) Collaboration with the civil society, (5) Monitoring and evaluation, and (6) Others.

Aforementioned SAPs of the political parties have been developed in logical framework design. However, the details of the SAP are presented here in general outline to make them more legible and simple. The quantitative targets of gender and inclusion set by the political leaders for their own parties during the regional level workshops are presented in Table B-3.3 below. The SAPs in logical framework may be obtained from RSN or WDNs. Sample of the framework is placed in Annex-7.

Table B-3.1: Quantitative Targets of Political Parties Related to Gender and Inclusion

1. Political Party: Nepali Congress

Development Region	Targets of Representation (in Percentage)						
	Preamble of Constitution	In all levels	General Meeting etc.	Responsible Posts	Parliament	Government & Agencies	Inclusion
Far/Mid-Western		50	50	50	50	0	
Western	50		33	33	50	33	
Central	50	50	50	50	50	50	
Eastern	51	51	51	51	51	51	

2. Political Party: CPN (UML)

Far/Mid-Western	33	33	33	P	P	P	PP
Western	33	33	33	33	P	33	PP
Central	50	50	50	50	50		
Eastern	33	33	33	33	33	33	PP

3. Political Party: CPN (Unified)

Far/Mid-Western	33	33	33	50	33	33	PP
Western	51	51	51	51	51	51	PP
Central	51	51	51				
Eastern	P	P	50	50	P	33	PP

4. Political Party: NSP (A)

Far/Mid-Western	33	33	33	33			PP
Central	50	33	50	P	P	50	PP
Eastern	50	50	50	33	50	50	PP

5. Political Party: RPP

Central	P	50	50	50	50	50	PP
Eastern	30	30	20	40	10	51	PP

6. Political Party: PFN

Far/Mid-Western	33		33		33		PP
Eastern	50	50	33	50	50	50	PP

7. Political Party: CPN (ML)

Western	50	50	50	50	50	50	PP
Eastern	50	50	50	50	50	50	PP

8. Political Party: Sadbhavana Party

Far/Mid-Western	P	P	P	P	P	P	PP
Eastern	50	50	50	50	50	50	PP

9. Political Party: TMDP

Far/Mid-Western	P	P	P	P	P	P	PP
Central	50	50	50	50	50	50	PP

10. Political Party: MJF

Eastern	50	50	50	50	50	50	PP
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11. Political Party: CPN (Maoist)

Far/Mid-Western		51	51	S	50	50	
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12. Political Party: CPN (SM)

Eastern	33	33	33	33	33	33	PP
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Note: P=Proportionate, PP=Proportionate to population, S= Special provision

3.2. Strategic Action Plans of Various Political Parties

Summary of SAP of 13 political parties have been placed hereunder.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: Nepali Congress

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: CWC, General Meeting, Women's Department, DWCs, Women's Association, Sister Organizations.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Improved documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting, role of other castes' women with regard to inclusion.

(b) Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: Party, Sister Organizations, NWA, WDNs.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election, different provisions might be made in federal structures.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.
 - To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: Party, Sister Organizations, NWA, women's department, state, government, WDNs, NGOs, civil society organizations, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Membership enhancement plan, number of members, number of programmes, number of participants, code of ethics, meeting minutes, inter-party efforts and activities, number of marginalized communities' organizations, declarations, financial records

of the parties, more effective party offices, number of mobile meetings, status of manifesto implementation, budget allocation in women advancement sector, etc.

Possible Threats: Laws and policies under federal system, lack of resources, trend of ineffective implementation, geographical difficulties, delay in holding the General Meeting, support from the government agencies, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: Party, Sister Organizations, NWA, WDNs, Election Commission, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Number of women party chiefs and officers, constitutional provisions, reformed laws, etc.

Possible Threats: Women's capacity, availability of time, support from male counterparts, conservative thinking, lack of gender equality, illiteracy and poverty, lack of awareness, lack of adequate study, traditional cultures, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this work.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: Party, CWC, DWC, Sister Organizations, NWA, government, courts, line agencies, WDNs, NGOs, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 4 years.

Means of Verification: Awareness raising programmes, decrease in bad practices, number of complaints, number of rewarded persons, activities of the networks, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of education, lack of good relationship among women, party interests, etc.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: Party, Sister Organizations, NWA, WDNs, government, NGOs, etc.

Implementation Period: 2 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Events of monitoring, committees and their activities, number of rewarded persons/units, etc.

Possible Threats: Financial constraints, lack of favorable political environment, etc.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: Rastriya Prajatantra Party (National Democratic Party)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: General Meeting, CWC, DWCs, Women's Association, Sister Organizations.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Reformed documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, Women's Organization.

Implementation Period: 3 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election, patriarchal thoughts.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CWC, RWC, DWC, Sister Organizations, Women's Organization, government, WDNs, civil society organizations, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Increment in membership from village to central level, activeness of party members, code of ethics, issues and campaigns, activeness and number of women's organizations, declarations and programmes, financial records of the party, decisions of strengthening and programmes, number of mobile meetings, status of manifesto implementation, government programmes on women advancement, etc.

Possible Threats: Women's dual responsibilities, Laws and policies under federal system, lack of resources, trend of ineffective implementation, geographical difficulties, delay in holding the General Meeting, support from the government agencies, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, Sister Organizations, Women's Organization, networks, state, civil society organizations, etc.

Implementation Period: 2 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Status of women's leadership, constitutional provisions, legal provisions, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of education on women, patriarchal thoughts, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family

consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this work.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: Party, Sister Organizations, Women's Organization, state, courts, civil society organizations, networks, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Awareness raising programmes, number of rewarded persons, activities under collaboration, etc.

Possible Threats: Social conservative practices, Hindu traditional customs, etc.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.

- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, Sister Organizations, networks, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Policy documents, committee activities, number of rewarded persons/units, etc.

Possible Threats: Political environment.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: CPN (UML)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: CC, General Meeting, Women Department, DC, ANWA.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CC, People's Organizations, Sub-ordinate Committees.

Implementation Period: 3 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: Party committees of all levels, Women Department, People's Organizations, state, networks, NGOs, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years and ongoing.

Means of Verification: Free of cost membership for women of all communities, increased number of members, rapidness on publicity campaigns, number of programmes, establishment of gender information center, strengthening of party school department, code of ethics, decisions of meetings, joint meetings between parties and networks, programmes completed in collaboration, number of organizations of marginalized groups, declarations, development of positive attitudes towards women's political involvement, increment in women's participation and activeness in party works, more systematic party offices, number of mobile

meetings, status of manifesto implementation, establishment of women's development fund, budget allocation in women's sector.

Possible Threats: Lack of resources, adverse political situation, patriarchal social attitude, different political principles and practices among parties, autocratic thoughts, political instability, peace and security, lack of specific plan of action, lack of effective monitoring system, lack of coordination between local and central level units, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, ANWA, People's Organizations, networks, local governments, civil society organizations, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Number of women party chiefs and officials, increment in access of backward women, increased number of women leaders, increased number of women in leadership of various state organs and agencies, constitutional provisions, reformed laws, etc.

Possible Threats: Patriarchal and autocratic social thoughts and culture, inferiority complex prevailing in women, financial constraints, availability of educated human resources, political instability, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: DC, local committees, Women Department, ANWA, People's Organizations, networks, government agencies, CC, etc.

Implementation Period: 2 to 4 years.

