

INSTITUTIONS CONCERNING WOMEN IN NEPAL



The Status of Women in Nepal Volume 1: Background Report Part 3

INSTITUTIONS CONCERNING WOMEN IN NEPAL

bina pradhan



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FOREWORD

An Introduction to the CEDA Status of Women Project: Its Scope and Purpose

This monograph is part of a series of studies comprising Volume I (Background Report on the Status of Women in Nepal), which itself is part of a broader research endeavour undertaken by the CEDA Status of Women Project. As stated in the formal language of the project agreement between HMG and USAID the overall purpose of the Project is "to collect and generate information on the status and roles of a representative range of Nepalese women in order to support planning to facilitate the increased integration of women into the national development process." Towards achieving this broad goal three major consecutive phases of the project were envisioned. The present Volume I, containing five separate studies or monographs, represents the product of the first phase of the project which was devoted to the collection and analysis of available secondary data on Nepalese women in a number of specific areas.

The second phase of the project, which is still underway as Volume I goes to press, is intended "to develop methodologies and implement pilot socio-economic case studies of women ... in traditional rural communities." At present the five members of the project research team together with three co-operating anthropologists have just returned from extended field-work in eight different villages in various parts of Nepal. They have used both in-depth anthropological methods and quantitative survey techniques to gather comparative data on women's economic roles and their status, both within the family unit and in the wider social group. In addition to the combined use of anthropological and survey methods, each researcher has conducted an extensive observational Time Allocation Study of the daily activities of all household members within each village sample. The researchers now face the challenging task of analyzing and writing up both their quantitative survey data and their qualitative observational data into studies on the status and role of women in the eight communities where they worked. These village studies together with a comparative analysis and summary of the major development-related findings will comprise Volume II, the product of the project's second phase.

The third and final phase of the project will be to channel the findings of Volume I and 11 (along with information from the many other documents relevant to planning for women in Nepal) into a concrete and practical draft for a National Plan of Action for Women. Such a draft of course would need inputs from many other concerned bodies and agencies both at the centre and throughout the kingdom before reaching its final form. The CEDA draft will merely be the starting point for discussion and conceptualization by the concerned agencies prior to final endersoment of the National Plan of Action. In many ways the third phase will be the most important part of the project for it marks the crucial and often neglected transition point between research and action. From a more personal perspective for the project team, it also represents the means through which we will at least begin to be able to return something to the generous yet practical village women and their families who made time in their busy workdays to patiently answer so many questions and to open us to the often hard economic and social realities of their lives. It is our hope that the Draft National Plan of Action when it is completed will serve as a stimulus for the formulation of a coherent national policy on women and provide a basis for the eventual development of specific action programmes for rural Nepalese women such as those with whom we worked.

Volume I: An Overview

As mentioned above, the present Volume I is the product of the first phase of the project which was concerned with the collection and analysis of secondary data on women in Nepal. The five specific functional objectives which govern the nature and scope of this volume each appear as separate monographs. According to the project agreement, Objective A was "to prepare a national statistical profile of women in Nepal." This task was undertaken by Ms. Meena Acharya and appears as Volume 1, Part 1, the first monograph in the series. Objective B which was "to prepare a summary of women's legal rights as set forth in the National Civil Code" was carried out by Dr. Lynn Bennett with assistance from Ms. Shilu Singh and appears as Volume 1, Part 2. Mrs. Bina Pradhan undertook to carry out Objective C which was "to prepare an inventory of Nepalese institutions concerned with women." Her work appears as Volume 1, Part 3, the

permanent bonds would depend on ideology. In the Nepal Women's Organization, as a political arm of the national body politic, this solidarity was missing and, therefore, as suggested by the author, leadership conflicts within the organization proved largely dysfunctional and harmful for the institution.

In tracing the historical background of the women's organizations, the author explains that NWO is recognized as one of the six "class organizations" in Nepal, a classification which she deems "inappropriate" to the advancement of women since under the dominance of the Back-to-the-Village National Committee, NWO has lost its autonomy.

Mrs. Pradhan points out how NWO's membership base has narrowed over the years and how, with the restructuring caused by the Class Organization Act of 1976, its independent decision-making powers have been curtailed. With the elimination of the BVNC nomination, even NWO's guaranteed representation at the local panchayat level has been lost.

Despite its historically political identity, the Nepal Women's Organization has, like the other institutions for women, focused on a limited range of social programmes, namely family planning, literacy, kitchen gardening, nutrition, maternal and child health care, and skill development (knitting, sewing, hand weaver, carpet weaving, etc.) One may infer from the limited scope of these programmes and the extensive duplication among the institutions that the executive agencies of the government may have been more successful in using the Nepal Women's Organization than vice-versa.

After describing and analyzing each organization, the author suggests some remedies for the problems she identifies, notably the lack of co-ordination and resultant duplication among the institutions. Building upon her call for specialization based on clearly defined objectives and experience, NWO, with its political background, could, for example, concentrate on women's roles in the political domain.

Programmes and policies of pertinence could include: (a) pushing vigorously for the co-option of women at all levels of the national decision-making process; (b) instituting a reasonable maximum limit on campaign expenditures to enable women, with fewer financial resources under their control, to participate more fully; (c) undertaking training programmes for political workers; (d) launching national educational campaigns to enforce specific legal provisions; (e) making women conscious of their legal rights and duties; (f) awakening the more tradition-bound rural people to the realization that the future well being of the Kingdom is contingent upon women's full and equal participation in the development process; and (g) creating a national ideology that women as individuals have unique values and attributes (empathy, justice, intellect, and tolerance) which, if encouraged, can lead to a more democratic, humane, just, dynamic and exploitation-free society.

Many major challenges lie ahead for the institutions concerned with women. Noticeable improvements in women's status and roles can be made if these institutions, in particular the Nepal Women's Organization and the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee, take on the responsibility of independently reviewing and monitoring critical sectoral policies and programmes. More specifically, of immediate relevance are those concerned with construction, retail trade, cottage industry, agriculture, health and education. Further, assessments must regularly be made of selected development projects for their impact on women. Notably these institutions should (1) press for resources mobilization; (2) promote basic needs programmes with quickly accruing benefits; (3) call for use of appropriate technology and improved marketing facilities; (4) place high priority on employment as a Sixth Plan objective; and (5) devise industrial structures which seek explicitly to link modern technology with the household sector.

Madhukar Shumshere J.B. Rana Project Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research is a product of the untiring endeavours of many people from within and without CEDA—some being more visible than others. We believe that this is a joint effort in which each person has contributed his or her best, whether professionally or administratively.

First, we owe a very special debt of gratitude to His Majesty's Government and to the United States Agency for International Development/ Mission to Nepal as well as to the Asia Bureau and Women in Development Office in AID/Washington for giving us the responsibility and also the material and moral support to execute this study. Particularly, we would like to thank Secretary, Dr. Devendra Raj Pandey and Joint Secretary, Mr. Hit Singh Shrestha of the Ministry of Finance; the Director of USAID/N, Mr. Samuel Butterfield and last, but by no means least, the Deputy Director, Mr. Julius Coles and the Chief of the Economic and Social Analysis Staff, Mr. John Babylon. These last two gentlemen without hesitation prodded us on our research timetable while always stressing the need for quality in our output. We sincerely hope that we have lived up to their expectations.

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Many people from outside CEDA spared their valuable time to help us as commentators, advisors, and consultants. It is impossible to mention each and every one by name, but we sincerely thank Mr. Kul Shekhar Sharma, Governor of Nepal Rastra Bank and Dr. Parthiveswor Timilsina, Dean of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences for the secondment of staff to complete the research team.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to the distinguished members of the Advisory Board to this study, namely Hon'ble Mrs. Kamal Rana, Chairperson, Women's Services Co-ordination Committee and Hon'ble Dr. Ratna Shumshere Rana, member, National Planning Commission. Also, the role played by Ms. Diane Stanley, Director, United States International Communication Agency should we believe, not go unrecorded.

Her co-sponsoring with CEDA the National Seminar-cum-Workshop entitled "Women of Nepal: Approaches to Change" served in many ways as a catalyst for this study by bringing the women-oriented institutions of Nepal and prominent Nepalese leaders to CEDA to provide us with their insights into the problems of Nepalese women.

We would also like to express our thanks to Mrs. Prabha Thackur and Ms. Barbara Lyon Tobin for their undertaking the thankless task of editing and re-editing our manuscripts and Mr. Dibya Giri for undertaking the similarly thankless task of typing and retyping the innumerable drafts of our manuscripts.

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Madaukar Shumshere J. B. Rana
Project Director
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JANUARY 1979

Executive Director of CEDA

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-INTRODUCTION-

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, women in Nepal have been considered only a recipient not a resource in the development process. The few program efforts in the past that included women did so almost as an after thought, or else viewed women as needy beneficiaries of welfare oriented programs. Women's major role in the economic productivity of society is just being recognized and their individual and collective potential as a major resource for national development are just beginning to be tapped.

The primary purpose of this study, as specified in the original project proposal, is to describe the current governmental and private organizations and programs designed and operating for the benefit of the women of Nepal. The seven institutions presented in this study are each legally recognized and registered with the Zonal Commissioner of His Majesty's Government and are the only institutions concerning women with written reports and records. Since this first part of the Status of Women Project is based largely on the collection of secondary data, the availability of written documentation was vital to adequately study the organizations.

Although categorized as institutions for the purposes of this study, no two are structured exactly alike. The Nepal Women's Organization (NWO) operates under the auspices of the Back-to-the-Village National Campaign and the Women's Services Coordination Committee (WSCC) is one of six members of the Social Services National Coordination Council (SSNCC). The Women's Affairs Training and Extension Centre (WATC) functions as a training institute for the Home and Panchayat Ministry;

Although the Jawalakhel Multipurpose Cooperative Society does employ many women as weavers in its carpet factory, the society has not been included in this inventory since it was not particularly targeted towards women, but rather towards Tibetian Refugees as a group. For a description of how the factory is organized and an insightful accessment of the extent to which the employment it offers women has affected their fertility behavior and their status in the family and community see Dixon (1978: 69-74).

the Equal Access of Women to Education (EAWE) project is a special, long term primary teachers' training program under the Ministry of Education assisted by UNICEF. The Socio-Cultural Centre for Women (SCCW) has remained dormant during the past several years while the Business and Professional Women's Club (BPWC) has only recently reactivated its program. The Mother's Club is still in its formative stage.

Despite these variations, each of these seven contains structural and programmatic features worthy of study and as a group, represent the current major efforts towards integrating women programs in the process of national development in Nepal. In describing each organization, the following factors are included:

History

Objectives

Internal Structure

Programs

Sources of Support.

In addition to this basic descriptive data, this study attempts to access the success of these institutions in reaching Nepalese women, and to analyze the directions they are taking, and the extent to which their programs are consistent with their stated objectives. By examining each from the perspective of institution building 1 wherever possible, we hope to clarify how these bodies are actually working, how they interact with their environment and with each other. Even more importantly, we hope that this perspective can offer guidance for future activities to strengthen these institutions to make them more effective in achieving their objectives and in designing and implementing appropriate and effective programs. For each organization, certain important internal variables have been examined. to determine the extent to which they assist or obstruct the organization's attainment of its objectives. These variables are: leadership, structure, programs, and resources.

 $^{^{1}}$ For details on the institution building process, see Esman and Brulius (1965) and Uphoff (1971).

