

RESEARCH NOTE

UNSUCCESSFUL CASES IN THE WOMEN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Sushila Manandhar
CNAS/TU

Introduction

The Women Development Programme (WDP) was introduced into various villages of Nepal in 1981 (2038-39 V.S.) under the Small Farmer Development Programme (SFDP). In the fifth year of its implementations, the donor agencies evaluated the impact of this project. I was engaged in this evaluation project to write case studies based on field observation through the Centre For Women and Development (CWD) in 1986. I studied four different villages, including the pre-test at Buddhanilkantha Village Panchayat in Kathmandu.

The WDP sounds interesting, and it seems that it should be helpful in promoting the living standard of small farmers. WDP engages women among the small farmer community in various income generating activities. According to its aims and objects, it tries to utilize women power in cottage industries, poultry farming, animal husbandry, bee keeping, needlework and so on. It provides various kinds of training to the women in order to bring awareness in health, modern treatment, sanitation, and modern technology. The programme mainly focused on raising individual incomes by using local resources and making the women self supporting. This paper covers three unsuccessful cases in WDP from different district panchayat, which were part of the evaluation project of the WDP under SFDP. They highlight not only the activities of WDP, but also the problems faced by the participants and programmers.

An Unsuccessful Case of Ananda Ban

General Introduction of the Site. Ananda Ban is one of the evaluation sample sites of the Small Farmer Development Programme (SFDP)/Women Development Programme (WDP) in the western Tarai region in Rupandehi

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1 (January 1992).

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District. There are a lot of people from the various communities who are barely surviving, although Ananda Ban is a productive area. There is lack of any irrigation system, and the SFDP is doing nothing to solve the problems in this regard.

There are not any good markets nearby. Though the main markets Bhairahawa and Butawal are 19 km and 8 km away respectively, the transportation facilities make them easily accessible. There are no daycare centres at the village.

Case of an Inactive Women Farmer. Forty-six years old, Mrs. Parniya Tharu was born at the Tikughada Village Panchayat in Purendehi District. She got married when she was 17 years old, and she had 5 daughters and one son during the subsequent 11 years. She came to Ananda Ban (her husband's house) with her husband and elder daughter in 2015 V.S. Nowadays she lives with her husband and youngest daughter, who are 35 and 17 years old, respectively. Her other daughters have married, but her son died at the age of 16, in 2039 V.S.

She has two cottages, one is made of bricks, yellow clay, and wood with tile roof; the another is made of bamboo and yellow clay with a straw roof. Neither cottage has stairs. The tile roofed one has one room. It is used as a sleeping room for her daughter and guests (married daughters and their children), storage and dinning room for the family all in one. It has an open place under the roof called *pindhi*, which is used as a living room. Another cottage has only one room without any doors or windows, set is used as a kitchen for the family and the bedroom for the couple.

The family has a cattle pond nearby the cottages for their domestic animals. There are a dovecote and hennery for their doves and chickens. A square space surrounded by the above mentioned things serves as a courtyard used for drying grains and other things.

Since the family does not own a latrine, they prefer to defecate at the riverside. They also own a radio. Though nobody in the family is well dressed, all of them appear neat and clean. They do not have their own water sources, so they have to use a local hand pump for drinking water.

Mrs. Thapa and her husband both know the importance of education, but they have been unable to send their daughters to the school due to their poverty. Only her late son studied the school and passed class eight. Her husband and the youngest daughter learned to write letters and do simple mathematics (addition and subtraction). She reported that her youngest daughter wants to study, but the family's lean and thin treasury does not provide the means to fulfill her desire.

Nowadays the family has three kinds of income sources:

- (1) **Land.** The family has owned about 7 *kathas* dry land. Last year's production, which was insufficient, is as follows: 16 muries Rice and 8 pathies *lentil* seeds. They also have 3 *kathas* land to cultivate as co-sharer, from which they obtained 7 muries rice last year.
- (2) **Animal husbandry.** They have 2 calves and 3 goats; they can earn Rs. 200/- from selling a goat. They have 3 ducks, one hen with 8 chickens and 3 doves. The doves produce about 8 young fowls every year. Last year they earned about Rs. 115/- from selling doves.
- (3) **Labour in wages.** Since her husbandry production cannot provide sufficient food for their family and household expenditure, all the members have to work as labourers for additional income. From this they have to provide food for 6 months of the year and other household expenditures.