Means of Verification: Awareness raising programmes, decrease in bad customs, registration of complaints, number of rewarded persons, activities of the networks, decisions, etc.

Possible Threats: Superstitions, traditional attitudes, activeness of local party committees, availability of resources, government's priority, party interests, etc.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, ANWA, networks, NGOs, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Monitoring and Evaluation Manual, transparent activities, number of committees, status of identifying the weaknesses at various levels and their address, number of rewarded persons/units, etc.

Possible Threats: Possibility of low level of activeness of central level agencies, availability of resources, etc.

6. Others

- (a) To initiate to build networks of local level women related NGOs as well.

Process:

- To form networks through assembly of such NGOs in the initiation of ANWA.
- (b) To ensure meaningful participation of physically challenged persons in the party and state agencies.

Process:

- To identify such persons and create environment for their capacity building and opportunities by mobilizing the concerned government agencies and party units.

Responsible Agency: ANWA, DC, state, civil society, etc.

Implementation Period: 3 years.

Means of Verification: Number of networks, status of participation.

Possible Threats: Negative social attitude.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: CPN (Maoist)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, People's Organizations.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the Central General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, People's Organizations, government, judiciary, networks.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, VC, government, networks.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Address of excluded women's issues, publicity programmes, code of ethics, women's common issues, organizations of marginalized women, declarations, increment in women's participation and activeness in party works, increase in managerial capacity of party offices, mobile meetings, status of manifesto implementation, budget of women's sector, etc.

Possible Threats: Delay in effective implementation, it might take long time to end discrimination, lack of budgets, question in honest obedience of code of ethics, other parties'

consent on common issues, weak implementation aspect of women's issues, resources, lack of coordination among all concerned agencies, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, VC, People's Organizations, networks, government.

Implementation Period: 2 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Policy provisions, status of women leadership, increased access of excluded women, increased number of women in different sectors, elimination of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of education, lack of awareness, lack of guarantee of representation, difficulty in implementation, difficulty in initiation, fear of bias constitutional provisions, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family

consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: DC, VC, People's Organizations, networks, government, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Confession of superstitions and support for road to progress, programmes, development of attitudes for equality between son and daughter, inter-party activities, etc.

Possible Threats: Problem in implementation due to ignorance, lack of budgets.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.

- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, VC, networks.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Development of executable system, committees, number of rewarded persons/units.

Possible Threats: Possibility of bias evaluation system.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: People's Front Nepal

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the National Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, government.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Commitments of women's organization, *Janajati Sammelan*, *Samata Samaj* and other people's organizations, mention of matters related to elimination of discrimination in party policies and programmes, programmes, code of ethics, common issues and problems of women, organizations of marginalized women, declarations, increased managerial capacity of party offices, mobile meetings, status of manifesto implementation, budget in women's sector, etc.

Possible Threats: Possibility of not formulating the policies and programmes on time, party might not identify the policies, support of the state, lack of budgets, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Policy provisions, women leadership development, increased access of excluded women, increased number of women in various sectors, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions, etc.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting, possibility of not formulating necessary laws by the state, possibility of delay in formulating the new Constitution, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family

consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Decreased malpractices, women awareness, rewarded couples, increased financial support to networks within a year, etc.

Possible Threats: Possibility of not formulating necessary laws, possibility of not having social support.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.

- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: Central Offices, District Offices.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Development of monitoring system, committees, high confidence of party cadres.

Possible Threats:

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: National People's Front

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: Central Office, District Office.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the National Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: Central Office, District Office.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: Central Office, District Office.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Membership increment, programmes, code of ethics, women's common problems, organizations of marginalized women, declarations and programmes, increased managerial capacity of party offices, mobile meetings, status of manifesto implementation, budget in women's sector, etc.

Possible Threats: Delay in decision making process, lack of activeness, lack of donors, lack of support from the state, budgets, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: Central Office, District Office, CC, DC, state, parliament.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Policy provisions, status of women leadership, increased access of excluded women, increased number of women in various sectors, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of capacity enhancement, party's principle of people's centrality, capacity of downtrodden women, state vision, delay in writing the Constitution, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: Central Office, District Office.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Decreased malpractices, women awareness, positive attitudes, feeling of unity among women, etc.

Possible Threats: Resources, autocratic cultures, lack of politics based on group struggle, etc.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: Central Office, District Office.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Development of evaluation system, committees, high confidence in party cadres.

Possible Threats: Nepotism and favoritism, lack of capable and expert women, etc.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: CPN (Unified)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: National General Meeting, CC, DC, Sub-ordinate units.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, People's Organizations, ANWA.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election, ineffective role of party and government.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CC, RC, DC, sub-ordinate committees, ANWA, People's Organizations, NGOs, state, local government, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Increased women's participation in every units of the party, decisions, membership receipt, women's increased intellectual capacity and awareness, changes in social attitudes towards women, code of ethics, common issues and campaigns, documents, organizations of marginalized communities, increased women's activeness, women's continuity in politics, increased managerial capacity of party offices, mobile meetings, decisions of manifesto implementation, budget, etc.

Possible Threats: Ineffectiveness, financial resources, traditional vision towards women, party interests, support from the state, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: General Meeting, CC, every party units, DC, People's Organizations, state, civil society, networks, CA Members, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 4 years.

Means of Verification: Documents, increased women's access to party leadership, increased access of excluded women, increased representation, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions.

Possible Threats: Intellectual capacity and continuity, lack of support from male counterparts.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family

consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: CC, sub-ordinate committees, programme-specific agencies, People's Organizations, state, civil society, networks, NGOs, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Plans and programmes, women awareness, number of rewarded persons, networks, etc.

Possible Threats: Role of organization and participants might be underestimated.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.

- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, ANWA, networks.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Evaluation system, committees, number of rewardees.

Possible Threats:

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: CPN (ML)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: General Meeting, CC, DC, ANWA.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, government, ANWA.

Implementation Period: 3 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, ANWA, local committees, state, networks, NGOs, etc.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Increased women's membership, programmes, code of ethics, women's common issues, organizations of marginalized women, declarations and programmes, increased managerial capacity of party offices, mobile meetings, decisions of manifesto implementation, budget of women's sector, etc.

Possible Threats: Delay in decision making process, lack of activeness, lack of donors, lack of support from state, budget, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, state, parliament.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Number of women, women's leadership development, increased access of excluded women, increased number of women in various sectors, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of advocacy in women's favour, lack of women's roles, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, local committees, ANWA.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Decreased malpractices, women awareness, number of rewarded persons, networks, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of activeness of the organization, possibility of party's role being ineffective.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Evaluation system, committees, number of rewarded persons.

Possible Threats: Coordination.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: CPN (United Marxist)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: General Meeting, CC, Women's Organization.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CC, DC, Women's Organization.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CC, RC, DC, sub-ordinate committees, Women's Organization, network.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Membership receipt, decisions, minute, attendance sheet, programmes, code of ethics and decisions, receipts, fund, mobile meetings, decisions of manifesto implementation, movement for budget, advocacy and lobbying programmes, etc.

Possible Threats: Lack of awareness, lack of capacity, financial resources, male-dominated thoughts, lack of party's activeness, lack of coordination, financial and technical problems for mobile meetings, outdated laws and policies, etc.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: Central President, General Meeting, CC, state.

Implementation Period: 2 to 4 years.