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In the course of this study, it became clear that a number of external variables are also instrumental in any organization's smooth operation. In order to exist and continue operation, legal recognition and sufficient funding must be obtained from HMG and outside donor agencies. For each organization, we examine the strength of these "enabling linkages." Secondly, "functional linkages" must be established to insure sufficient information and technical resources to provide high quality programs and to create channels of communication with the target group. Thirdly, communications must be developed, with other agencies (and especially other women's organizations) to promote cooperation and avoid duplication of programming. Such "normative linkages" also help establish an organization's legitimacy, an important step towards achieving a respected place in the community.

In the following analysis then, I shall look at each of these three types of linkages—enabling, functional, and normative—to better understand these external influences and their "consequences for the maintenance and effectiveness of the organization." (Uphoff 1971: 26).

NEPAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Women's participation in public life in Nepal has in the past been minimal and sporadic in nature. Yet although the Nepal Women's Organization was only officially established in 1961, a few women began taking an active role in bringing about social and political change as early as in 1913. The history of some of these early <u>sanghs</u>, or associations of women, form an interesting background for understanding the development of the present Nepal Women's Organization.

The development of the Nepal Women's Organization can be roughly divided into four periods:

- 1. Rana Period, 1913-1949
- 2. Pre-Panchayat Period, 1950-1960
- 3. Panchayat Period, 1961-1975
- 4. Reorganization 1976 Present.

Rana Period: 1913-1949

The first women's organization that came into being was the Mahila Samiti (Women's Committee) around 1917-18 in Chandraganj, Sirah. The main initiator of this Committee was Dibya Koirala, wife of Krishna Koirala and mother of B.P. Koirala. She served as Secretary of the Committee along with Yogmaya Devi as Chairperson, Mohan Kumari Koirala as Vice-chairperson and Purna Kumari Adhikari as Joint-secretary.

It was learned from an interview with the Honourable M.P. Koirala (half brother of B.P. Koirala) that during that time, K.P. Koirala was noted for his antiregime activities. He was financing <u>Gorkhali</u> an antiregime newspaper published from India. B.P. Koirala is one of the well known politicians of the Congress Party.

 $^{^2\}mathrm{Mohan}$ Kumari Koirala is the mother of the Honourable Rastriya Panchayat Member M.P. Koirala.

 $^{^3}$ Purna Kumari Adhikari is the mother of the present Vice-chancellor of Tribhuvan University, Jagat M. Adhikari.

Although no membership records exist, it appears that there were about 30-40 other members in the Committee. The Committee encouraged hand-loom industries for women as the members felt that many poor women were without even adequate clothing. Around 1919 when Krishna Koirala and his family were exiled and went to Benares, the Committee ceased to operate.

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In 1947, under the chairpersonship of Rebanta Kumari Acharya, the Adharsa Mahila Sangh (Model Women's Organization) was founded in Jainagar, with its headquarters in the office of the Nepali Congress Party. The main objective of this organization was to bring about social and political consciousness and to do away with bal bibaha (child marriage) and bal bidhuwa (child widow).

While her husband Tanka Prasad Acharya was in jail with other Congress leaders, Rebanta Kumari Acharya and her organization were actively involved in the underground political activities of the Congress Party against the regime. She and other members of the organization acted as a communications link between the political leaders in jail and the Congress Party in India.

Meanwhile, another <u>Nepal Mahila Sangh</u> (Nepal Women's Organization) was founded, under the chairpersonship of Mangala Devi. This group of women, which included Punya Prava Dhungana, Shanta Shrestha, Sahana Pradhan and Pushpalata, stood for the voting rights of women in Nepal.

¹From an interview with the Honourable M.P. Koirala on the past activities of his mother in the Committee.

²In fact, the Committee was supposed to have sent a parcel of torn and tattered clothes to the wife of Chandra S.J.B. Rana, the then Prime-Minister, to emphasize the Committee's concern for the living conditions of women. This gesture was interpreted as having strong political overtones.

³Rebanta Kumari Acharya is the wife of Tanka Prasad Acharya, a well known political leader of the time (representing the Praja Parisad Party). During that time, T.P. Acharya's property was confiscated and he was put into jail for his political activities against the Rana Regime.

Her husband, Ganesh Man Singh, was another of the leading politicians of the Congress Party who was in jail at that time.

In 1948 a women's delegation from this organization went to Padma Shumshere J.B. Rana to demand the right to vote. Shortly after that. voting rights were given to women. Around 1949, some of the women of the Nepal Mahila Sangh were also jailed for helping the Nepali Congress Party carry out political activities.

During this period another organization, called the <u>Nari Jagriti</u> (Consciousness of Women), was formed in Biratnagar in sympathy with the existing women's political movements. This organization strove primarily for access to education for girls. Later the organization itself was transformed to a school under the name of <u>Adarsa Balika Vidhyalaya</u> (Model School for Girls).

Pre-Panchayat Period: 1950-1960

With the overthrow of Rana Regime in 1950, several other organizations for women came into existence. As in the Rana Period, many of the women leaders were politically motivated and their organizations formed in sympathy with political movements in Nepal. Most of the leaders or founders of these organizations were in fact connected with or related to political leaders.

There seems to have been some ideological and personal conflits among the women in Nepal Mahila Sangh during this period which resulted in the formation of Akhil Mahila Sangathan (All Nepal Women's Organization) in 1950 under the chairpersonship of Punya Prava Dhungana. This organization had also carried out underground political work against the Ranas and fought for access to education for women. It was during this time that a women's college was opened and that women were recruited for the police force for the first time.

¹ From an interview with Punya Prava Dhungana.

²Punya Prava Dhungana is the daughter of the then wellknown poet Lekh Nath Poudyel. He was inspired by revolutionary ideas and his poems reflected his ideas. He wrote a wellknown poem "Pinjara ko Suga" (Parrot in the Cage) which was very symbolic of the state of affairs then. He was called in for interrogation.

In 1951, an Advisory Assembly was formed for the first time during the reign of king Tribhuvan. Among its 35 members there were no women. In protest the Nepal Mahila Sangh and Akhil Mahila Sangathan demonstrated using the Gandhian technique of satyagraha or nonviolence. As a result of controversy and animosities within the cabinet regarding the composition of the assembly, the original assembly was desolved and a second Advisory Assembly was formed in 1954 with 113 members. The assembly provided, for the first time, representation from women, peasants, merchants, labor, the depressed classes (i.e. untouchables), and intellectuals (Joshi and Rose, 1966: 116, 117, 150, 141). The four women members were represented by Punya Prava Dhungana, Mangala Devi, Maya Devi Shah and Prativa Jha.

By 1952, several women's organizations had come into being, one of which was the Women's Voluntary Services (WVS), primarily concerned with social service. The founder and chairperson of WVS was Princess Princep Shah. The two vice-chairpersons were Princess Helen Shah and the Yuba Rajya Laxmi Rana. Mrs. Kamal Rana was the general secretary.

By about 1957/58 there was a united effort by these various organizations to merge into one organization, the <u>Samyukta Nepali Nari Samiti</u> (Women's United Front). The temporary chairperson was Mrs. Punya Prava Dhungana, the secretary, Mrs. Kamal Rana, and the membership chairperson, Rebanta Kumari Acharya. The membership of the organization eventually reached about 500 but there is no record of whether the election for permanent officers ever took place. During this time, there were two factions among the various women's organizations, one pro-Congress and the other pro-Communist. Due to such ideological conflicts, the United Front survived only for a year. However, as will be discussed later, some of the women who emerged as leaders during this early period have successfully retained their leadership roles until today.

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The purpose of the Assembly was to secure greater participation of the representatives of the people in the administration of the country and giving assistance and advice to the King and the Cabinet.

²From letters written to Rebanta Kumari Acharya by the President.

³From an interview with Rebanta Kumari Acharya.

Panchayat Period: 1961-1975

After King Mahendra took over power from the Congress and introduced the Panchayat System in 1960, all the women's organizations were merged into one All Nepal Women's Organization (hereafter referred to as NWO). It was legally recognised as a "class" organizations and was organised and operated on the same principles as the Panchayat System. It was only in 1962 that the first election was held in which Bimala Maskey was elected the chairperson. Although NWO was legally recognised during this period, it was run on a voluntary basis as women's organizations were still mainly based on the concept of providing welfare services for needy women.

In the second election, in 1966, Kamal Rana became the chairperson of the organization. In 1969, Punya Prava Dhungana was elected as the chairperson and continued until the reorganization of 1976.

Reorganization of 1976 - Present

In 1976, there was a restructuring of the NWO under the Class Organization Act. With this reorganization, the women's organization remains a class organization, 2 now functioning in keeping with the principles and stict supervision of the Back-to-the-Village National Campaign (BVNC).

 $^{^{\}mathrm{1}}\mathrm{Bimala}$ Maskey is presently the Right Honourable Member of the Raj Sabha.

Through out the country six class categories have been recognised in the Constitution as the basis for six class organizations, (Class Organization Act 2033 (1976) Part 2; Section 26, Srawan 2033, p. 2) namely: Nepal Farmers, Nepal Youth, Nepal Women, Nepal Adults, Nepal Laborers and Nepal Ex-Army Organizations. All these organizations are structured on the same principles and pattern. They are to work in close co-operation with the BVNC, which is essentially a political body. Therefore, to have a representation of the different class organizations at the centre, the Class Organization, Central Advisory Committee (COCAC) has been formed. It consist of 24 members, four from each of the organizations (each organization has one representative from each of the four Development Regions).

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of NWO, as envisaged in the Class Organization Act (1976: 2) are:

- To bring about consciousness among different class organizations of their responsibilities and duties towards their nation and to use their strength in an organised way for the development of the nation
- To mobilize the mass for the successful implementation of the programs set forth by the local panchayats
- To make each of the classes effortful in strengthening the partyless democratic panchayat system and the principles of class consolidation and cooperation
- 4. To bring about coordination and consolidation of the collective strength of each of the classes with other organizations with regard to the programs
- 5. To work for all round benefit and development of each of its class

STRUCTURE

Prior to 1976, NWO was organised on the same principles as the Panchayat system, covering Nepal's 75 districts with reportedly over 1000 primary organizations and 60,000 members (Family Planning Perspectives 1976 8:6). The organization was structured on a four tier basis, the lowest being the primary or village level organizations, then the district level organizations, the zonal level organizations and finally the national organization. As Chart 1 demonstrates, this structure was complicated indeed.