Her husband works as a porter, her daughter and herself work for local restaurants as cook and dishwasher respectively. Sometimes they wash the neighbors' clothes. Often the restaurants where they work provide their meals, so their monthly salaries and her husband's extra income remain for the household expenditures and other expenses—for example, on clothing, medical treatment, festivals, rituals, spices, vegetables, etc.

Though she does not have any individual property, she has complete control over the family property and makes expenditures by herself. She never makes a budget for managing household expenditures, but she reported that last year she spent on average Rs. 20/- a day on food. Other expenses are as follows:

1. Rs. 1,000/- for clothing
2. Rs. 700/- for her own treatment
3. Rs. 128/- for fuel
4. Rs. 1,000/- on festivals and rituals

Impact of WDP. In 2038 V.S., the group organizer (GO) of SFDP communicated about WDP from village to village. Thereby Purniya Thapa came to know about the programme. She joined in the group no. 22 as a member in the same year. Her aims of joining in the programme were to get an individual source of income and learn new skills.

Before joining WDP, she could cultivate and weave *dhakee* (basket made out of *choya*). Immediately after she joined the programme, she received five

months training on *dhakees* weaving and needlework provided by WDP in 2039 V.S.

The WDP provided *choya* (raw materials for weaving baskets) worth Rs. 50/- as an interest free loan to each of the members of group no. 22. Then she began to weave beautiful *dhakees*, *tea mats*, and wall hangings. Within 15 days, she finished all the *choya* provided by WDP, and she gave her products to the Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) to sell. She thought that she might earn about Rs. 100/- from her product, but the ADB did not give any remuneration in return. The ADB said that all the earnings were used to repay the loan.

This policy of ADB depressed her. She figured out that ADB is an exploiter of her labour. She began to neglect the skill and programmes provided by ADB. After repaying the loan given with their production, all the group members lost interest in the group activities. They refused to participate in the group meetings. They lost faith in the WDP and refused to obey the group saving rule of WDP. The Women's Group Organizer (WGO) neither visited the group nor tried to convince them. Thus, from its beginning, the programme became inactive. According to the ADB staff, in the year of 2039 V.S. WGO once misplaced all the commodities produced from *choya* by the women farmers, and the office unable to reimburse them. It seems that the carelessness of WGO and WDP is at fault in making its members inactive.

Though the WDP did not provide any market facilities, the local people and hotel managers from Butawal and Bhairahawa came to her door to buy her pigeons and goats. The transportation facilities also make it easy to go to markets.

Before WDP, Mrs. Tharu was primarily occupied with cleaning, cooking, feeding the family, as well as earning by husbandry, cultivation and labour. Nowadays she continues doing the same things. It seems that WDP did not bring any changes in her traditional work pattern and management of day-to-day expenditure. As the head of the family her husband continues to decide most expenditures, for example, purchasing land, to celebrating a wedding ceremony, etc. WDP did not introduce any new technologies or patterns of work, so she was unable to bring any changes in her traditional *chulo* and *nanglo* for cooking and husking grain respectively. She uses sunlight to dry some foodstuffs.

Though she does not receive any training in social activities, she has social consciousness. She helps neighbors by providing free labour. Because they are so poor, the family eats only three times a day. Though she knows about the hospital service, in the case of illness, she firstly calls a shamin (their priest) to find out the cause of illness and drive away the ghosts. Then she

goes to the Butawal Hospital for treatment. She has given DPT. and TT. vaccines to her children.

She has been unable to save individually or in group as instructed by WDP.

An Unsuccessful CASE of Chandra Nagar

General Introduction of the Site. Chandra Nagar is a dry village of Bankey district, in the Western Tarai region. This village panchayat is a newly settled area in the district. Generally, we can perceive two types of people among the different communities. One is retired from the army and their families have returned from Burma, India, Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc. Since they receive pension, they don't like to work hard. The another type of people are migrants from various places of Nepal with their sorrowful past. They want to work hard to develop their economic status.

This is a good place for farmers because there is a lot of plain land with productive soil. But there is a lack of irrigation facilities and water sources in the area. It seems that SFDP/ADB is also doing nothing to solve any of these problems.