Means of Verification: Decisions, agreements, implementation, etc.

Possible Threats: Male-dominated mindset, greed for posts, traditional thoughts, etc.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this process.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.

- To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: Concerned party committee, party members.

Implementation Period: 1 to 4 years.

Means of Verification: Decisions, movements, implementation, etc.

Possible Threats: Social malpractices, lack of awareness, lack of coordination, gap in thinking, etc.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.

- To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CC, concerned party committee, party members.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Minute book.

Possible Threats: Lack of coordination, inability to collect data.

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: Nepal Sadbhavana Party (Anandidevi)

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: Party, CWC, DWC, Women's Forum, networks.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in the party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the National Assembly.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CWC, sister organization.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, Women's Forum, sister organizations, state, networks, NGOs, local governments.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Increment in women membership, programmes, code of ethics, common issues and campaigns, ethnic organizations, declarations, increased managerial capacity of the party offices, mobile meetings, implementation of election manifesto, budget in women's sector.

Possible Threats: Resources, support from the state, budgets.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Women's number, women's leadership development, increased access of excluded groups' women, women's increased number in the parliament, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions.

Possible Threats: Patriarchal thoughts, delay in writing the Constitution.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this work.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: Party, CWC, DWC, sister organizations, Women's Forum, state, courts, networks.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Decreased malpractices, women awareness, number of rewarded persons, local networks.

Possible Threats: No development of necessary laws, lack of social support.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, networks, NGOs.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Evaluation system, committees, high confidence in party cadres.

Possible Threats:

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: Madheshi Janaadhikar Forum, Nepal

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in the party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, Women's Forum, sister organizations, state, networks, NGOs, local governments.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Increment in women membership, programmes, code of ethics, common problems, ethnic organizations, declarations and programmes, increased managerial capacity of the party offices, mobile meetings, implementation of election manifesto, budget in women's sector.

Possible Threats: Resources, support from the state, budgets.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Women's number, women's leadership development, increased access of excluded groups' women, women's increased number in the parliament, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions.

Possible Threats: Social attitude, delay in writing the Constitution.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this work.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Decreased malpractices, women awareness, number of rewarded persons, networks.

Possible Threats: No development of necessary laws, lack of social support.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Evaluation system, committees, number of rewarded persons.

Possible Threats:

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: Sadbhavana Party

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 1 year.

Means of Verification: Amendment in the party Constitution and other policy documents.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the National Assembly.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Enclosure of these matters in party's upcoming Election Manifesto.

Possible Threats: Delay in election.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
 - To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.
- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.

- To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, sister organizations, networks, state, NGOs.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Increment in women membership, programmes, code of ethics, common issues and problems, ethnic organizations, declarations, increased managerial capacity of the party offices, mobile meetings, implementation of election manifesto, budget in women's sector.

Possible Threats: Resources, support from the state, budgets.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Women's number, women's leadership development, increased access of excluded groups' women, women's increased number in the parliament, end of discriminatory laws, constitutional provisions.

Possible Threats: Social attitudes, delay in writing the Constitution.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this work.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.

- To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, state.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Decreased malpractices, women awareness, number of rewarded persons, networks.

Possible Threats: No development of necessary laws, lack of social support.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.

- To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC.

Implementation Period: 1 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Evaluation system, committees, number of rewarded persons.

Possible Threats:

Strategic Action Plan for Enhancing Women's Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion

Political Party: Terai Madhesh Loktantrik Party

1. Policy Reform Programme

(a) To amend the policy documents including party Constitution, Regulation, Bylaws etc. keeping in mind the following points:

- Specific mention of **proportionate participation** in the Preamble of the party Constitution.
- Special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
- Women's proportionate participation in every party unit of each level.
- Women's proportionate representation in party General Meeting, conventions, taskforces etc.
- Seat reservation for capable women party leaders in responsible leadership party positions.
- Policy provision for creating opportunities of special education, orientation, training, leadership development skills and other empowerment activities for women party leaders and cadres in a regular basis.
- Creation of opportunities for women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership level and capacity building. Subsidy in membership fees for such women.

Process:

- To form a taskforce by the CWC to recommend the amendment details in the Constitution, Regulations, Bylaws and others with due representation of women and various deprived communities.
- To get suggestions from women's and ethnic organizations of the party on the amendment.
- To submit the amendment proposal for the Constitution in the General Meeting and for other policy documents in the CWC and decide accordingly.

Responsible Agency: General Meeting, CWC, DWC, sister organizations.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Revised documents, women's participation in various party activities, women awareness.

Possible Threats: Delay in holding the General Meeting, domination of nepotism.

(b) **Make following provisions in the party's Election Manifesto:**

- Provision of women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service, education service, security service, social agencies, various government agencies and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.
- Guarantee of proportionate participation, access and opportunities for women from among the Dalit, Janajati, backward regions, Madheshi and other marginalized/minority communities.
- Complete implementation of the laws and policies on equal paternal property rights.
- Free and compulsory education up to school level and gender education.
- Guarantee of women's right to reproductive health.
- Guarantee of employment and income generation opportunities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.
- Special constitutional and legal provisions to control violence against women and guarantee of effective implementation thereof.
- Arrangement of resolving cases related to women within a period of maximum six months.

Process:

- To ensure the proportionate representation of women and minority and marginalized communities in the committee formed to prepare the Manifesto.
- To finalize the Manifesto receiving and including the suggestions from the NWA and associations of minority/marginalized groups in the party.
- To pass a special resolution from the party General Meeting for the proper implementation of the Manifesto.
- To establish the gender equity and inclusion friendly state mechanism and election system.
- To establish special court for women related cases and issues.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, sister organizations, government.

Implementation Period: 1 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Inclusive state structures, women's access to property, increment in number of students, good health and long age, employment-oriented society, equitable society.

Possible Threats: Difficulty in implementation of the manifesto, male-dominated society, less number of teachers' vacant positions, financial constraints, inadequate industries, legal obstacles.

2. Special Decisions and Programmes of the Party and Their Implementation

- (a) To formulate the plans for increasing and retaining women members in the party and conduct special campaigns for their effective implementation, and link the movement

of increasing membership of women from marginalized and minority communities alongside these campaigns.

Process:

- To determine the quantitative targets of members for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year and activate all the party units for its effective implementation.
 - To organize door-to-door programmes, exempt the membership fee, make provisions of full-time party membership, etc.
 - To run the awareness campaigns at a massive level.
- (b) To build awareness on elimination of caste discrimination, women's political participation, women rights etc, and publicize the party objectives, policies, programmes, manifestoes etc.

Process:

- To organize assemblies, interactions, workshops, seminars, orientation programmes etc. at various levels.
 - To publish these aspects in the party's newsletter with priority.
- (c) To build capacity through regular organization of leadership development training and orientation on human rights, women's rights, prevailing laws, party Constitution, Bylaws, Regulations and other policy and programmes and other current political issues.

Process:

- To make the Training Department of the party more effective.
 - To develop gender information center in party.
 - To share and transfer information and support in close coordination with various organizations.
- (d) To formulate and implement 'gender code of ethics' by the party and give priority to women's agenda at WC meetings.

Process:

- To make necessary decisions and implement them by party DWC.
 - To run campaigns in this regard.
- (e) To identify the common issues of women politicians and create environment for inter-party cooperation to tackle them.