The village and district level committees were responsible for programs and activities of their respective areas. The Central Committee was responsible for overall policy and program direction and in addition, made some grants available to the local levels. In addition to these

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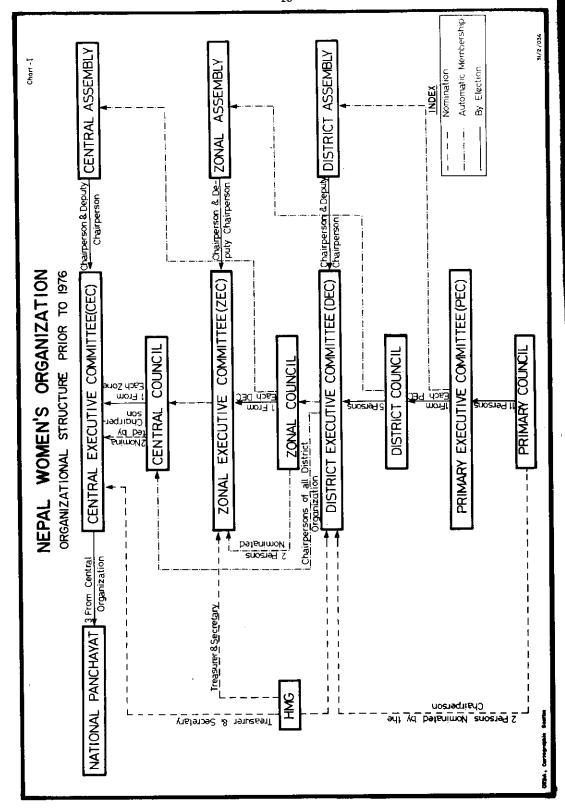
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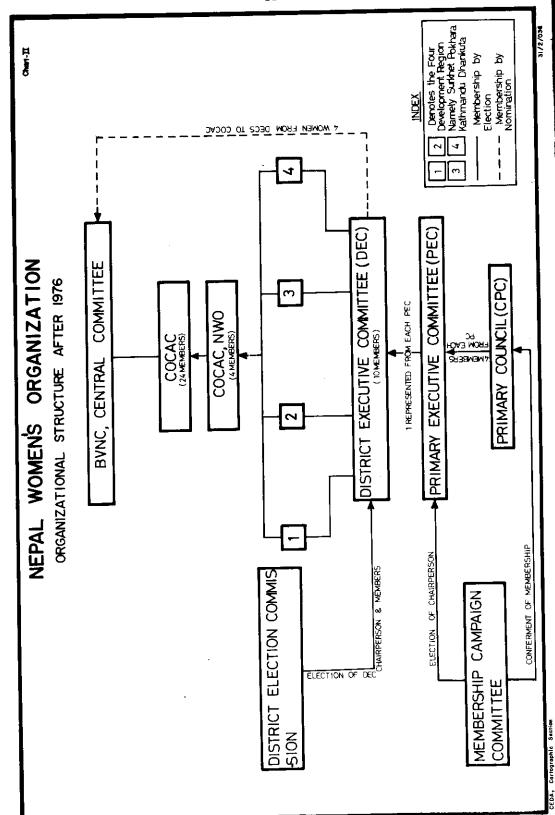
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central funds, the local organizations were expected to generate their own sources of support. Hence, each was semi-autonomous.

With the Class Organization Act of 1976, the structure of NWO was simplified and the two highest levels, the zonal and the central, were eliminated. At present, the main working bodies are the Primary Executive Committees at the village level and the District Executive Committees (Chart II). In comparison with the previous structure, in which women were represented only on the central level in the National Panchayat, the reorganization provided for women's representation at the local panchayat level. Until December 1977, there was to be compulsory representation by at least one NWO member in each of the village and district panchayats (Village Panchayat Legislation 1976: 7). This meant that there would be at least 4,000 women representatives at the local level in the government, a substantial increase over the few national level women representatives required in the previous structure. Under the legislative act of 1978, however, panchayat nomination by BVNC has been eliminated. Since this was the main avenue through which women attained political office it remains to be seen whether women's representation at the local panchayat level will continue without this BVNC support.

The basic unit of the women's organization is still the Primary Council at the village panchayat level. However, membership in Primary Council now must be conferred by the Membership Campaign Committee (MCC). All the members constitute the Primary Council, whose main function is to aid and advise the Primary Executive Committee.

¹The members of MCC consist of the <u>Pradhan Panch</u> and the <u>Upa-</u> Pradhan Panch of the Village Panchayat, and one person selected by the BVNC, District Committee from among the nominated members of the Village Panchayat. Criteria for Ordinary Membership: Women who are 18 years or older and are citizens of Nepal. <u>Criteria for Active Members:</u> Women who have worked as members of BVNC or Panchayats or one of the Class Organizations, women who have worked "actively" for two years as ordinary members and whom the BVNC, District Committee, deem fit to be entitled as "active members." The application fee is Rs.1/-. For details efer: Class Organization Act (2033: 3, 6, 7).



In order to be an officially recognized Primary Council, the active members must elect, under the supervision of the MCC, four members to a Primary Executive Committee (PEC). A chairperson is elected by the MCC itself from among the Primary Council members. She also serves as ex-officio chairperson of the Primary Council.

The PECs are responsible for carrying out programs of NWO at the village level; they are to help the related village or town panchayats in formulating annual plans and to suggest, advise and help mobilize the masses for the successful implementation of the plans and programs. They are also charged with keeping the concerned district offices informed about such programs through an annual report which they present at the Primary Council meeting then send to the village panchayats and the District Executive Committee.

In every district there is to be a District Executive Committee (DEC) consisting of at least nine members, representing the nine Primary Executive Committees within the district and elected by the Election Commission (EC). Until recently, the chairperson was nominated by the BVNC from among the district panchayat members. With the recent abolition of the BVNC nomination, the chairperson is also elected by the Election Commission. The existence of the District Executive Committee becomes officially and legally recognised once this election is held.

The District Executive Committee is to examine the programs and progress reports of the Primary Executive Committees and to make suggestions and recommendations to them. The District Executive Committee also serves as coordinator for the Primary Executive Committees.

¹The Election Commission consists of the Chairman or Vice-chairman of the related district panchayat and one person selected by the BVNC, Zonal Committee, from among the nominated members of the District Panchayat. There is an EC in every district.

The reorganization of 1976 eliminated the top national leadership positions of NWO. Rather than one overall administrator, NWO is represented by four women on the Class Organization Central Advisory Committee (COCAC). Previously four representatives were nominated to their two year terms by the BVNC, Central Committee, from among the active members of the district level organizations of each of the four development zones. (See Chart II.) Since the Legislative Act of 1978 these representatives will henceforth be elected. The job of convenor continues to rotate among the four, with a term of six months for each.

Like the other class organizations, the Women's Organization is to aid and advise the BVNC, Central Committee. As mentioned in the act, they are also to establish and foster relations with international organizations concerned with women and to perform any other functions or duties as mentioned and specified by the BVNC, Central Committee. The COCAC/NWO is responsible for policy formulation and execution of the programs in accordance with its objectives. The NWO receives the budget for its programs from HMG, through BVNC, and allocates the monies to the different district level organizations. So far, the previously established plans and programs of the organization have not been affected by the structural changes of the 1978 legislation, but no new programs have been initiated.

At present (1978) the four representatives of the NWO on the Central Advisory Committee are Indira Shrestha, Kamala Neupane, Raj Rajeswori Shahi and Vidhya Devi Devkota.

PROGRAMS

The Nepal Women's Organization has concentrated its activities in the following four programs areas: 1) literacy and 2) legal aid services, both of which have been in operation from the beginning of NWO, and 3) skill development and 4) family planning services which started in 1973.

Literacy Program

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This program was started in support of the late King Mahendra's national policy to increase literacy in Nepal. In 1968, the Women's Organization conceived a comprehensive literacy program to be implemented in all the 75 districts within a period of four years. The stated objectives of this program were:

- 1. To do away with the illiteracy of women
- To create a conscious society by bringing about social, financial and educational consciousness among women
- 3. To help provide resources to improve the financial condition of the women to make women independent (NWQ 1964)

This program was to be launched in four phases. During the first year, the program was to be carried out in five districts. In the second year, ten districts were to be covered, in the third year, twenty districts and in the fourth year, forty districts.

To implement a program of this magnitude, it was estimated that the amount required would be Rs.7,690,000 (NWO, 1964). The NWO hoped to receive donations from HMG, UNESCO and other foreign donors, as well as to raise money by carrying out exhibitions, charity shows and lotteries.

There are no records of what became of this particular plan for literacy nor has there been any assessment of the effectiveness of the existing program in achieving its goals. However, as mentioned in an article in the <u>Asian Student</u>, at the end of the "First Four Years" campaign, 5,402 women were able to "read and write simple statements about daily life" and 270 teachers had been trained (Werther, B. 1974:5). The Women's Organization did receive some help from UNESCO to carry out

The details of the plan are set out in a booklet Nepal Mahila
Sangathandwara Sanchalit Sakchhar Tatha Moulik Sikchha Aviyan (Literacy
and Fundamental Education Campaign Run by the Nepal Women's Organization)
1964.

the literacy campaign. Whether the "First Four Years" was part of the original plan described above or a separate program is not known, but the program does not seem to be continuous whole. Nevertheless, the Women's Organization has been assisting the government by running a literacy program for rural women in one form or another since 1966. The budgets of NWO indicate that from the very beginning, literacy programs have been emphasized; it is the only program for which separate budgets have consistently been allocated. Despite its limited budget, the NWO attempted (perhaps unrealistically) to cover the maximum number of districts. For instance, in 1967/68, as little as Rs.300/- per district was allocated by the Central Committee for the implementation of the literacy program in each of Parsa, Tanahun and Morang districts (NWO, 1967/68: 12-36).

As an encouragement to the program, Queen Mother Ratna donated Rs.100,000/- in 1972. The amount was put in the bank and the interest derived has been used for literacy programs. Since then, the "Ratna Literacy Award" has been given each year to the district producing the hignest number of literate women (Nuwakot district in 1974, Jhapa district in 1975 and Pokhara district in 1976).

As indicated by the budget (Appendix: Table 10), in the year 1975/76 literacy campaigns were run in 11 districts. In 1977/78, the functional literacy classes were to be carried out in twenty-two districts and the regular literacy program in sixteen districts (Appendix: Tables 11 and 12). The target of this literacy program was to produce at least 600 literate women in each of the districts with a minimum of 20 women in each class during the fiscal year. At present there are 60 women enrolled in the NWO Multipurpose Centre Kathmandu. 1

Prior to 1976 NWO funded its own literacy program. After the structural change, this program has been funded by grants from the Ministry of Education, HMG.

 $^{^{}m 1}$ This information was gathered from an interview with the convenor of the NWO, Mrs. Kamala Neupane.

NWO did not receive the literacy budget for 1976 until the end of that fiscal year, thus curtailing the program severely. Those funds were eventually applied towards the 1977/78 functional literacy program.

Although this NWO literacy program has been running for over a decade, the organization does not seem to have a record of the actual number of women who have become literate under this program. However, according to the study made by Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (Shrestha, R. 1977: 51), it is reported that NWO made 15,000 women literate prior to 1972, 10,000 during 1973, another 10,000 in 1974, 14,120 in 1975 and 11,900 in 1976.

Legal Aid Service

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Since 1963 the NWO has run a Legal Aid Service program to provide free legal advice and to protect the legal rights of needy women. This program is staffed with only two persons, an advocate and an assistant. To date, this service has been largely confined to the Kathmandu Valley and has been able to provide advocacy only in the Supreme Court and local courts of the Kathmandu area. Nevertheless, over 3000 women have received legal services from this program so far (Shrestha, I. 1977: 34).

Like other NWO programs, the Legal Aid Service has suffered from the lack of a permanent source of finances. In the past, the activities of the Legal Aid Service Centre have been supported by funds raised through melas (fairs) and sometimes by the central budget of NWO. At other times temporary arrangements were made to use funds from other programs. Perhaps because of these budgetary problems, the program nas not yet been expanded to other districts to serve a larger number of women. Recently, however, the BVNC and NWO have decided that the expenses for the program will be met from the Grant in Aid to the COCAC/NWO provided by HMG.