There is a lack of transportation and communication facilities and no nearby markets. The local people have to go to Rupendia (India-Nepal Boarder) or Nepalganj for marketing. Travel to Nepalganj by Sarta (kind of a cart) takes a day,. Walking, using a shortcut (through a forest), takes about 3 hours. From Chandra Nagar Rupedia is just as far away as Nepalganj. Therefore most women farmers can not go alone to the market for selling and buying products. These difficulties create a lot of problems in each and every development programme.

Case Study of an Inactive Woman

Mrs. Mona Thapa Magar is a member of group no. 12 in WDP. Born in Birpur Village Panchayat, Block No. 9. of Bankey District, she is 22 years old. She got married at the age of 17 and has two sons. The elder one is 4 years old and the younger one is only 11 months. Her husband's home is also in the same village panchayat, where she lives with her father-in-law and brother-in-law. Altogether, there are six members in her family. Her husband is in the Indian Army and mostly lives in India.

Her home looks like a cottage made of stone, bamboo and yellow clay with a straw roof with only one ground floor room. She uses the same room for storage, sleeping for herself and her two sons, and dining for the family. There is a *Pindhi* (portico). She uses the *pindhi* as kitchen, tea shop and also bedroom for her brother and father-in-law. The family uses their own

temporary latrine. There is a small shed for their domestic animals about 10 meters away from the house. The family owns a radio with cassette player.

Nobody in the family's dressed well. All of them are very dirty. Both babies are half naked and playing in the dust and with dogs.

She, her husband and brother-in-law have studied at the local secondary school. She would have liked to have continued her study further, but due to her marriage she could not manage it, as she has to look after her household. As she is literate, she is aware of the importance of education. Although she wanted to give higher education to her brother-in-law, he stopped going to school after passing the VIII class, and now he is trying to get a job in the army. But she is determined to give a good education to her little children.

In 2039 V.S. she was elected as Vice President of the Ratna Jyoti Ladies Club. As the vice president of the Club, she has learned to be frank and active. She actively participated in a ladies and women development programme as well as in folk song and local dance competitions. As the vice president of the club, she has received the following training and observation tours provided by the club.

	Subject	Period	Year	Place
1.	Training on the vice president's duty	5 days	2036 V.S.	Local School
2.	Training in cloth weaving	3 months	2037 V.S.	Nepalganj
3.	Observation tour	7 days	2037 V.S.	Nepalganj & Kath.

Thus she has learned to be more creative and active, and received some knowledge of modern life, awareness of family planning, scientific health care, hospital services, and so forth.

Her family has four kinds of income sources as follows:

1. **Service.** Her husband is employed by the Indian Army. He annually remits some money to the family and sometimes brings a lot of cloth home them. The money sent by her husband is spent on meeting household and medical expenditures.

2. **Land.** The family's land provides sufficient food for the whole family. They have three and one-half *bighas* of land nearby their cottage. Last year the production was as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Rice 12 qrts. | 2. corn 2 qrts. |
| 3. Oil seed 2 qrts. | 4. Wheat 6 qrts. |
| 5. Lentil (Masure) 1 qrts. | 6. Sesame seed 2 kg |

7. Green seeds 2 qrts.

8. Lentil (Arahar) 2 qrts.

But they received only a half of the above mentioned total production because the land had been given to another person to cultivate as a co-sharer (adhiyar). In other words, they are not actually small farmers. She owns a small plot for vegetable farming too, which last year produced about 2 kg. of potatoes and other various kinds of vegetables for their daily consumption.

3. Animal Husbandry. She has 3 cows and one pig. None of them are productive as they are going to breed is this year.

4. Tea Shop. Besides the above mentioned income sources, she has a small tea shop in her cottage. Her brother-in-law helps her look after the shop. Last year she made a profit of Rs 2000/- from the shop. These incomes meet her daily expenses.

To be a small farmer, as defined by the SFDP/WDP, one who can not earn more than Rs 950/- per year and must be engaged in cultivating the land by oneself. Thus we cannot take Mrs. Thapa and her family as a small farmer according to the criteria of SFDP/WDP.