Process:

- To mobilize women's organizations.
- To get support from inter-party WDNs or other networks.

- (f) To strengthen capacity of party women's organizations and departments for their further effectiveness and build organizations of women from among the Dalit, Janajati and other minority and marginalized communities.

Process:

- To implement this campaign as a national campaign.
 - To lead this campaign by women leaders in direction from the central level party organization.
- (g) To declare this decade as "Decade of Enhancing Women's Participation and Zero-Gender Discrimination" and execute various programmes accordingly.

Process:

- To work by political parties in close coordination with the state, networks and organizations.
- (h) To provide financial support by the party to the needy women leaders during party works.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (i) To make necessary decisions and work accordingly for institutional and managerial strengthening of the District Party Offices.

Process:

- To build party fund from government budget or other sources.
- (j) To hold the party meetings in remote places as well for creating environment of easy participation.

Process:

- To set up practices of mobile meetings.
- (k) To play role for complete implementation of the CA Manifesto provisions of the party.

Process:

- To make decisions and implement them at the district level.
- (l) To arrange for budget allocation from different level of governments to conduct programmes on women's advancement.

Process:

- To lobby for allocation of budgets from the VDC, Municipality, DDC and other agencies by the parties.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, sister organizations, NGOs.

Implementation Period: 2 to 3 years.

Means of Verification: Remarkable increment in women's participation, enhancement in political consciousness, network formation, building the ethnic organizations, increased

women's participation in every state sector, office building for the party, website etc., minute of mobile meetings, sector-wise records of women's participation.

Possible Threats: Madheshi women are more illiterate and don't like politics; less probability of targeted programmes going to village level; financial constraints; patriarchal thoughts; party-wise interests; geographical difficulties; lack of systematic action plan; lack of expert human resources; party's more concentration in infrastructural development.

3. Programmes Related to Enhancing Access to Leadership and Policy Making Positions of the Party and the State

- (a) To ensure women's proportionate access to responsible positions, sections and decision making process of the party and organizations at various levels, and inclusion through the effective implementation of policy provisions as mentioned in Section 1 above.

Process:

- To reserve at least 2 out of 5 major posts of the WC and organizations for women including either the Chief or Deputy-Chief.
 - To make women's participation in every decision making process.
 - To take actions on women's issues in a serious way.
- (b) To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.

Process:

- To implement by amending the Constitution and from CWC decision.
 - To establish the practice of female party chief for one tenure and male for the other.
- (c) To make efforts for proper address of women's issues in upcoming new Constitution, reform in discriminatory laws, development of empowerment oriented laws, etc.

Process:

- To submit proposals from the parties for constitutional provisions and make them included.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, sister organizations.

Implementation Period: 2 to 5 years.

Means of Verification: Women's leadership development; women will be the party President; women will be elected from their constituencies; law and order will be maintained.

Possible Threats: Lack of confidence in women's leadership; single electoral constituency in many districts; weak mindset; domination of patriarchal thoughts.

4. Social and Cultural Campaigns and Programmes in Collaboration with Civil Society

- (a) To conduct awareness programmes to eliminate the bad practices and discriminations prevailing in the society such as patriarchal thoughts, violence against women, girls trafficking, dowry system, *Jhuma* system, *Deuki* system, *Dhankhane* system, polygamy, practices of witch doctors, caste discrimination etc. and to develop family consent, support and motivation towards women's political participation, and include the civil society in this work.

Process:

- To conduct the campaign by party district unit mobilizing the NWA and women leaders as well.
 - To conduct people's cultural campaigns by means of street drama, documentary, success story, co-feasts, Dalit's entrance into the temple and house, inter-caste marriage etc.
- (b) To celebrate the festivals of mass people's participation jointly by all the political parties, organizations and agencies and give priority in women's activeness in such events.

Process:

- To identify the local and ethnic festivals and conduct programmes in coordination with concerned communities.
- (c) To reward the couples who have given birth to only two daughters to bring changes in son-oriented mentality.

Process:

- To provide financial for education of such families by the state.
 - To offer honorable positions to such couples in party.
- (d) To support for expansion of inter-party women's cooperation campaign from politics to social sectors as well and making it more effective.

Process:

- To make efforts for financial assistance from local governments, organizations and agencies.

Responsible Agency: Party, sister organizations, NGOs, government.

Implementation Period: 2 years.

Means of Verification: Establishment of equitable society, women's assemblies at massive level, end of gender discrimination, feeling of collaboration.

Possible Threats: Extremist religious thinking, party-wise interests, son-oriented thoughts, internal conflicts and debates.

5. Monitoring and Evaluation Programmes

- (a) To develop and implement clear system of monitoring and evaluation of various party activities.

Process:

- To make decisions by central to district level party units on the basis of prevailing circumstances.
- (b) To form monitoring and evaluation committees by the party at each level with women's proportionate participation (women from marginalized/minority communities as well) and perform monitoring and evaluation works in a regular basis by such committees.

Process:

- To form by decisions of party at various level.
 - To supervise the monitoring and evaluation works by WDNs as well.
- (c) To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Process:

- To evaluate by DWC by collecting necessary information.

Responsible Agency: CWC, DWC, networks.

Implementation Period: 1 to 2 years.

Means of Verification: Development of monitoring system, women's representation in committees, certificate of reward.

Possible Threats: Problem in implementation, Madheshi women's attitude of hesitating public exposure.

Chapter - Four

Conclusion and Recommendations of the Strategic Action Plan

The matter of women's political participation in Nepal has been talked about for a long time. However, the issues of this sector are yet to be addressed properly. The achievements have not been satisfactory despite mobilization of a remarkable volume of resources. This is mostly due to indifferent and ineffective role of the government.

On the other hand, the structure and activities of the government are directly related to the nature and roles of the political parties. So, until and unless the political parties and government work together with their full commitments to address the issues of women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion, it is found to be impossible to protect women's rights, ensure their access to state resources and eliminate gender discrimination. Keeping this in mind, Strategic Action Plans of 13 political parties have been developed in initiation of WDNs with due consultation with the concerned party officials to address the issues of women's political representation. Most of the parties have already expressed their commitments to implement these Plans. Major contents of the Plans are outlined below.

1. To make provisions in party Constitution specifying the percentage of women's participation, access to meaningful positions and inclusion of excluded communities.
2. To avoid gender sensitive terminologies in party policy documents.
3. To provide special facilities and flexibilities for women to get ordinary and active membership of the party (in process, experience etc.).
4. To ensure 50% women's participation in every party unit.
5. To make provision in the party Constitution for leading the district party unit by male and female leaders in the rotation basis so that at least half of the total districts would be lead by women.
6. To provide opportunities to women from Dalit, Janajati and other marginalized/ minority communities for their proportionate participation (on the basis of population), access to leadership positions and capacity building.
7. To organize training, orientation and other form of capacity building activities in a regular basis.
8. To formulate party policies that are favourable for increasing women membership and retaining them in the party.
9. To ensure women's proportionate participation in party, parliament, government, commissions, civil service, judicial service and other policy making authorities based on the concept of positive discrimination.