Perhaps it would not be out of place to cite an example. According to the advocate (Mrs. Shilu Singh), when defending or presenting a case, an application has to be made to the court. For this the fee is Rs.10. Many times she has had to apply for the exemption from the fee due to lack of funds. Ironically, when applying for an exemption, Rs.5 is required as a fee for the paper work involved in the exemption.



e sewing class is part of the skill evelopment program to help these women economically independent.

Following the successful completion of their skill development course, the women gather at the Multipurpose Centre to receive their certificates. Photos courtesy of NWO



adapted to the modern taste in order to create demand for such products in both the local and foreign markets. There is also an attempt to standardize the products through quality control in order to increase the sales volume. To improve the quality of the products and to give a new touch to the indigeneous products, some training has been held in Bhaktapur and Pokhara. In Bhaktapur, a five month training course on sewing and cutting was given to twenty-four women. To encourage the trainees, the Department of Cottage Industry provided raw materials and made a sewing machine available to each of the trainees with a provision for payment on an installment basis. Raw materials were also supplied through the Department.

In order to help standardize their products, the Multipurpose Centre in Pokhara conducted a ten day training course on colouring and dyeing. The training was jointly sponsored by COCAC/NWO and the Department of Cottage Industry which provided the materials. Most of the products (placemats, napkins, potholders, quilted bags, thread bags, dolls, baskets, etc.) made out of cloth are produced in Bhaktapur and displayed in the Multipurpose Centre in Pulchowk. In 1976/77 the program was able to export 4,000 units each of dhaka purses, placemats, napkins and quilted slings bags to London and Paris. For the fiscal year 1977/78, orders for such products valued at Rs.48,000/- were received and the actual total sales that year amounted to Rs.76,000/-. The targeted sales for the fiscal year 1978/79 was set at Rs.60,000/-.

During the fiscal year 1977/78 there were 36 women in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur employed to produce handicrafts under the skill development program. But for the year 1978/79, it is the aim of NWO to employ 25 women each earning an average of Rs.1,000/- per month. The Programin-Charge, Ms. Meera Bhattari, is responsible for coordinating the activities of these employees, controlling the quality of the products and designing attractive and saleable items for production. In addition, she is responsible for contacting interested individual women to produce these products at home, maintaining quality standards and selling these items through the Centre.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{Twenty} ext{-one}$ trainees completed the course.

During the fiscal year 1975/76, this program of skill development (which was inaugurated by Her Majesty the Queen) was expanded to two development regions, Surkhet and Pokhara. At present the programs operate at those two regional Multipurpose Centres and are supervised by the Chief of the Women's Affairs Training Centre in the respective regions. Each regional Multipurpose Centre is equipped with four sewing machines, scissors and materials. At present these centres are producing mainly bags, the designs for which are sent by the Program-in-Charge in Kathmandu. Rs.21,300/- for Pokhara and Rs.15,300/- for Surkhet have been allocated for the skill development programs for the year 1977/78.

Under the program, the national sales target for the year 1976/77 was about Rs.10,000. But, by the end of the year the sales had reached to Rs.34,255/67, over three times the target. One reason for this may have been that an incentive scheme for the Program Chief was introduced during that year: A 5% commission on sales up to Rs.10,000/- and 8% on sales exceeding Rs.10,000/- was given to the Program-in-Charge above and beyond her basic salary scale of Rs.600 per month.²

So far all the products have been sold on a wholesale basis since there has been no facility for retail sale. There is, however, a display room in the Jawalakhel Multipurpose Centre to promote the sales of the products. Until recently, the export of NWO products had been handled by a private company, the Nepal Traditional Crafts, since NWO had no export license of its own. NWO received only a 10% commission on the value of the goods exported. Since the lifting of export restriction, NWO has been endeavouring to register as an export firm of its own and thus increase its share of the profits made from foreign sales.

World Neighbours' commitment to assist the NWO with the skills development program was to have ended in 1978. However, a three year

 $^{^{\}mathrm{l}}$ This is stated in the progress report submitted by the Program-in-Charge.

² Ibid.

extension of the project agreement between World Neighbours and NWO has been signed for 1979 through 1981^{1} in order to:

- Provide markets for traditional and village crafts which emphasize local raw materials
- Increase demand for handicrafts and employment by improving design and quality of products, and producer skills
- Create a self-supporting handicraft marketing service in three years, by 1981

In order to avoid the hazards of a cumbersome administrative bureaucracy, one provision of the agreement is that the implementing responsibility be delegated to the Project Chief, who has been already appointed by the NWO. Because of the success of the incentive scheme introduced during 1976/77, the program will also be run under the incentive scheme with 4% commission on gross sales to the Project Chief and 1% commission on local sales to the sales girls.

The World Neighbours contribution under the new agreement will be on the order of Rs.81,790/-. Whether the program will survive and florish on its own in the future without any assistance is yet to be seen. So far there are no signs that this program has developed a self supporting mechanism.

In addition to the World Neighbours program, the Multipurpose Centre, NWO, has since 1977/78 begun conducting three month training courses in sewing, cutting, knitting and carpet weaving. The Department of Cottage Industry has helped by providing machines and technicians. So far the three groups of trainees (with a total of 204 women) have mainly come from Kathmandu (more than 50%), and the others from Makwanpur, Doti, Siraha, Rajbiraj, Thapa, Dhankuta and Dolakha.

Family Planning Program

The Government is encouraging all groups in the country to increase their involvement in family planning and the Women's Organization in

Agreement Document on Project Agreement Between World Neighbours and Class Organization, Central Advisory Committee, Nepal Women's Organization of Nepal, May 1978.

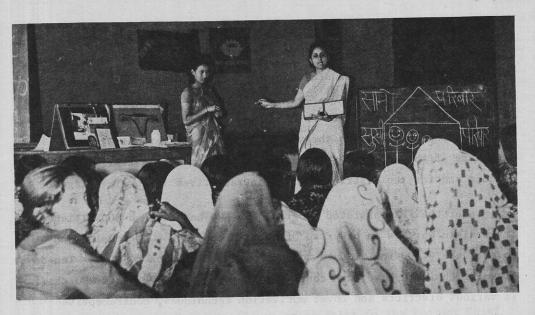
particular has been asked by the Government to increase their family planning efforts to complement those provided by the Government. The Nepal Women's Organization started its family planning program in 1973 with financial and technical assistance from Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA). This program, originally planned for a four year period, utilizes the village and district organizational structure of the Women's Organization to train women in family planning methods and for the distribution of contraceptives in rural villages. 1

Under the FPIA assisted program, the NWO has trained 800 village level field workers in order to offer services to 24,000 couples and to motivate 4,000 individuals to undergo sterilization by 1978. Ten-day training seminars have been conducted jointly by the FPIA and NWO staff in various districts and cover motivation techniques, contraceptive methods and program management.

Such seminars were held in 11 districts in 1976/77 and in 1977/78 five more districts were included. After their training the field workers and motivators are stationed in the villages where their job is to persuade and convince their friends and neighbrous to adopt family planning. They are also given a regular supply of contraceptives for distribution. Each of these field workers is to have at least 25 pill and condom clients and at least five sterilization referals per year.

The NWO and FPIA have also organized three-day refresher training courses in some districts to bring the field workers up to date on new information and methods. In addition there is also a provision under this program to hold ten-day supplementary seminars in those districts where seminars have already been held and successful motivation programs

¹The original agreement with UNFPIA ended in 1978. Negotiation is presently under way for an extension of the agreement and according to information obtained from the NWO Family Planning Program Officer, the extension is likely to be granted.



As part of the NWO family planning program, this medical doctor explains methods of contraception to interested women.

Photo courtesy of NWO

Producing handicrafts on her own then marketing them through the NWO program, this Bhaktapur woman can earn a little income.
Photo by Tom Arens

already initiated. In these supplementary seminars, additional workers are trained so that the program can be expanded to cover more villages. Such supplementary seminars have been held in Palpa, Gorkha, Parsa, Sunsari. During 1977/78 seminars were also held in Rajbiraj, Jhapa and Surkhet.

Under the family planning program, 593 motivators, 49 team leaders, 31 assistant supervisors and 17 supervisors have been trained (Table 1).

Table 1

NATIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION
NUMBER OF FAMILY PLANNING WORKERS TRAINED UNDER THE PROGRAM BY DISTRICT

1	Districts	Date of Start	Super- visors	Asst. Super- visors	Team Leaders	Motivators
Α.	Far-Western Region					-
	Banke	1978/79	1	2	2	24
	Surkhet	1974/75	1	2	6	48
	Jumla	1978/79	1	2	4	33
	Doti	1978/79	2	x	4	48
В.	Western Region					
	Palpa	1977/78	1	3	5	28
	Gorkha	1 976/77	1	2	x	20
	Kapilbastu	1978/79	1	2	3	32
	Tanahun	1978/79	1	2	3	21
c.	Central Region					
	Parsa	1975/76	1	1	x	22
	Nuwakot	1977/78	1	2	3	32
	Kathmandu	1975/76	1	2	4	50
	Bhaktapur	1975/76	1	2	4	39
D.	Eastern Region					
	Rajbiraj	1974/75	1	2	4	60
	Sunsari	1976/77	1	2	4	56
	Jhapa	1976/77	1	2	3	44
	Ilam	1977/78	1	3	x	36

Source: NWO, Multipurpose Centre, Pulchowk.

It is reported that women field workers have been quite effective and that they have been helpful as a means of contact between village women and the government-run family planning programs. Up to the present, the above mentioned team of family planning workers has been providing services to 9,139 women and 5,046 men. In reference to its target of contributing 4,000 sterilization cases, the program has been successful in motivating 2,169 persons, thus fulfilling more than 50% of the target.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

As mentioned earlier, the Nepal Women's Organization came into being as a result of the initiative of individual Nepalese women and as such, it was organized on an entirely voluntary basis. At the initial stages there were no permanent sources of funds for its operation. It owed its continuing existence primarily to donations and contributions from either the royal families or several Rana families. In its early days, funds were also collected by organizing lotteries or running stalls in melas (fairs) and the sale of certain commodities such as knitted sweaters and garments. Various HMG ministries such as the Education Ministry, Home and Panchayat Ministry, and occasionally the Foreign Ministry, also gave donations from time to time.

Except for the Kathmandu District Women's Organization, the budgetary sources were extremely limited and the programs of the NWO were designed accordingly. However, the Kathmandu District Women's Organization has not faced this financial constraint and can be singled out as one district level organization which was successful in generating its own resources. The funds were generated mainly through the National Trading Agency business and through some donations. As a result of the initiative of its leadership the Kathmandu District Level organization looked up on itself as a separate entity as it did not

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{From}$ an interview with the NWO Family Planning Officer, Ms. Lazza Karki.

have to depend on the central level organization for its funding. In fact, its budget - exceeded that of NWO. 1

It was only recently, in 1973, that international assistance was sought in order to consolidate and expand the activities of the NWO. At present, financial and technical assistance is provided from FPIA for the family planning program (Appendix: Table 9) and World Neighbours for the skill development program (Appendix: Table 10). The literacy program is financed almost entirely by the Adult Literacy Program of the Ministry of Education (Appendix: Tables 11, 12, 13).