She does not have any individual property, but she controls the family property, keeps all the household income and makes expenditure by herself. She never makes a budget for managing household expenditure, so she does not know how much she spends on food and other things for the family. Yet she recalled that the total amount of Rs 800/- was spent last year on following things:

1. Rs 300/- for treatment of her youngest child
2. Rs 400/- for festival
3. Rs 100/- for fuel. Thus she came from a relatively rich family and had already a lot of skill, awareness and knowledge in various things.

Impact of SFDP/WDP. While Mrs. Thapa was at the ladies club as a vice president, she learned about the SFDP through the club members in 2036 V.S. By this means she came to know about WDP also and joined in the group no. 12 as a member in the same year. Her aim of joining this programme was (1) to learn some new skills and (2) to obtain a loan for agricultural development and animal husbandry.

Her assertion that she joined the programme WDP in 2036 V.S. seems wrong, because the WDP was introduced only in 2038/39 V.S. She neglected my cross question about the matter As the ADB office at Chandra Nagar also did not have any records, in my opinion she might have joined SFDP in

2036 V.S. in the mixed group and only she became a member of WDP after its introduction.

Whatever should be the matter, she joined group no. 12, in which there are eight members, including the leader of the group. Before joining the WDP, she can cultivate land and weave cloth. After joining the programme, she received various kinds of training and observation tours provided by WDP and centre for labour supply, such as:

Subject	Period	Year	Place
1. family planning	15 days	2040	Nepalganj airport
2. group saving	3 days	2040	Local School
3. observation tour	1 month	2038	Janakpur, Dhulikhel, Kathmandu, etc.
4. weaving Nepali <i>dhaka</i>	6 months	2040	Bandipur and Seetapur

After developing various skills, she purchased a weaving machine provided by the club on installment basis. Since she did not have any independent sources of income before she joined SFDP, she could not benefit from the machine as she lacked money to invest on raw materials. After joining in WDP, it provided raw materials worth of Rs. 500/- as a loan allowing her to begin to weave about 450 meters cloth for one year. She gave her product to ADB to sell, in return she used to get Rs. 15/- per meter and sometimes only Rs 10/- because of the lack of customers. At Rs 15/- per meter she used to earn nearly Rs 700/- per month.

According to Mrs. Thapa, during the year 2038 V.S. SFDP/ADB once misplaced her cloth worth of Rs 350/-, which made it difficult for her to repay the loan. After three years she paid Rs 900/- as the repayment of the loan with interest. But she had her pay taken back for extending the loan. This event saddened her and decreased her interest in providing cloth. Within three years, most of the group members married and engaged in household problem and just like Mrs. Thapa most of the members left the group without repaying the loan. ADB provided the loan on the group responsibility. Since the other group members neglected to repay the loan amount, she also could not get any loan from ADB to continue her activities. The group leader Bishnu Maya Magar was selected as women group organizer (WGO) for the district and left the group. Mrs Motishra, another member of the group, took her post. But she did not show any interest in the group activities and never called meetings. Due to the inactivity of the leader, no one in the group took interest in the activities, and they left the group without repaying their loans to ADB. Now only two members remain (she herself and leader). She reported that her friends' actions and her married life

made her inactive. Because her husband's house does not have enough room to erect the weaving machine, the machine remains in her father's house. Her family is very traditional and conservative. Her father-in-law and family do not like to give her freedom. They think that women should not work independently. The income of male is seen as sufficient for the family expenditure. But the observation and informal and formal interviews with her brother-in-law proves that in practice her family is not so conservative. If they had been conservative, they would not have given her permission to work as a shopkeeper. Our observations indicate that the Magar community is not as conservative as other segments of the village population. Their society is more liberal and free than that of the Newar, Brahman and Chetri communities. Though her family feels that army life is more glorious than that of a farmer, they never interfere in her activities.

As a housewife she totally controls her family earning and manages day-to-day expenditures, but she has to take the advice and permission of her husband or father-in-law to make a large expenditure, for example, she has to take permission from her elder family members to purchase land.

She has been using a traditional *chulo* for cooking, *nanglo* for husking grain, and *nanglo* for drying. However, WDP introduced her to new technologies like smokeless chulo and solar drier, but there such equipments are not available in the village and WDP did not provide these kinds of technological materials for personal use. So she is unable to bring any change in her traditional working patterns.