10. To ensure women's equal rights in paternal property, free education up to school level, reproductive health, equal pay for equal work, etc.
11. To make arrangements for the settlement of women related cases within a maximum period of 6 months.
12. To ensure the effective implementation of laws related to violence against women.
13. To support the women's inter-party cooperation campaign for identifying women's common issues and making the collective endeavours more effective.
14. To form special monitoring and evaluation teams for making the monitoring and evaluation activities strong and effective with regard to successful enforcement of laws, policies and programmes.
15. To reward party DWC, district leadership or member who has remarkably contributed in the field of enhancing women's participation and inclusion in the party.

Finally, it can be concluded that in the event of effective implementation of these Plans in coordination of the political parties, government and other concerned agencies, the discrimination between men and women could be eliminated and women's political participation, empowerment and inclusion could be enhanced.

Annexes

Kathmandu Declaration of Women's Democratic Networks

Women's participation in politics, access to meaningful positions and their effective roles are always a challenge in Nepal. Many organizations have been raising these issues. However, only the women involved in politics have realized the impact of these problems in the real sense. In this context, inter-party networks of women politicians formed in various districts in the name of 'Women's Democratic Network' or others to identify the difficulties, challenges and solutions in the field of women's political representation, enhance women leaders' qualifications, capacities and knowledge bases, and play pivotal roles in increasing women's representation in every state structures and inclusion. The Presidents and officials of these networks have made the 22-points declaration as follows:

1. A five year action plan should be formulated ensuring at least 33% women's representation in various committees of the political parties, government, constitutional organs, commissions, civil service and other state structures and gradually increasing this up to 50%. This work should be started right from the nomination of candidates in upcoming Constituent Assembly Elections.
2. The Constitution of political parties and their sister organizations should be amended and reformed to ensure women's 50% representation (with inclusion) and their capacity building.
3. Special programmes should be implemented in government's initiation for women's economic, political, social and cultural empowerment.
4. Women's Democratic Network expresses its solidarity to the ongoing movement of *Badi* women for their noble living and demands that the government should immediately solve their problems.
5. Special packages of relief and security should be developed and implemented for women affected by the armed conflict prevailing in the country for the last 11 years. These programmes should be conducted in coordination of both the government and non-governmental sectors.
6. Special attention should be paid to make the government budgets gender responsive.
7. The Women Development Offices should be made capable to play more effective roles by providing them with additional resources.
8. Arrangements should be made to allocate certain percentage of budgets in women's development sector by the INGOs working in Nepal.
9. The state should immediately maintain peace and security by ending the violence and conflicts in various parts of the country, especially in some *Terai* districts, through dialogues or other suitable measures.

10. Rehabilitation programmes should be implemented for conflict affected women and children. Besides, political parties, government and civil society should conduct joint programmes to control the risk of trafficking of these women and children.
11. The government and local bodies should provide regular financial support to the WDNs formed in various districts for their institutional development and their representation should be ensured in the meetings of the local bodies.
12. The public media should support for women empowerment and inclusion with their declared policies.
13. The state should ensure proper inclusion of women from *Dalit, Janajati, Madheshi, Kamaiya, Badi*, backward regions including *Karnali* and other marginalized regions and communities and immediately address the demands and issues raised by them.
14. Effective implementation of all the international conventions related to women rights and welfares acceded by the Government of Nepal should be guaranteed.
15. The laws controlling domestic violence should immediately be formulated. Moreover, family court should be established in every district.
16. Effective laws should be formulated to control the dowry system and ensure their proper implementation. Also, awareness campaigns should be conducted in this regard.
17. The state should effectively address the issues related to women's reproductive health.
18. Free maternal health and 24 hours maternity services should be made available in every sub-health posts of each VDC.
19. The education up to secondary level should be made compulsory and free of cost.
20. There should not be any obstruction to operate the ambulances and other vehicles carrying emergency supplies including milk, water, etc.
21. There should be functional unity among all the women rights organizations and groups working all over the country and common campaigns should be conducted accordingly.
22. There should be guarantee of social security and employment of all the women.

Finally, this newly formed WDNCC requests for the solidarity from all the women leaders and cadres of political parties and rights activists, and appeals for their involvement in common campaigns in this regard.

Women's Unity: *Jindabad !*

Saturday, 2064 Bhadra 15 (1 Sept. 2007)

AND/N Training Center, Bode, Madhyapurthimi, Bhaktapur.

Human Resources Involved for the Study

S.N.	Name of Person	Kind of Involvement/Post	Scope of Work
1.	Prof.Dr. Chaitainya Mishra	Member, Project Steering Committee	Code development
2.	Hon. Urmila Aryal	Member, Project Steering Committee	Questionnaire development, code development, report preparation
3.	Laxmi Sharan Ghimire	Member, Project Steering Committee	Questionnaire development, code development, report preparation
4.	Basant Kumar Bishwokarma	Member, Project Steering Committee	Survey, monitoring
5.	Y.B. Thapa	Project Director	Overall process management, Questionnaire development, code development, report preparation, etc.
6.	Madan Bahadur Thapa	M&E Officer	Overall process monitoring, questionnaire development, table development, report preparation
7.	Puskar Pokhrel	Training Coordinator	Questionnaire development, code development, report preparation, monitoring, support, etc.
8.	Shiv Nandan Shah	Statistician	Survey table development
9.	Dr. Bal Chandra Mishra	Media Consultant	Code development, report
10.	Dhruba Raj Ghimire	Statistician	Questionnaire drafting & finalizing, survey training, monitoring, development of data entry programme, coding, data entry monitoring, initial survey table preparation, etc.
11.	Krishna Bhakta Rai	Senior Regional Coordinator	Survey, supervision
12.	Ek Maya Thapa	Regional Coordinator	Survey, supervision
13.	Ushakala Rai	Regional Coordinator	Survey, supervision
14.	Indira Ale	Deputy Regional Coordinator	Survey, supervision, coding, data entry
15.	Man Bahadur Kunwar	Deputy Regional Coordinator	Survey, supervision, coding, data entry
16.	Sharada Rijal	Deputy Regional Coordinator	Coding

17.	Tulasa Oli	Deputy Regional Coordinator	Survey, supervision, coding, data entry
18.	Durga Thapa Karki	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey
19.	Laxmi Mahara	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey, coding
20.	Arjun Kumar Shahi	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey, coding, data entry
21.	Radha Dhakal	Social Mobilization Officer	Coding, data entry
22.	Sunita Khatiwada	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey, coding, data entry
23.	Sarita Dhakal	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey, supervision, coding, data entry
24.	Sanu Ghimire	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey, supervision, coding, data entry
25.	Karan Dev Pant	Social Mobilization Officer	Survey, coding, data entry
26.	Samjhana Shah	Office Assistant	Survey, coding, data entry
27.	Sushila Gaire	Office Assistant	Survey
28.	Anita Mahato	Office Assistant	Survey
29.	Ramesh Dhakal	Office Assistant	Survey
30.	D.B. Shah Shankar	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Taplejung
31.	Yam Bahadur Gurung	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Dhankuta, Terhathum
32.	Narayan Karki	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Bhojpur, Sankhuwasabha
33.	Bal Bahadur Pariyar	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Okhaldhunga, Solu
34.	Gopal Baral	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Mahottari
35.	Nav Raj Dahal	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Dhanusha, Sindhuli
36.	Nirmala Bhandari	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Narayani Zone
37.	Ramesh Poudel	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Rolpa
38.	Negan Singh Kanwar	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Pyuthan
39.	Kuber KC	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Rukum
40.	Niraj Acharya	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Jajarkot
41.	Laxmi Prasad Upadhyay	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Jumla
42.	Hasta Bahadur Shahi	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Humla
43.	Dhruv Bikram Shahi	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Kalikot
44.	Hansa Bahadur Shahi	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Dolpa
45.	Chandra Bahadur Budha	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Mugu
46.	Sher Bahadur Rawal	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Bajura
47.	Gajendra Bahadur Singh	Surveyor/Consultant	Survey- Bajhang
48.	Min Chhetri	Data Entry Associate	Coding
49.	Sunita Dhakal	Data Entry Associate	Coding, data entry
50.	Bigyan Sharma	Data Entry Associate	Coding
51.	Bhuwan Khatiwada	Data Entry Associate	Coding
52.	Nitu Dube	Data Entry Associate	Coding
53.	Ram Krishna Pokhrel	Data Entry Associate	Coding