The financial records at the NWO are incomplete. However, those budgets which were available (i.e., the budget of NWO from 1966/67 to 1970/71 and from 1973/74 to the present) are given in the Appendix (Table 8). A review of the budgets reveals that the NWO's major support has come from the Ministry of Home and Panchayat. Although there were other sources of support, they were neither stable nor dependable as the amounts received fluctuated widely from year to year. Moreover, considering the broad scope of NWO's commitment in terms of its program throughout the country, the organization's entire budget including its receipts from all sources has been insignificant.

However, it is interesting to note that although the KDwO had comparatively a large amount of funds, the programs were basically the same as that of the central level organization, just more effectively run. There is a literacy campaign, and two health centres: one in Khadka Gaon Panchayat and one in Bhagwan Gaon Panchayat. It also had a <u>Bal Sikchhya Kosh</u> (Children's Education Fund) to help those children who cannot affort to buy books and pay fees for school. Under the former chairperson, the organization was funding as many as 500 such children.

Most impressive perhaps is that on its own initiative, the KDWO was able to undertake an extensive hotel project. It received a donation of Rs.100,000/- from Tara Rajya Laxmi Devi and with this initial capital plus its own funds, the KDWO constructed the Village hotel "Tara Gaon", named after the donor.

ANALYSIS

Having examined each of the different aspects of NWO, let us now take a look at the internal and external variables to see how they interact and affect the operation and success of Nepal's oldest organization for women. Here we see how closely related the internal variables of leadership, internal structure, programs, and finances really are. The static concepts of women's needs and the unchanging programs of the past twenty years reflect an unimaginative leadership and since the reorganization of 1976, an internal structure which thwarts creativity by the absence of any full time, continuous leadership. Moreover, by placing NWO under the authority of BVNC and COCAC, the ultimate decision and policy making powers no longer belong to the organization itself.

Let us examine these variables in closer detail:

INTERNAL VARIABLES

Objectives

The objectives of the NWO are broad and well intended. Yet there is a wide discrepancy between the goals of the organization and its achievements.

Leadership

From the historical background, it is evident that the women's organizations emerged as an offshoot of the political upheavals of the 1950s and were in effect the women's wing of the then prevailing political parties. The founders and leaders of the women's groups were often closely associated with the political leaders of the time and were motivated by their interest in assisting their friends and family rather than by a conscious desire to serve specifically and/or exclusively to further the interests of women.

Moreover, in the past, many of the NWO leadership had broader political interests of their own and seemed to view their involvement in NWO primarily as a basis for advancing their political careers. 1

The NWO has always shown a strong tendency to draw its leadership of women from upper and middle class families. The few women who emerged as leaders in the 1950s came from those well-to-do families (including the Rana families) that encouraged and exemplified the modern out-look. Since then the same few individuals have alternated in filling the leadership roles. If an organization's leadership is responsible for achieving the organizational goals, then it would seem that the NWO leadership has shown faltering dynamism and innovation. Among the principal reasons for this is the fact that service to the organization has always been voluntary. This has meant that many of the leaders served only on a part time basis and were not bound or committed to the organization as professonals. In addition, as shown by the program rigidity, most of the leaders lacked the conception of their organization as a dynamic and changing entity. The leadership has often not been able to communicate with the primary and district levels to design and carry out programs appropriate to meet the needs of rural women. There have also been instances of keen rivalry and jealousy among the leaders.

When the four tier structure of NWO was abolished, the central level leadership roles disappeared. In fact, the creation of a revolving leadership structure seems to have created a power vacuum. The four regional representatives on COCAC take turns in the role of convenor, with no one having continous, overall responsibility and control. Moreover, there is a lack of communication among the four representatives. As convenor, each tends to blame her predecessor for maintaining

¹For some of the leaders, joining NWO was an essential stepping stone to higher political office since the Constitution of Nepal requires that a person must first become an active member in one of the Class Organizations before standing for election to any office.

incomplete records which results in her unfamiliarity with many earlier decisions, problems, policies, and programs. Whether any leadership can emerge from the NWO representatives of COCAC is doubtful, considering their brief term as convenor and the prevalent attitudes.

There is an additional problem which is partially a matter of leadership and partly one of structure—the overall domination of the NWO by the BVNC. Despite the fact that the BVNC contains no women members, the NWO is expected to work under the committee's strict supervision and receives its budgetary allocation through them. Under these circumstances there seems to be a limited scope for development of innovative and dynamic leadership within the NWO itself.

It must be concluded, therefore, that the NWO leadership has not exercised its potential role in achieving the organization's goals.

Internal Structure

As discussed earlier, the very nature of the previous structure forced those district organizations which were not able to generate their own funds to depend heavily on the Central Committee and their programs and functions were limited accordingly. On the other hand, districts which could generate their own funds looked upon themselves as separate entities. This often caused friction and rivalry between the centre and some of the well off districts, e.g., between the Central Level Organization and Kathmandu District Organization.

Because of the many levels of the NWO's previous hierarchical structure, very little communication and attention from the central organization filtered down to the primary level. The primary level organizations existed mainly as a basis from which ambitious individuals acquired the membership which enabled them to move up to the district and zonal levels of the organization and finally to the central level organization. Although the structure provided some vertical mobility from village to district to zone, there does not seem to have been mucy lateral communication among primary level organizations nor among districts nor zones.

Since the reorganization under the Class Organization Act of 1976, NWO has worked under the direction of the BVNC. Thus, as mentioned earlier the BVNC exercises control over NWO and in fact the latter no longer exists or functions as an autonomous entity. Even the Membership Campaign Committee (which confers general NWO membership) and the Election Commission (which conducts elections of the various executive committees) of NWO have members from BVNC.

The efficiency of the organization cannot help but be adversely affected by this restructuring, especially by the six month rotation system within COCAC/NWO. Although a rotation system itself may not be bad, the six month term of office is hardly enough time for anyone to contribute significantly to the organization. This easily leads to an overall lack of continuity in the administration and more specifically a lack of follow-up on programs and policies initiated during one tepresentative's term as convenor. As each convenor takes charge, she needs time to understand the problems and procedures of the organization. By the time she understands them all and starts discharging her functions, it is time to hand over the leadership to the following convenor. This is hardly a setting which fosters dynamic and committed teadership at the central level.

What is perhaps even more important, the present structure of the NWO does not seem to be conducive to the development of leadership qualities among members at the lower levels either. In fact in the present context, many of the primary and district level women's organizations, including the Kathmandu District Women's Organization do not legally exist because elections have not yet been held after the present reorganization of NWO.

Before the recent legislation which did away with nomination, there was to be one woman member nominated by the local BVNC to each village panchayat if no woman had been elected. This would have meant that at least 4,000 women village panchayat members would have represented the NWO (and women in general) at the primary level. This seemed to have been a good start in encouraging rural women to participate in the

process of development through the panchayat system and a sizeable representation by NWO to push forward the interests of women at the policy and decision making level.

But the introduction of the new law has changed the entire perspective. Besides the elimination of women representation at the top level (National Panchayat), the NWO may end up with few if any female representatives even at the bottom level of the government. Even with a large representation of women at the bottom level, the question would still remain whether the women at the village level will be successful in voicing and lobbying for their interests.

The full effects of the internal reorganization are yet to be felt and their actual impact upon NWO's programs and operations yet to be seen.

Programs

As discussed above, an organization's programs constitute an important variable in its success in achieving its organizational goals. But the review and assessment of the NWO programs show that they are rather narrow and conservative. They are often merely extensions of or supplements to the general policies and ongoing programs of His Majesty's Government rather than new programs generated by the NWO and specifically designed by women to alleviate women's problems and raise the status of women by making them self-reliant human beings.

The programs carried out by the NWO, such as family planning, literacy, and skill development, are not adequate to meet the organizational objectives. While 93.5% of the women in the active labor force are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the training offered to rural women in the skill development program is limited to knitting, sewing, weaving and carpet weaving and other handicrafts. Unless markets can be developed for these handicraft products and a steady supply of raw

¹See Part 2 of this Volume (Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Women) for discussion of the implications of this law.

materials can be assured, this kind of training makes little sense as an effort towards making women economically independent.

Moreover the interest of rural women in such skill development is only part time. Such skills may help the rural women to earn extra money, but the main income source for almost all rural women is agriculture. Despite this fact no programs have been designed to develop and increase women's knowledge of modern agricultural practices. Current programs of the NWO hardly touch upon even the fringes of the actual problems and needs of rural women.

It must be noted, however, that in recent years the family planning program has been carried out with considerable success. Although the future of this program seems uncertain as it is a foreign assisted program of limited duration, it seems to be achieving its objectives.

Likewise the Legal Aid Service program of NWO has served women well, but almost exclusively in the Kathmandu Valley area. While it provides a necessary service to poor women, its scope has been severely limited by budgetary constrants which must be overcome if it is to expand its useful service.

As mentioned earlier, most of the NWO's programs have merely served as supplements to already existing programs of His Majesty's Government. Prior to the implementation of New Education System Plan (NESP), NWO was carrying out its own literacy program with whatever little resources were available. Since the introduction of NESP, NWO handles only a part of the national literacy program of the Ministry of Education that is aimed at women only. Actually, this program has had less success recently in imparting literacy skills. The number of women who became literate under this program dropped from 15,000 in 1971 to only

11,000 in 1975 (Shrestha, R. 1977:1). In the same way, the NWO's family planning and skill development programs have also been drawn from national programs developed by HMG Departments.

Resources

The resource variable has been crucial in the history of the NWO. The organization has always faced a resource constraint which has, to a large extent, affected its selection of programs. Programs were undertaken according to the availability of funds or were forced to limit the scope of their activity as in the case of the Legal Aid Service Program. This again is an indication of the inability of the leadership to establish linkages with outside organizations and agencies that would enable it to generate funds to support the kind of projects which fulfill its own organizational goals. Realistically speaking, even Rs.128,502/63 which was expended in the year 1973/74 for the NWO's literacy compaign would have been inadequate to cover all 75 districts of Nepal. The combined budgetary problems of insufficient and uncertain funding imposed severe constraints on NWO projects financed through the central organization.

DEVELOPMENT OF LINKAGES

Enabling Linkage

In order for an organization to survive, it must create relationships of mutual service and support with its environment. The Nepal Women's Organization has been able to establish some enabling linkages with HMG, especially the Ministry of Education, and with some outside agencies, such as FPIA and World Neighbours. Under the previous structure, the Central Executive Committee was responsible for obtaining funds from HMG each year. The amount received depended on the

There has been virtually no checking on the number of literates relapsing into illiteracy. It was found in a study on adult literacy (Shrestha, R. 1977) that new literates often relapse into illiteracy due to the lack of followup programs. For instance, in Bhadrabas Adarsha Village Panchayat, 3% of the illiterates became literate, but on checking after eight years, it was found that most of them had lost their newly acquired skills.

strength of the justification for the programs and also on the bargaining capacity of the chairperson of the organization. However, this linkage does not seem to have been strongly established because the funds received from the government were barely adequate for survival. Under the present structure, the BVNC Central Committee and COCAC/NWO act as the enabling linkages with both HMG as well as with external donors because it is through the BVNC that the NWO receives its funding. How well this linkage is established—especially with external donors—is yet to be seen.

Functional Linkages

Ideally the NWO should have established exchange relationships with the village and district panchayats, with the various government departments, such as the Department of Cottage Industry, and with the WATC. The village and the district panchayats could supply information on local conditions and needs of the village women and could in turn channel NWO's programs and services to local village women. It has been found, however, that this kind of interaction between the village level panchayats and the NWO is almost never achieved.