She got training in family planning which include child care training, health care, balanced diet, drinking water and sanitation, but now she is not using what she learned in her daily life. She usually cooks meals for the family with what she has from her field. She never paid attention to a balance diet. She uses a hand pump for drinking water.

Being a literate person and vice president of the club, she knows about medical treatment, and she has given DPT, BCG, Polio, and other vaccines to her children. In the case of sickness, she goes to an Indian Hospital nearby the boarder for the treatment. Yet she sometimes uses baidyas and jhankries to treat the ill members of her family, as she considers the person is ill by the cause of ghosts and goddesses.

She could save neither individually nor within the group as instructed by WDP. The rule of WDP is that all of the group members must save a minimum of Rs 2/- and maximum of Rs 5/- per month as group saving. But she is not following this instruction.

An Unsuccessful Case of Taklung

General Introduction of the Site. One of the evaluation sample sites of SFDP/WDP in the Western Hill region is the Taklung Village Panchayat. This is a dry village situated in the mountain of Gorkha District. The geographical structure of this place makes it difficult to develop a transportation and irrigation system there.

There are a lot of people from various communities. Since the land is not productive most of the youths from the Magar and the Gurung communities are engaged in the Indian Army. The remaining are engaged in husbandry and load carriage.

There are not any transportation facilities. Though the market is near to the district panchayat, there is no good road so it takes a whole day to reach the market. There are no day care centres in the village.

Case of An Inactive Women Farmer. Twenty nine years old Mrs. Prem Maya Thapa Magar is living at Dandigoda Village Panchayat, Block No. 3, in Gorkha district. She married at the age of 17 years and has two daughters and one son. The children are 11, $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 7 years old respectively. She lives in a joint family. Altogether, there are 6 members in the family: she herself, her 32 years old husband, her three children and her 90 years old father-in-law. The family presents a picture of poverty, with thin, dirty bodies. Her two children are playing in the courtyard, and the youngest baby is crying nearby uncared for.

Her house looks is made of bricks, red clay, and wood with a straw roof. It has only one room on the ground floor. She is using this room as a storeroom, sleeping room, kitchen and dinning room. There are three open places in front and beside the room under the roof, which are called *pindhi*. The front side *pindhi* is using as living room, the right side one is used as bedroom for her father-in-law and the other one as a goat shed. The family has one cattle pond for their bullock in their field. The family does not have their own latrine, and they have to go to their field or at the hill side.

No one in the family is literate. Neither are there any schools nearby nor has she money to educate her children. She often needs her children's help in her household work. That's why she cannot send her children to the school, even though they get free admission at the primary school.

Among six members of the family, only two persons (herself and her husband) can earn. Her family has four kinds of income sources.

1. Land. The family has 2 ropanis dry and slope land. It is very difficult to cultivate there. They produce only about 5 muries corn and 2 pathies of

millet in a year. The land produces food for the family that is hardly sufficient for 4 months in a year.

2. Animal Husbandry. She or the family do not have their own animals. They keep two goat kids and one buffalo calf, as co-sharers. The animals are not productive at all.

3. Domestic Industry. She weaves *gundri* (a kind of mat) and sells them for Rs 6/- per *gundri*. On the average she can produce six mats in a year. She owns a *Hayasho* (Mat weaving machine), but due to alack of raw materials (straw) she can't produce much with it. She is limited to either her own straw or purchased straw to continue her skill. She reported that WDP never provided any kinds of raw materials to her. She has to exchange straw with her labour. She believed that she can produce two times more than now if she could somehow get enough straw.

4. Labour. Since her husbandry and domestic industry cannot produce sufficient food for the family, five members in the family have to work on a wage basis. From this source of income she has to meet the whole household expenditure, like expenses on festivals, fuel, treatment, and so forth and provide food for eight months. She and her husband work as porters, and her father-in-law works for neighbours as a cowherd. Her two babies work for the neighbours (retired soldiers) as dish washers.

Though she does not have any individual property, she has complete control over the family property and makes expenditures by herself. She never makes a budget for managing household expenditures, but she reported that last year she spent about Rs 15/- per day on food for the family. Besides this, other expenses are as follows: 1. Rs 200/- for treatment by puja (worship), 2. Rs 124/- for fuel, 3. Rs 1.000/- on festivals.