Annex - 3

Participation Rates of Men and Women in Central Working Committees of Political Parties and Their Sister Organizations

S.N.	Name of Working Committee & Sister Organization	Participation Rates				Total
		Male		Female		
		Number	%	Number	%	
1	Party: Nepali Congress					
1.1	Central Working Committee	40	88.9	5	11.1	45
1.2	Nepal Women Association	-	-	62	100.0	62
1.3	Nepal Taran Dal (Youth Organization)	56	87.5	8	12.5	64
1.4	Nepal Peasants Association	7	77.8	2	22.2	9
1.5	Nepal Student Association	22	91.7	2	8.3	24
1.6	Nepal Trade Union Congress	12	100.0	-	-	12
1.7	Nepal Dalit Association	25	100.0	-	-	25
1.8	Nepal Janajati Association	1	100.0	-	-	1
1.9	Nepal Cultural Association	4	100.0	-	-	4
1.10	Nepal Ex-Army Association	8	100.0	-	-	8
1.11	Nepal Civil Servants Association	1	100.0	-	-	1
1.12	Nepal Prajatantrik Senani Sangh	3	100.0	-	-	3
2	Party: CPN (UML)					
2.1	Central Committee	62	91.2	6	8.8	68
2.2	All Nepal Women's Association	-	-	56	100.0	56
2.3	Democratic National Youth Federation, Nepal	51	68.0	24	32.0	75
2.4	All Nepal Peasants' Federation	46	85.2	8	14.8	54
2.5	All Nepal National Free Students' Union	50	82.0	11	18.0	61
2.6	General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT)	34	81.0	8	19.0	42
2.7	Nepal Utpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj	30	93.8	2	6.3	32
2.8	Nepal Loktantrik Janatantrik Mahasangh	32	84.2	6	15.8	38
2.9	Nepal Muslim Ittehad Sangathan	19	95.0	1	5.0	20
2.10	Nepal Ex-Army & Police Federation	20	100.0	-	-	20
3	Party: Nepali Congress (D)					
3.1	Central Working Committee	25	89.3	3	10.7	28
3.2	Nepal Women's Association	-	-	28	100.0	28
3.3	Nepal Tarun Dal	25	92.6	2	7.4	27
3.4	Nepal Peasants' Association	39	92.9	3	7.1	42
3.5	Nepal Students' Union	32	88.9	4	11.1	36
4	Party: Rastriya Prajatantra Party					
4.1	Central Working Committee	31	93.9	2	6.1	33

4.2	Nepal Democratic Women's Association	-	-	23	100.0	23
4.3	Nepal Democratic Youth Association	45	93.8	3	6.3	48
4.4	Nepal Democratic Students' Association	18	94.7	1	5.3	19
4.5	Nepal Democratic Trade Union Federation	22	88.0	3	12.0	25
4.6	National Democratic Teachers' Council	18	85.7	3	14.3	21
5	Party: People's Front Nepal					
5.1	Central Committee	50	82.0	11	18.0	61
5.2	All Nepal Free Trade Union Federation	20	80.0	5	20.0	25
6	Party: CPN (Maoist)					
6.1	All Nepal Women's Association (Revolutionary)	-	-	43	100.0	43
6.2	Dalit Rastriya Mukti Morcha	47	85.5	8	14.5	55
6.3	Tamang Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	31	73.8	11	26.2	42
6.4	Majhi Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	16	76.2	5	23.8	21
6.5	Newa Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	48	82.8	10	17.2	58
6.6	Tharu Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	18	81.8	4	18.2	22
6.7	All Nepal Teacher's Association	35	71.4	14	28.6	49
7	Party: Nepal Sadbhavana Party (A)					
7.1	Central Working Committee	43	86.0	7	14.0	50
8	Party: National People's Front					
8.1	Central Committee	35	92.1	3	7.9	38
8.2	All Nepal Women's Association	-	-	21	100.0	21
8.3	All Nepal Free Student's Union (Ekikrit)	33	89.2	4	10.8	37
9	Party: CPN (Unified)					
9.1	Central Committee	41	83.7	8	16.3	49
9.2	All Nepal Women's Association	-	-	52	100.0	52
9.3	All Nepal Free Student's Union (Samyukta)	52	92.9	4	7.1	56
9.4	Akhil Nepal Pragatishil Majdoor Federation	38	97.4	1	2.6	39
10	Party: CPN (ML)					
10.1	Central Committee	36	87.8	5	12.2	41
10.2	All Nepal Progressive Women's Association	-	-	19	100.0	19
10.3	All Nepal Progressive Youth Association	1	100.0	-	-	1
10.4	All Nepal Free Students' Union	21	77.8	6	22.2	27
11	Party: CPN (Marxist)					
11.1	Central Committee	12	92.3	1	7.7	13
11.2	All Nepal Progressive Women's Association	-	-	13	100.0	13
11.3	All Nepal Progressive Youth Association	13	86.7	2	13.3	15
11.4	All Nepal Progressive Trade Union Federation	24	96.0	1	4.0	25
12	Party: CPN (United Marxist)					

12.1	Central Committee	15	88.2	2	11.8	17
12.2	All Nepal Progressive Women's Association	-	-	18	100.0	18
12.3	All Nepal Progressive Youth Association	35	79.5	9	20.5	44
Total		1402	71.28	565	28.72	1,967

Annex - 5

Participation Rates in District Working Committees and Political Parties and Their Sister Organizations