Likewise, the Department of Village Cottage Industry should supply the technical and material input to the NWO's skill development programs yet this linkage also appears to be very weak.

Some functional linkages exist between NWO and WATC in so far as WATC has a training program exclusively for the NWO and women panchayat members. WATC also uses some staff members of NWO for the training programs. For example, the NWO Senior Advocate gives classes in legal literacy to WATC trainees. WATC also has training and seminar programs for the NWO members. However, there seem to be only a limited interaction between these two organizations.

It appears that the NWO leaders have not been able to establish necessary exchange relationships and this constitutes one of the major weaknesses of the organization.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{See}$ the following section for further information on WATC's programs.

Normative Linkages

The NWO has made little effort to coordinate its functions with other similar institutions or to strengthen its own credibility as an effective instrument to achieve its policy and program goals. Instead of designing new programs, the NWO often seems more competitive than complementary with other institutions. Often the NWO has failed to make contacts with individual women in the villages so that its services could reach the targeted group of women. The result is the apathetic attitude of the village women towards the organization. There are often complaints that the benefits of the skill development and literacy programs do not reach the village women. The programs seem to be carried out more on the superficial level rather than with the intention of dealing with the real economic problems of village women. 1

In spite of the fact that NWO came into existence nearly two decades ago, it has not really been integrated into the village environment nor has it been able to make its impact felt in the society. Hence its contribution towards development of women has been quite insignificant.

¹This came out very clearly from an encounter with a Tharu woman from Bara District. She reported that in Bara district, among the Tharu community, virtually no one has received the benefits of the services of the NWO Skill Development Program. Therefore, she had to travel to Kathmandu to make direct contact with the NWO Multipurpose Centre to sell the baskets and table mats made by the community. She also reported that the literacy program does not exist in the district.

WOMEN'S AFFAIRS TRAINING AND EXTENSION CENTRE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One of the characteristics of Nepal is the traditional nature of the social setting, particularly in the villages where there is subsistance agriculture using traditional technologies, minimal literacy, minimal social and geographical mobility, and minimal external contact. As a rule, women are found to be even more tradition bound than men and it was therefore realized that certain changes in the attitudes of village women were essential in order to involve them in the process of community development.

Since the 1950s, His Majesty's Government has undertaken various development programs to improve the living conditions of the rural people, including training courses specifically for village women. The history of the women's programs can roughly be divided into three phases, i.e., pre-panchayat, panchayat and post-1975.

Pre-Panchayat

The training began in 1955 with the help of USAID. The training was mainly associated with the Community Development Program and revolved around teaching home science. It was conducted in Kathmandu only and rural women had to come to the Jawalakhel Training Centre for the one year course. Upon completion, the women were stationed in the villages to do community services.

Panchayat

With the political change in 1961, and the establishment of Panchayat system there were several changes in the training programs. The
home science section was merged with the countrywide training program
under the Ministry of Home and Panchayat and the name of the Centre
was changed to the Women's Affairs Training and Extension Centre
(hereafter referred to as WATC). The training curriculum was broadened
to include the panchayat system, maternal and child health, and
family planning. At the same time the training programs were extended
to members of Nepal Women's Organization, professional women and
volunteer workers. For those village women who could not come to the
centre for training, a Women's Mobile Training Program was set up to

conduct three month training programs in different villages, under the supervision and direction of the Ministry.

Post-1975

During 1975, International Women's Year (IWY), further expansion of WATC occurred. Three new training centres were inaugurated in Surkhet, Dhankuta and Pokhara to conduct both the institutional and mobile training programs within their respective regions. Under the auspices of the IWY, seminars relating to women and development were held in these different centres, such as the three day seminar on women in National Development held in Pokhara and inaugurated by Her Majesty the Queen.

Recently there has been a revision in the WATC's training policy. The Panchayat Development Committee decided that the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee under the SSNCC and NWO under the BVNC, would take the responsibility for identifying training programs and selecting the participants. Therefore, as of fiscal year 1979/80, the WATC will no longer conduct its own regular training programs but rather will provide training services as needed and requested by WSCC and NWO. The responsibility for selecting and assigning the trainees will also rest entirely with the WSCC and NWO. This implies that the WATC's regular and institutional field training will no longer be given (Home and Panchayat Ministry meeting minutes, 1978).

Before looking at the implications of this policy change, let us examine the WATC as currently structured.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the Ministry of Home and Panchayat's Panchayat Training Programs are:

- To develop local leadership in accordance with the Panchayat System
- To produce necessary development workers for the implementation of regional and sub-regional development programs

3. To develop administrative and technical knowledge and skills to help implement the local program (after Fifth Five Year Plan, 1975: 532)

Within these overall objectives, the WATC's specific objectives are:

- To create awareness among the village womenfolk in the social, political and economic spheres of life
- To raise the standard of living of farm families by providing them with modern and technical knowledge and skills
- 3. To mobilize the women force for the national development by developing local leadership among village women
- 4. To make village women self-reliant (Shrestha, P. 1977: 6-7).

STRUCTURE

As part of the Home and Panchayat Ministry, WATC comes under the jurisdiction of both the Panchayat Development Committee (PDC) and the Training Division, as illustrated in Chart III. The Training Division, headed by the Training Chief, supervises each of WATC's four training centres (at Pokhara, Kathmandu, Surkhet and Dhankuta). It dispatches both directions and information to these centres whose principals and instructors conduct the training programs.

Governing the administrative and financial matters of all panchayat training programs is the Panchayat Development Committee, composed of the Minister of Home and Panchayat as Chairman, the Secretary of Home and Panchayat as member-cum-secretary and five other members. At present (1977/78) they are:

- 1. Secretary of the BVNC, COCAC (Dr. M. Moshin)
- 2. Member of the National Planning Commission (Dr. Govind P. Lohani)
- 3. Director General of Local Development Department (Mr. Sant B. Rai)
- Training Chief of Home and Panchayat Ministry (Mr. Ram N. Shrestha)
- 5. Prof. G. R. Singh on Individual Capacity

YAAJAS GNA

SUPERVISION

This committee exercises executive control over all training program, policy and budget allocations. It determines the type and number of courses conducted, each district's quota of trainees, and the training curricula.

Based on the policies and decisions of this committee, WATC, along with the Ministry's other training institutes, develops its annual programs and budgets. These are submitted to the Training Division then' forwarded to the Panchayat Development Committee for final approval. Once approved, the program is sent to the National Planning Commission for budgetary allocation.

Each centre receives its budget allocation directly through the financial administration section of the Training Division while the budgets for field training programs are administered and channelled through the Panchayat Development Offices. Thus, the structure is conducive to a top-down communication flow rather than bottom to top.

PROGRAMS

At present WATC is carrying out training both at its centres and in the field. At the training centres, instructors conduct training for:

- a. Women Workers (one year duration)
- b. Chief Women Workers (3 months)
- c. Women Workers' and Chief Women Workers' refresher training (1 to 2 months)
- d. Supervisors (one month; no longer conducted)
- e. Volunteer Workers (3 to 4 months)
- f. Female panchayat members leadership training
- g. Professionals' in-service training (e.g., for midwives)

¹See Table 2 for breakdowns by centres for all training programs.

Upon completion of their training, women are expected to return to their villages or organizations and share what they have learned. Structured on-site training is then conducted by the Women Workers and Chief Women Workers for groups of village women in the field.

Training Curricula

All these different training programs cover the same subjects, namely: food and nutrition, skill development, child care and family planning, the panchayat system, kitchen gardening, and poultry raising. Only the intensity and extent of knowledge imparted in these areas vary, according to the duration of the training and the level of comprehension of the trainees.

In the area of food and nutrition, training is given to provide basic knowledge of balanced diets, nutrient contents and food values, preservation and preparation of food.

In the area of child care and family planning, the women are taught infant care, pre-natal and post partum care of mothers and the importance of vaccination and immunization. In addition, the women become acquainted with the importance and various methods for family planning.

In skill development the women are taught handicrafts such as basket weaving, sewing, knitting and carpet weaving. The main idea behind this type of training is to make women more economically independent.

In the course on kitchen gardening, women are taught the use of improved seeds, fertilizers and insecticides in growing vegetables.

The course on poultry, teaches women about modern poultry raising methods from the laying of eggs, to the hatching of chicks through to the care of adult birds and their diseases.

Under the panchayat course, the women are given a basic understanding of the workings and mechanisms of panchayat system of government which includes its organization, the crown, the workings of partyless panchayat democracy, the constitution of Nepal, the concept of the Back-to-the-

Village National Campaign and the principles and workings of decentralization. They are also instructed in their basic legal rights and duties under the National Legal Code. By acquainting rural women with these subjects it is hoped to increase their political consciousness and involvement in their own communities.

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

Women Workers' Training

This one year course is offered at the Jawalakhel Training Centre in Kathmandu to women interested in becoming Women Workers (mahila karyakarta) who work in villages, teaching the women new skills. These Women Workers carry out the major part of the field training programs, as is discussed later. Of Nepal's 75 districts, there are said to be Women Workers stationed in 14. Records of employment rates and locations are not available.

To be eligible for the Women Workers' Training Course, a woman should have a rural background, understand the needs of the rural women, and be literate. Each training group consists of 30-35 women between the ages of 21 and 33, from as many different castes and ethnic groups as possible. Previously, the selection of the Women Workers was done by the staff of the WATC with the help of the district level officers. Candidates were interviewed at the district capital. Recently, the selection has been done at the village level so that those women who cannot travel to the district for interviews may also be considered. Selected staff members from the regional institutions go to the villages to choose trainees with the advice and suggestions of the local Pradhan Panchas and Panchayat Development Officers (PDOs). In theory, women who have been active in village level community affairs are supposed to be selected for the training. In reality, other local or political criteria form the basis of selection and often the daughters and other relatives of the Pradhan Panchas are selected.

During their training period, the women live together in the hostel. Meals and some clothing are provided and camaraderic often develops. They are instructed in the subjects described earlier both through classes and through two to three field visits for practical experience. Upon successful completion of the training course, the women are supposed to receive employment from the government as Women Workers. They are assigned in pairs, usually in their home district to facilitate local acceptance and to increase their effectiveness in organizing and conducting three month "training camps" for village women.

For these "training camps", the Women Workers are supposed to assemble village women and conduct classes in those areas in which they have acquired skills and knowledge from their own training at the WATC. This training is to be conducted in close cooperation with the district and village panchayats. The Women Workers are assisted by the Voluntary Women Workers, who have also been trained at the WATC. The timing of the classes is supposed to be arranged according to the convenience of the village women (i.e. during slack agricultural seasons) although usually it is not. The venues for such "camps" are selected according to the availability of class-room space—often in village homes or the panchayat office.

Each year the Women Workers are required to conduct three such "training camps" in three different villages in their district. During the other three months of the year, when it is wet and difficult to travel, the Women Workers are supposed to spend their time in the Panchayat Development Office in the district centre, planning their training schedule for the next year. Women Workers usually stay on the job for about four or five years.

It is reported² that due to the facilities provided during the training period and the attraction of government employment after the training, it is relatively easy to recruit Women Worker trainees. Since

¹It is not clear, however, whether or not these training camps are always actually conducted by the Women Workers as certified by the Panchayat Development Officers (PDOs) or Pradhan Panchas of the village where the training is held. Interviews with WATC staff members revealed that sometimes such training "camps" exist in name only.