Impact of WDP. In 2040 B.S., one of her friends involved in the WDP told about the programme. She was interested to join in the programme to make benefit to others, but she could not get any friends to organize a group. In 2041 B.S. another four women agreed to make a group and organized group no. 35 under her leadership in the same year.

Before joining the WDP, she could cultivate and weave *gundries*. Immediately after she joined WDP, she received nine days of "bee keeping" training provided by SFDP. But now she does not utilize what she learned in her economic activities, because SFDP did not provide any bees or bee hives,

and also because she has no time to search for bees herself. That is why her training is not useful for her.

In 2041 B.S., WDP provided 2 piglets worth Rs 300/- as a loan at a rate of 18 percent interest. Unfortunately, both piglets died within a month, preventing her from repaying the loan. She could not get any loan from ADB to reinvest to continue her activities. That is why she was unable to help her family in gaining economic status by using her individual income.

The lack of transportation facilities makes it difficult to reach the market. It takes a whole day for marketing. ADB does not provide any marketing facilities. Usually she goes to the market with her husband to sell and buy things.

Before she joined WDP, she worked as a housewife and as a helper to her husband in earning. She has helped her husband in cultivation and animal husbandry, as well as earning some money from working as a porter and selling *gundris*. It seems that WDP was unable to bring any changes in the work patterns.

As a housewife she plays a vital role in day-to-day decisions and manages day-to-day expenditures; but she must obey her husband's decision in a huge amount of the expenditures.

She has been using traditional *agena* (kind of a *chulo*), *nanglo* and *ghatta* (a corn mill) for cooking, husking grain and milling corn respectively. She uses sunlight to dry vegetables, grains and other things. The WDP does not introduce any kinds of new technologies, so she is unable to bring any changes in her traditional working process.

She does not know about balanced diet, and even if she had the knowledge about it, she would be unable to follow it in her daily life because of her poverty. Usually she cooks *dhido* (milleted corn or millet cook in boiled water) for lunch and dinner and popcorn for breakfast. For six months in a year the family members have to be satisfied with *khole* (grits.) There is only one water tap for whole village, provided by government, from which she obtains her drinking water.

She neither knows about hospital and health centres services nor believes in them. In the case of illness, she usually calls the local *jhakris* (priests) for treatment. Since she does not believe on hospital service, she has not given any of the vaccines provided by the SFDP clinic to her children.

Although she could not save individually, she has saved Rs 2/- per month at the ADB for her group saving as instructed by WDP. Last month the group saving fund provided Rs 30/- to treatment of her son as a loan, with a 24 percent interest rate. She cannot repay the loan.

Analysis

The three cases revealed that WDP could give nothing to the village women. It is able to neither bring any change in their day-to-day lives nor upgrade their economic status. According to these cases, it seems that the women are not inactive themselves, as CWD wants to prove by its evaluation questionnaires. CWD categorized two types of women participants in WDP in a study titled "Inactive Women Farmers in WDP" and "Active Women Farmers in WDP". From my own study, I feel that either these questionnaires were prepared without visiting the field or CWD had already modified them itself to prove that it was the inactiveness of the women farmers which made the programme unsuccessful. CWD did not examine any other causes or the problems which could be responsible for making the project unsuccessful. It appears that CWD did not wish to include such points which might reflect on themselves in the research report.

After studying in four villages, it seems that most of women engaged in the programme are active as well as interested to learn something and become independent by earning individually, as instructed by WDP. They participated in all the training programmes and applied what they learned in their day-to-day life. They used the loans provided by the ADB under WDP in various income generating activities. For example, in Buddhanilkantha village (pre-test site at Kathmandu), most of the women applied their loans to poultry farming and animal husbandry. In Chandra Nagar village (evaluation site of Banke District), most of the women applied their loans to cotton cultivation, animal husbandry, cloth weaving and needlework. In Taklung village (evaluation site of Gorkha District) most of the participants engaged in bee keeping, animal husbandry and *gundri* making (mat made from paddy straw). And in Ananda Ban (evaluation site of Rupandehi District), the participants engaged in animal husbandry as well as weaving dhakees wall hangings and tea mats from *choya* (kind of grass). Successful or not, the groups reported that they worked very hard to get some benefit, but they got little or nothing from their labour.