District	Number of Party Committees	Number of Sister Organizations	Party Working Committee			Sister Organizations			Total			Percentage of Women		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	DWC	Sister Organization	Total
Total	407	1886	7390	860	8250	13052	6277	19329	20442	7198	27640	11.08	32.47	26.04
Taplejung	4	17	64	9	73	117	60	177	181	69	250	12.33	33.90	27.60
Panchthar	5	29	85	9	94	220	93	313	305	102	407	9.57	29.71	25.06
Ilam	6	33	102	10	112	209	109	318	311	119	430	8.93	34.28	27.67
Jhapa	6	41	122	16	138	375	162	537	497	178	675	11.59	30.17	26.37
Morang	5	18	91	12	103	150	103	253	241	115	356	11.65	40.71	32.30
Sunsari	5	23	102	13	115	164	88	252	266	101	367	11.30	34.92	27.52
Dhankuta	7	30	97	20	117	163	85	248	260	105	365	17.09	34.27	28.77
Terhathum	6	15	83	16	99	82	53	135	165	69	234	16.16	39.26	29.49
Sankhuwasabha	4	13	69	16	85	101	46	147	170	62	232	18.82	31.29	26.72
Bhojpur	4	14	91	10	101	112	82	194	203	92	295	9.90	42.27	31.19
Solukhumbu	2	8	21	2	23	30	9	39	51	11	62	8.70	23.08	17.74
Okhaldhunga	3	14	68	6	74	77	68	145	145	74	219	8.11	46.90	33.79
Khotang	5	23	88	10	98	146	78	224	234	88	322	10.20	34.82	27.33
Udaypur	6	25	98	18	116	145	112	257	243	130	373	15.52	43.58	34.85
Saptari	9	40	121	20	141	238	65	303	359	85	444	14.18	21.45	19.14
Siraha	5	28	87	7	94	113	33	146	200	40	240	7.45	22.60	16.67
Dhanusha	7	26	149	13	162	173	131	304	322	144	466	8.02	43.09	30.90
Mahottari	7	30	146	13	159	240	76	316	386	89	475	8.18	24.05	18.74
Sarlahi	5	8	122	12	134	10	29	39	132	41	173	8.96	74.36	23.70
Sindhuli	6	38	142	28	170	180	129	309	322	157	479	16.47	41.75	32.78
Ramechhap	4	14	56	3	59	116	33	149	172	36	208	5.08	22.15	17.31

Dolakha	3	14	56	11	67	85	69	154	141	80	221	16.42	44.81	36.20
Sindhupalchowk	5	10	46	9	55	29	28	57	75	37	112	16.36	49.12	33.04
Kavrepalanchowk	6	20	114	16	130	97	52	149	211	68	279	12.31	34.90	24.37
Lalitpur	3	16	65	6	71	92	41	133	157	47	204	8.45	30.83	23.04
Bhaktapur	4	16	78	6	84	94	62	156	172	68	240	7.14	39.74	28.33
Kathmandu	6	26	150	17	167	232	134	366	382	151	533	10.18	36.61	28.33
Nuwakot	7	21	124	19	143	171	67	238	295	86	381	13.29	28.15	22.57
Rasuwa	5	14	48	8	56	78	42	120	126	50	176	14.29	35.00	28.41
Dhading	8	30	155	21	176	227	99	326	382	120	502	11.93	30.37	23.90
Makwanpur	9	37	132	31	163	170	128	298	302	159	461	19.02	42.95	34.49
Rautahat	6	21	166	10	176	117	46	163	283	56	339	5.68	28.22	16.52
Bara	2	6	54	4	58	32	13	45	86	17	103	6.90	28.89	16.50
Parsa	11	41	232	15	247	339	93	432	571	108	679	6.07	21.53	15.91
Chitwan	5	21	108	14	122	212	134	346	320	148	468	11.48	38.73	31.62
Gorkha	4	25	83	9	92	204	87	291	287	96	383	9.78	29.90	25.07
Lamjung	6	30	110	16	126	200	84	284	310	100	410	12.70	29.58	24.39
Tanahun	4	31	86	11	97	291	110	401	377	121	498	11.34	27.43	24.30
Syangja	5	35	95	5	100	295	126	421	390	131	521	5.00	29.93	25.14
Kaski	6	38	122	18	140	335	180	515	457	198	655	12.86	34.95	30.23
Manang	2	7	34	2	36	16	15	31	50	17	67	5.56	48.39	25.37
Mustang	2	4	32	4	36	0	15	15	32	19	51	11.11	100.00	37.25
Myagdi	6	34	70	18	88	219	116	335	289	134	423	20.45	34.63	31.68
Parvat	4	30	79	9	88	301	115	416	380	124	504	10.23	27.64	24.60
Parvat	6	44	125	14	139	400	175	575	525	189	714	10.07	30.43	26.47
Gulmi	6	30	100	13	113	230	121	351	330	134	464	11.50	34.47	28.88
Palpa	8	43	136	25	161	343	150	493	479	175	654	15.53	30.43	26.76
Nawalparasi	7	35	125	11	136	269	105	374	394	116	510	8.09	28.07	22.75
Rupandehi	9	47	164	48	212	447	177	624	611	225	836	22.64	28.37	26.91
Kapilvastu	7	36	138	14	152	228	100	328	366	114	480	9.21	30.49	23.75

Arghakhanchi	6	24	125	9	134	205	80	285	330	89	419	6.72	28.07	21.24
Pyuthan	8	38	141	12	153	201	121	322	342	133	475	7.84	37.58	28.00
Rolpa	4	21	63	12	75	99	50	149	162	62	224	16.00	33.56	27.68
Rukum	4	28	68	10	78	105	77	182	173	87	260	12.82	42.31	33.46
Salyan	4	24	84	3	87	186	76	262	270	79	349	3.45	29.01	22.64
Dang	6	26	112	11	123	221	103	324	333	114	447	8.94	31.79	25.50
Banke	6	31	105	13	118	212	102	314	317	115	432	11.02	32.48	26.62
Bardiya	5	22	108	13	121	130	72	202	238	85	323	10.74	35.64	26.32
Surkhet	6	21	108	8	116	105	80	185	213	88	301	6.90	43.24	29.24
Dailekh	8	40	123	17	140	231	145	376	354	162	516	12.14	38.56	31.40
Jajarkot	6	29	120	19	139	266	95	361	386	114	500	13.67	26.32	22.80
Dolpa	4	13	69	17	86	46	44	90	115	61	176	19.77	48.89	34.66
Jumla	6	31	57	10	67	125	54	179	182	64	246	14.93	30.17	26.02
Kalikot	4	22	52	3	55	156	70	226	208	73	281	5.45	30.97	25.98
Mugu	4	17	59	5	64	97	58	155	156	63	219	7.81	37.42	28.77
Humla	4	14	42	4	46	75	11	86	117	15	132	8.70	12.79	11.36
Bajura	4	13	49	4	53	67	36	103	116	40	156	7.55	34.95	25.64
Bajhang	5	27	88	10	98	138	67	205	226	77	303	10.20	32.68	25.41
Achham	6	29	113	13	126	179	79	258	292	92	384	10.32	30.62	23.96
Doti	7	40	147	18	165	209	98	307	356	116	472	10.91	31.92	4.58
Kailali	8	35	180	17	197	299	132	431	479	149	628	8.63	30.63	23.73
Kanchanpur	8	37	131	12	143	327	106	433	458	118	576	8.39	24.48	20.49
Dadeldhura	5	22	67	4	71	130	72	202	197	76	273	5.63	35.64	7.84
Baitadi	6	22	79	5	84	158	81	239	237	86	323	5.95	33.89	26.63
Darchula	4	16	69	5	74	171	40	211	240	45	285	6.76	18.96	15.79

Women Chiefs of District Level Sister Organizations (Other than Women's) of Political Parties