²Interview with WATC staff members.



Women Worker trainees perfect the skills they will soon be teaching to village women. Photos by Mrs. C. Gurung



the initiation of the program in 1957, 412 Women Workers have been trained. A major problem with the Women Worker training scheme has been that only 150 paid posts were created in the initial stages of the program. Despite the many women trained, the number of posts available has not been increased. This means that only 150 Women Workers can find employment out of the 412 women trained and that the only posts vacant for recently trained women are those from which others have resigned. Because of this problem, no new Women Workers were trained in 1977/78. Only refresher training for currently employed Women Workers is being conducted.

Women Workers Refresher Training

Refresher training is given to those who have had at least two years village experience as Women Workers, those who stay on as Women Workers for more than four or five years and Chief Women Workers. These women are brought back to the Jawalakhel Training Centre in Kathmandu to learn about new trends, to discuss problems of working in the field, and to explore possible solutions. The content of the courses, however, differs very little from that given in the initial training. The duration of the refresher training is usually from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 months; the number of trainees varies from 15 to 20. For this training as for the initial Women Worker training the trainees are required to stay in the WATC hostels where meals and lodging are provided.

So far, 324 Women Workers have been given refresher training. The newly established WATC in Pokhara, held its first refresher training in 1976/77. The Pokhara Centre has trained a total of 20 women from 12 districts (WATC 1977: 4) in the Western Development Region; the Centre in Surkhet (the Far Western Region) has trained 14 women and the Dhankuta Centre in the Eastern Region has trained 20 women from different districts during 1977/78. During the current year (1978/79), Kathmandu, Dhankuta, and Surkhet have given refresher training to 20, 20 and 16 Women Workers respectively.

Chief Women Workers' Training

After the women have worked for several years as Women Workers, they may receive training to prepare them for promotion to Chief Women Workers. In addition to higher academic qualifications, the women who are promoted must have good work records and field work experience. This six month training covers the same subjects as the Women Workers Training Program but in greater depth. It used to be conducted only at the Jawalakhel Training Centre in Kathmandu; since 1978/79, it is also offered at the other Centres.

The Chief Women Workers are supposed to stay and work in one village panchayat area for several years, to run an intensive training program, rather than the extensive "training camps" programs run by the Women Workers. They are expected to draw up training projects and run them independently and to organize local women's centres with the help of the District Women's Organization. Up to 1977 a total of 169 women have received Chief Women Workers' training. For this fiscal year (1978/79), the Kathmandu Centre has trained 10 and Dhankuta, 13. Pokhara and Surkhet have conducted refresher training for 10 and 16 Chief Women Workers respectively.

Supervisors Training

The training of Supervisors began in 1975 with the co-operation and technical guidance of Mobile Training Team from ESCAP. It had been found that the work performed by the Women Workers was often ignored or overlooked by the panchayat officials with whom they are supposed to be working and it was felt therefore that there was a need to have women in supervisory roles at the village and district level. The Chief Women Workers who received Supervisor's training were posted in Small Area Development Projects (SADP) to plan, implement and supervise the Women Worker's program at the village level training. In 1975, 35 women received this training. It has been discontinued since then because no posts for Supervisors were created.

¹This information is obtained from the office of the Ministry of Home and Panchayat, Materials Production Centre and Women's Affair's Training Centre, Jawalakhel.

Volunteers' Training

This training is for those rural women who are willing to render their services to other rural women without any pay. The content of the training course is a condensed and simplified version of the Women Workers course, since the training period is only for three months and the trainees are less qualified or sometimes illiterate. Upon completion of the training, the Women Volunteers are expected to help the Women Workers who go to their home villages. This training is conducted in all the four regional centres. Altogether, 446 women have been trained. Out of this, 25 of them were trained in the Surkhet Centre, 20 in the Dhankuta Centre, 20 in the Pokhara Centre, and the remainder in the Jawalakhel Centre. For the current fiscal year (1978/79), 30 volunteers are being trained in Kathmandu, 31 in Pokhara, 29 in Dhankuta, and 12 in Surkhet.

Leadership Development Training

This seven day training was especially designed for those women who are members of the COCAC, and village panchayats, as well as those who are active in social services in the villages. The training objective is to increase the trainees effectiveness in designing and implementing local level programs for village women by improving leadership skills and motivation techniques. The content of the training course includes the principles and importance of a balanced diet, the basics of sewing, the principles of mother and child health care, family planning, concepts and practical techniques of collective leadership and development, as well as the basis and functions of panchayat system.

So far 111 women have received this training - 15 in Jawalakehl Training Centre, 34 in the Surkhet Centre, 32 in the Dhankuta Centre and 30 in the Pokhara Centre. For the current fiscal year, the Jawalakhel Women's Affairs Training Centre and the Pokhara Centre are both scheduled to organise this sort of training for 50 women.each.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{See}$ the section on the National Women's Organization, for explanation of COCAC.

Professional Development Training

This training is designed especially to increase the capabilities of women engaged in professions, particularly those who work as midwives. The three month course is offered at the Jawalakhel Training Centre and the trainees live at the hostel. Upon completion of the course, the women are expected to teach their fellow village women what they have learned and to help Women Workers conduct field training camps.

The main areas of training are carpet weaving, hosiery, health and hygiene, family planning, mother and child care, panchayat system, and literacy.

So far, only two such programs have been conducted and 47 women trained. There is one program for 20 women scheduled for 1978/79.

Other Training Courses and Seminars Conducted at WATC, Jawalakhel

Besides the above regular training programs, various special training programs and seminars are organised by WATC, Jawalakehl. These include: 1) Home Science Training Program; 2) Training for Backward Women; and 3) Supervisor Orientation, Training in Social Services; 2) Orientation Training for the Women Workers; 3) Couples Training; 4) Seminar-cum-Workshop on Family Planning; 5) Training for Housewives (Table 2). For the current fiscal year (1978/79), the Kathmandu Centre has conducted training for Backward Women for 30 participants and Surkhet, for 31. (The numbers for Pokhara are not available.) The Kathmandu Centre has also held a nutrition Workshop-Seminar for 18 instructors from the regional centres. Kathmandu, Dhankuta and Surkhet Centres have also held agriculture development training in kitchen gardening and poultry for 25, 20, and 25 women respectively. 1

¹This information was made available by the office of HMG. Home and Panchayat Ministry, Training Materials Production Centre and Women Affair's Training Centre, Jawalakhel.

Table 2
WOMEN TRAINED UNDER DIFFERENT WATC TRAINING PROGRAMS 1957-1977

	Jawala			khet	Dhanl Cen		Pokha Cent:		Total	
Training Programs	Cen Target	Actual	Cen Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual		
1. Women Workers Training	460	412	-	-	-	-	-	-	412	
Refresher Training for Women Workers	347	284	20	14	22	9	20	17	324	
 Chief Women Worker's Training 	184	169	-	-	_	-	-	-	169	
4. Supervisors Training	35	35	-	-	-	-	-	•	35	
5. Voluntary Women Training	389	381	20	25	20	20	20	20	446	
6. Leadership Development Training	p - 15	15	30	34	30	32	30	30	111	
 Professional Development Training 	50	47		-		-	_	_	47	
8. Home Science Training	50	61	-	-	-	-	•	-	61	
Training for Backward Women	15	10	•	_	_	-	-	-	10	
Supervisor Orient tion Training	a- 35	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	
11. Seminar for NWO Representatives	429	332	30	24	30	9	30	17	382	
12. Training in Social Services	40	1 5	-	-	•	-	-	-	15	
13. Women Workers Orientation Training	65	44	-	-	-	-	_	-	4	
14. Couples Training	44	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	4:	
15. Workshop-cum- Seminar on F.P.	-	-	•	-	-	9	٠ ـ	-		
16. Training for Housewives	343	329	-	-	-	•	-	-	32	
17. Seminar on Constitutional Provision		-	147	147	37	37	-		18	

Source: HMG, Home and Panchayat Ministry.

FIELD TRAINING

The Women Workers and Chief Women Workers are stationed in different districts to organise and conduct training "camps" in the respective villages for the local women. This field or regionalized training is of two types. One is a long-term program in which training is given to the local women in hand weaving, sewing, carpet weaving, poultry, children's programs, kitchen gardening, balanced diet, maternal and child care, family planning and literacy, the same subjects in which the Women Workers and Chief Women Workers have received their training. Under this program, small clubs have been opened in some villages of the Central Region (i.e., Bainsepati, Bamtibhandar, Balaju and Janakpur) and one is to be started soon in Makwanpur. These clubs are run on a voluntary basis and provide a place for village women to meet together. Each club must have at least 11 members elected by the women themselves. The Pradhan Pancha is supposed to be involved in the club and one staff member from WATC is assigned to the club as in-charge of projects. The local women make a small piece of land available to the WATC at little if any cost and a small structure is erected with voluntary labour from the villagers.

The members are supposed to meet once a month to plan programs and discuss any problems. Usually, however, they meet only whenever problems arise or on special occasions such as the celebration of the Queen's Birthday. The Bainsepati and Bamtibhandar clubs run a hosiery and carpet weaving operation on a profit basis. Sometimes these clubs run nutrition programs with the help of UNICEF which provides milk for distribution to the village children and offers treatment for malnourished children. UNICEF has donated twenty thousand rupees to the WATC, Jawalakhel for a model club house, which has been built in Bhainsepati.

The second type of field training is a short-term program, the "training camps." These are organised by the Women Workers and Chief

¹Consideration is being given within the Home and Panchayat Ministry as to whether these clubs should be turned over to the Mother's Club.

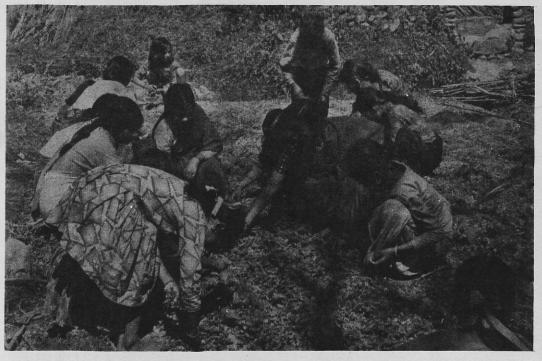
Women Workers with the help of the PDO and Pradhan Pancha. The camps run from a week to three months, teaching maternal and child health care, balanced diet, family planning, sewing and knitting, general knowledge of health, literacy and the workings of panchayat system. After completing one training camp in a village, the Women Workers and Chief Women Workers move to another village, thus constituting a mobile training unit. They are supposed to maintain a diary in which to record their daily activities and also to collect information about the particular village in which they are working. At the end of the training period, they are supposed to sent their diaries in a report (certified by the PDO or Pradhan Pancha) to the WATC of the respective regions, as a basis for evaluation of their work.

In the Central Development Region, 14 districts are served by these short-term programs. (Gurung C., Shahi M., Bhadra T. and Pradhan U., 1977). In the Western Development Region, three months field training camps used to be conducted every year in fifteen districts, but from this fiscal year the program is to be conducted only in nine districts, since the training period has been lengthened in some districts (WATC, Pokhara, 1977/78: 17, 18).

According to the records of the HMG, Home and Panchayat Ministry, 61, 386 village women have received field training within a period of 13 years as against the target of 68,702 (Table 3). Out of the 61,386 trained, 39,640 women were trained in the Central Development Region.