Most of the women told that they gained nothing for their labour from, except the loan repayment to ADB. Regarding this matter they blamed that lack of market access nearby the village is their main problem, and that the monopoly of the local officials over the programme and irresponsible woman group organizers (WGO) are the main exploiters of their labour. The women seem very conscious about the indirect exploitation policy of project officials. One poultry farming group of Buddhanilkantha village explained that they had been forced by ADB to sell their product to Ratna Feed Industry (RFI) at the cost price, because RFI was supplying their poultry veterinary

services and feed. ADB forced them to sell their chickens to RFI at Rs. 18/- per kg. and /50 paisa per egg respectively, when the market price of chicken is Rs 35/ per kg. and /80 paisa per egg. Otherwise ADB warned that they would stop the service of Ratna Feed Industry. Thus Ratna Feed Industry gained doubly. It got the contract for supply poult and service, and it could buy the women's product at a cheap price. They think that the monopoly of ADB and RFI exploited them.

Mrs. Thapa of Chandra Nagar reported that in the year 2038-39 V.S., ADB misplaced her 450 meters of cloth (for detail see the case of Chandra Nagar), and she was never reimbursed it. This irresponsible action of ADB made it difficult for her to continue her creativity and repay the loan. Most of the cotton cultivators complained that they had been forced to sell their product to the Indian merchants. Otherwise the project officials warned the farmers that they would stop the activities, such as providing loans or sending customers to them. Since there are not any markets nearby, they must accept the ADB's instruction. The same story had been told by the women engaged in the animal husbandry. They must sell the entire product as instructed by the ADB officials. As I observed during the five days observation, there is not a drop of milk in the village for their own use.

As informed by Mrs. Tharu of Ananda Ban, both she and the other member of the group were exploited by the WDP and their irresponsible WGO (for detail, see the case of Ananda Ban). Another women, engaged in another group under WDP, also complained that WGO collected their product (*dhakees*, tea mats and wall hanging) for sale. But she used the beautiful one to present as gift to the observers from Kathmandu, and the rest could not be sold at all. She never paid for their labour, and ADB did not care about the matter. Instead of paying attention in the case, ADB refused to provide any raw materials or loans to continue their activities.

The problem was not that the women were not active at the beginning stage, but that the programmer's monopoly and bad behavior, as well as the local market situation, which was never considered by the organizers or the ADB, discouraged them from reaching their goal.

In the above mentioned villages, CWD choosed some cases as "Active Women Farmer" as indicated by the local chief of the WDP. The local official introduced some so-called active cases, which could repay the loan. Whether the group as a whole benefited or met the goal of WDP or not, it was of no concern to him. The programmers never cared about the implementation and utilization of the training. WDP trained the women in various fields, but it provided neither modern technology, other equipment, nor raw materials to improve their skills and cottage industrial activities. Though WDP provides the material for latrine construction and smokeless

chulo, most of the villagers could not use these in their traditional styled households. WDP gave same lectures on health and sanitation in each village, but the women of Kathmandu, Chandra Nagar and Ananda Ban already had this knowledge. So the impact of the programme was minimal. In the case of Taklung village, these kinds of training and lectures could not help Mrs. Thapa Magar, due to her illiteracy and difficult economic situation (see the case of Gorkha District).

It seems that before applying any project, the programmer should examine the general economic situation of the village as well as condition of the women and their capacity to follow lectures. The above mentioned three cases revealed that the participants in WDP were fully conscious about problems of individual income, self support and independence as well as about modern treatment and sanitation. But geographical difficulties and their economic condition did not permit them to apply all these things in their daily life.

Though there are some unsuccessful cases, there are a lot of successful beneficiaries in WDP. WDP's goal of changing the situation of the women is important. WDP could play a significant role in mobilizing the women power for utilizing the local resources in income generating activities. If WDP were to operate fairly, it could bring vital change in the small farmers' condition and uplift their living standard. It would be better to continue by strictly following its aims and objectives to reach its goal.

Note

These case studies are a part of the EVALUATION PROJECT of the WOMEN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME UNDER SMALL FARMER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME sponsored by UNICEF & ADB.