S.N.	Name	Post	Sister Organization	Political Party	District
1	Jeevan Dangol	President	Nepal Tarun Dal	Nepali Congress	Kathmandu
2	Sunita Adhikari	President	Nepal Student's Union	Nepali Congress	Palpa
3	Samina Neupane	President	Nepal Student's Union	Nepali Congress	Dolpa
4	Belu Damain	President	Nepal Dalit Association	Nepali Congress	Dadeldhura
5	Parvati Rawal	President	Democratic National Youth Federation, Nepal	CPN (UML)	Chitwan
6	Deepa Sharma	President	All Nepal National Free Students' Union	CPN (UML)	Banke
7	Rama Pun	President	GEFONT	CPN (UML)	Parvat
8	Sharada Swornakar	President	Nepal Utpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj	CPN (UML)	Dang
9	Shubha Laxmi Rai	President	Nepal Loktantrik Aadibasi Janajati Mahasangh	CPN (UML)	Jhapa
10	Bishnu Maya Rana	Coordinator	Nepal Loktantrik Magar Sangh	CPN (UML)	Lamjung
11	Metmani Chaudhari	President	Nepal Loktantrik Aadibasi Janajati Mahasangh	CPN (UML)	Dang
12	Sita Sundas	President	Rastriya Janasanskritik Manch, Nepal	CPN (UML)	Syangja
13	Bhavana GC	President	Rastriya Janasanskritik Manch, Nepal	CPN (UML)	Dailekh
14	Bhaginta Rawal	President	Nepal Peasants Association	Nepali Congress (D)	Mugu
15	Jamuna Dhakal	President	Nepal Student Association	Nepali Congress (D)	Rupandehi
16	Nani Maiya Pariyar	President	Nepal Dalit Association	Nepali Congress (D)	Lalitpur
17	Man Kumari Pajja	President	Nepal AAadibasi Janajati Sangh	Nepali Congress (D)	Parvat
18	Kheti KC	President	All Nepal Peasants Association (2007)	People's Front Nepal	Khotang
19	Basanta Kumal	President	All Nepal National Free	People's Front	Pyuthan

			Students' Union (Unified)	Nepal	
20	Saraswoti Pariyar	President	Nepal Rastriya Dalit Mukti Sangathan	People's Front Nepal	Myagdi
21	Srijana Rana	President	Pragatishil Sanskritik Sanghatan Nepal	People's Front Nepal	Palpa
22	Melina Budha	President	Pragatishil Sanskritik Sanghatan Nepal	People's Front Nepal	Rukum
23	Ganga Karki	Coordinator	Young Communist League	CPN (Maoist)	Arghakhanchi
24	Shanti Malla	President	All Nepal Peasants Association (Revolutionary)	CPN (Maoist)	Doti
25	Sita Khatiwada	President	All Nepal National Free Students' Union (Revolutionary)	CPN (Maoist)	Nuwakot
26	Laxmi BK	President	Nepal Dalit Mukti Morcha	CPN (Maoist)	Dhading
27	Harikala BK	President	Nepal Dalit Mukti Morcha	CPN (Maoist)	Nawalparasi
28	Lochan Kiranti	President	Kirant Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	CPN (Maoist)	Dhankuta
29	Laxmi Thapa	President	Magar Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	CPN (Maoist)	Dhading
30	Laxmi Shrestha	President	Newa Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	CPN (Maoist)	Dhading
31	Amrita Chalaune	President	Magar Rastriya Mukti Morcha, Nepal	CPN (Maoist)	Kailali
32	Prema BK	President	Akhil Nepal Janasanskritik Sangh	CPN (Maoist)	Doti
33	Laxmi Shrestha	President	Nepal Rastriya Buddhijibi Sangathan	CPN (Maoist)	Dhading
34	Mina Himdong	President	Shahid Paribar Samaj	CPN (Maoist)	Sindhuli
35	Jaypuri BK	President	Janayuddha Balidan Sangh	CPN (Maoist)	Doti
36	Jyoti Sharma	President	All Nepal National Free Students' Union	CPN (ML)	Makwanpur
37	Narayani Gautam	President	All Nepal National Free Students' Union	CPN (ML)	Pyuthan
38	Indu Chaudhari	Coordinator	All Nepal National Free Students' Union (Unified)	CPN (Unified)	Kailali
39	Purnakala Thapa	President	Pragatishil Sanskritik Sangh (Ekikrit)	CPN (Unified)	Parvat

Political Parties Expressing Commitments on the Strategic Action Plans

S.N.	District	Name
1.	Panchthar	NC, UML, PFN, RPP
2.	Ilam	NC, UML, Unified, Unified Marxist
3.	Jhapa	NC, UML, ML, Unified
4.	Sunsari	NC, UML, MJF, NSP-A, SP
5.	Dhankuta	NC, UML, Unified
6.	Terhathum	NC, UML, RPP
7.	Bhojpur	NC, UML
8.	Udaypur	NC, UML, Unified, ML, Unified Marxist, Maoist
9.	Saptari	NC, UML, Unified, NWPP, Maoist, NSP-A, SP, PFN
10.	Siraha	NC, UML, Maoist
11.	Rasuwa	NC, UML, PFN
12.	Dhading	NC, UML, PFN
13.	Nuwakot	NC, UML, PFN, ML, Unified
14.	Dolakha	NC, UML, PFN, ML
15.	Ramechhap	NC, UML, RPP
16.	Sindhuli	NC, UML, PFN
17.	Dhanusha	NC, UML, PFN, SBM
18.	Mahottari	NC, UML, MJF, TMDM
19.	Sarlahi	NC, UML, MJF, TMDM, NSP-A
20.	Gorkha	NC, UML, SBM
21.	Tanahun	NC, UML, PFN
22.	Syangja	NC, UML, PFN
23.	Kaski	NC, UML
24.	Lamjung	NC, UML, Unified, PFN
25.	Palpa	NC, UML
26.	Gulmi	NC, UML, RJM
27.	Arghakhanchi	NC, UML, Unified
28.	Kapilvastu	NC, UML, Unified
29.	Rupandehi	NC, UML, MJF
30.	Nawalparasi	NC, UML, ML, MJF, RPP
31.	Parvat	NC, UML, Unified, RJM
32.	Baglung	NC, UML, Unified
33.	Myagdi	NC, UML, Unified, ML
34.	Banke	NC, UML, MJF, RPP, Maoist, SP

35.	Bardiya	NC, UML, ML, NSP-A
36.	Dang	NC, UML, Unified, ML, NWPP
37.	Jumla	NC, UML, Maoist, RPP, RJM, NWPP
38.	Surkhet	NC, UML, Maoist
39.	Salyan	NC, UML
40.	Dailekh	NC, UML, Maoist, RPP, NWPP
41.	Rukum	NC, UML
42.	Rolpa	NC, UML, Maoist, RPP, PFN
43.	Humla	NC, UML, Maoist, Unified
44.	Kalikot	NC, UML, RPP, RJM
45.	Pyuthan	NC, UML, Unified, ML
46.	Jajarkot	NC, UML, Maoist
47.	Kailali	NC, UML, Unified, PFN, NSP-A, ML
48.	Doti	NC, UML, Maoist
49.	Achham	NC, UML, Maoist
50.	Bajhang	NC, UML, RJM
51.	Kanchanpur	NC, UML, PFN, RJM
52.	Baitadi	NC, UML, Maoist, PFN
53.	Dadeldhura	NC, UML

Logical Framework Format of Strategic Action Plan

SN	Programme Interventions and Areas of Reform	Process	Responsible Agency		Implementation Time Frame (Years)					Means of Verification	Assumptions and Risks
			Primary	Secondary	1	2	3	4	5		
1	Policy Reforms										
2	Specific decisions and programmes to be carried out by the parties and their implementation										
3	Enhancement of access to leadership positions of the party and the state										
4	Social and cultural campaigns and collaboration with civil society										
5	Monitoring and evaluation										
6	Others (if any)										

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