Putting her skills to good use, a Woman Worker conducts a sewing class for the Tharu women in Kalaiya, Phatepur. Photo courtesy of WATC



The kitchen gardening class organized by the Ratna Jyoti Paribar (WATC Club) at Bhaisepati tries out the new techniques they've learned. Photo courtesy of WATC

Table 3

WOMEN TRAINED UNDER THE WOMEN'S AFFIARS TRAINING CENTRE
FIELD TRAINING 1964-1978

Year	Target	Achievement
 1964/65	1500	809
1965/66	4300	6104
1966/67	5320	2779
1967/68	4618	3839
1968/69	2500	3014
1969/70	2900	2900
1970/71	6780	5864
1971/72	6780	5795
1972/73	7950	9571
1973/74	79 50	7268
1974/75	7950	6144
1975/76	4735	3675
1976/77	3375	3624
1977/78	3844	-
Total	68702	61386

Source: HMG, Home and Panchayat Ministry.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

Initially this program was supported by USAID/N and the Indian Co-operation Mission. At present, the program costs are being met almost entirely out of the HMG central budget (Appendix: Table 14). The Supervisor Training was run with the co-operation and technical guidance of Mobile Training Team from ESCAP. The salaries of the Supervisors were provided by UNICEF.

The trend in WATC funding has been a steady increase in the budgetary allocation for the program, indicating that the training has been expanding and perhaps gaining importance. However, there has been some problems with support for the field programs. It is learnt from interviews with WATC staff that there is not enough money for field programs. Because of this, the field staff is actually getting smaller at the same time the programs have been expanding. The field allowances also have been cut. With the recent decision to eliminate WATC training, the field training may stop altogether.

ANALYSIS

The Women's Affairs Training Institute has been an integral part of the Panchayat Development Program of His Majesty's Government to provide an institutional structure from the village upwards. Its' clear and well intended objectives are particularly relevant since Nepal has such a large rural population. The WATC could have established a channel through which innovative ideas can be disseminated to rural women to help them improve their lives.

INTERNAL VARIABLES

Leadership

It is quite clear that the actual leadership of the WATC emanates from the Panchayat Development Committee, at the highest level of the Home and Panchayat Ministry. However, there does not seem to be an adequate channel for communication between this central decision making authority and those who are responsible for implementation of programs both at the regional level (i.e., the four WATC centres) and the district and village level (i.e., the field training programs). Except for the chairman, the member secretary, and the training chief, the other four members are neither concerned with nor involved in the WATC programs. There is no representation on the Committee of the persons directly responsible for the women's training programs (or for that matter from other training programs) who are familiar with the problems and need at the village level. Hence no feedback about the programs actually at work in the field is being provided to the Committee.

The Minister, who is the chairman of the Committee, must attend to the needs of the entire Home and Panchayat Ministry and hence his responsibilities and attention are divided. In addition, the Committee itself governs not only WATC but all the training bodies and functions of the Ministry. The Training Chief of the Panchayat Training Section, the member of the Committee who could be an important linkage between the Committee and the operating institutes, is the Chief of all Training Programs under the Ministry. His responsibilities and attention therefore must also be divided among all the Panchayat Training functions of which women's training is only one.

The principals and the staff of WATC are recruited by the Public Service Commission and normally cannot be expected to take a leadership role since they are seen as employees whose job is to implement the decisions made at the top.

Because of this division of responsibility, the WATC receives only part-time, high level bureaucratic leadership. In addition, whether consciously or not, the existing leadership tends to maintain a conservative view of what programs are appropriate for women. They have been successful in maintaining the "status-quo" from the time of its establishment to the present day.

It would appear then that the leadership lacks a firm commitment to bring about innovation in this particular branch of training. The WATCs are yet to receive the dynamic leadership and sustained systematic attention which they need to effectively achieve their goals.

Internal Structure

As is clear from the foregoing discussion of the leadership, the internal structure does not contribute to the productivity of the institute. The structure does not provide a two-way flow of inputs and outputs whereby information from the village level can be fed to the central decision making level to be developed into programs catering to actual village needs and conditions. It is difficult for those at the central level of the Ministry and the Committee to know what is happening at the field level training. There is no direct communication link with the local level panchayats apart from the reports sent by the Women Workers certified by the PDOs or Pradhan Panchas and which, unfortunately, often are very superficial or inaccurate.

Immediately upon completion of training, the Women Workers are posted to the districts with the heavy task of scheduling the field training programs. Despite their limited education and one year's training, they are expected to formulate training plans and programs, to select the villages, organize the women participants and run the training programs with little if any assistance from the Training Centres. Even common sense would suggest that this is too much to expect from these village women.

Once the women are trained and posted to the districts, the Training Centres have no control over their activities. These field workers are entirely responsible and answerable to the local level panchayats for supervision and funds. Local level panchayats are not associated with the training programs, and this is one reason for the apathtic attitude of the panchayat officials noted by the mobile inspection teams. There is no linkage established in actual practice between the WATC and the local level panchayats. In sum there seem to be many communication gaps between the various levels of the WATC's internal structure.

Programs

The review of the WATC training program given earlier reveals that they are quite rigid and stereotyped. There are seven institutional training programs which are supposed to cater to the needs of different groups of women. However, with minor variations, the nature and the content of the courses are almost the same; only the duration of the training varies. As we saw all the training courses concentrate on the following four areas: 1) nutrition, 2) family planning and child/maternal health care, 3) skill development (which includes knitting, sewing, carpet weaving, hosiery) and 4) kitchen gardening. These courses are taught in the professional development training for midwives as well as in the Women Worker's training and even in leadership development training. Thus in all the training courses, at all levels, the actual programs offered seem to focus almost exclusively on women's domestic role and emphasize those skills which make women better house-wives.

Since the training program began, very little innovation has been introduced. The programs and training which were envisioned in 1957 as appropriate to the needs of women are still being carried out today, despite the fact that conceptions about needs for the development of women have become much broader over the last twenty years.

Certain programs offered also seem to be contradictory to the stated objectives of the institution. For instance, the objectives of "raising the standard of living of farm families" (Objective 2); "developing local leadership among village women" (Objective 3); and of "making women self-reliant" (Objective 4) cannot be achieved with the present nature of programs and training. This is quite evident from a small survey carried out by WATC, Jawalakhel among field trainees in

Makwanpur, Dadhikot, Ramechap and Balaju (Gurung C., Shahi M., Bhadra T. and Pradhan U., 1977). 75.5% of the trainees are engaged in agriculture. Teaching these women hand weaving, carpet weaving, hosiery, production knitting and sewing in the professional development training seems somewhat inappropriate, especially since no agricultural skill development is included in any training whatsoever. In the same survey, 72.6% of the women have reported that the training has been helpful in running their homes; 17.5% reported that they had gained personal knowledge and only 5% of the women found the training useful for social services. It was found that 55% of the women were not even interested in the subjects taught in the field training. The results of this survey are very meaningful indicators of the inappropriateness of the existing women's training programs.

The impact of the WATC training programs has been questioned by both HMG departments and outside agencies, it is generally felt that an evaluation of these programs is needed.

Resources

Resources have not been a major constraint for the WATC. Its budgetary needs are met through the central allocation from the HMG budget. The problem is not one of securing additional resources but of using the available resources productively and efficiently. For instance, there has been a budget for Supervisors for the last three years but it has never been used.

DEVELOPMENT OF LINKAGES

Enabling Linkages

The Panchayat Development Committee links WATC with other organizations such as the National Planning Commission, the Finance Ministry and USAID. This is perhaps one reason that there have been adequate financial resources available from the Finance Ministry since USAID funding ended. Some linkages also have been established with UNICEF which provides technical assistance and physical facilities. For example, the nutrition programs of WATC are assisted by a UNICEF expert nutritionist and necessary training materials. Also, since 1977, 12 Peace Volunteers have assisted in the nutrition program at the village level in three development zones by taking surveys of the problems of village women and teaching classes in basic child health, including the importance of vaccinations, and kitchen gardening.

Functional Linkages

The very nature of the WATC's programs presupposes and actuates functional linkages with the village and district panchayats. Since the panchayats are the beneficiaries of the WATC programs, they should provide in form of information on local needs, desired programs and available facilities, such as class-room space. However, this linkage has been found to be weak: the Training Centres have not been able to build an effective functional linkage with the village and district panchayats.

Chief Women Workers and the Women Workers are required to conduct field training in close co-operation with the panchayats who in turn are to keep strict supervision over their activities. But in actual practice this does not often happen. The work performed by the Women Workers is ignored or overlooked by the panchayats with whom they are supposed to be working. The Training Centres have become aware of this problem and have instituted Supervisors Training to prepare women to fulfill the supervisory task at the village level, but this training has been discontinued.

Because of this loose and ineffective linkage with the panchayats, sometimes field training "camps" exist only in name. Instances have been reported by the WATC staff of PDOs or the Pradhan Panchas certifying the existence of the field training camps which never took place. The staff also found that in some districts the Women Workers are made to work at the panchayat office in a clerical or secretarial role (i.e., receiving and sending out mail for panchayat officials) instead of helping them to organize and conduct field training—the purpose for which Women Workers are recruited in the villages.

To insure relevant and effective field training programs, there must be material and information inputs from various agencies and departments working at the village level, such as the Office of Agricultural Extension. Such informational inputs should be reflected in the design and content of the curricula of the training courses. As yet, however, this network of functional linkages between the WATC and other extention services are only slowly being developed.

Normative Linkage

The WATC has built some normative linkages by conducting various training seminars for members of the NWO and the women members of the various panchayats. Some classes on the legal rights and duties of women have been given by the Senior Advocate from NWO. The WATC is gradually involving NWO members and experts from the Agricultural Ministry and from the Department of Cottage Industry in teaching the trainees. Likewise, some classes on kitchen gardening and skill development are given by experts from the respective departments.

From the foregoing analysis it follows that no matter how inappropriate the WATC programs may have been, it is the only institution for women which has had programs operating on a regular basis and has gained access to rural women. EQUAL ACCESS OF WOMEN TO EDUCATION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The New Education System Plan (NESP) was introduced in 1971 as a major educational reform to align the content of education with the needs of development. The new policy also emphasized that equal educational opportunities should be made available to girls and women. Thus HMG educational policy coincided with the United Nation's long term objective of improving the status of women through education. Under its global program which began in 1965, the United Nations through UNESCO was sponsoring experimental projects on women's education and equality in various countries. Two such projects were already designed for Upper Volta and Chile, in 1968. After Nepal embarked upon its new educational policy, the UN asked Nepal to participate in the UNESCO experimental program. Consequently, in 1969 an agreement for the Equal Access of Women to Education (EAWE) project was signed for the eight year period, 1970/71 - 1978.

OBJECTIVES

The main emphasis of this project is to give rural women a chance to enter primary teacher's training and thus, as teachers, to initiate changes at the local level in attitudes towards girls' education. By training women from rural areas to teach within their own areas, it is hoped that these female teachers will act as catalysts to inspire the local people to send their own daughters to primary schools.

As stated in the agreement, the project objectives are as follows:

- To promote equal access of girls to education and the training of female teachers from remote and disadvantaged areas
- To assist in decentralizing and strengthening the implementation of primary education programs
- To provide opportunities for children and to promote the integration of education with other development activities.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The project began in 1971 at Pokhara Teacher Training School, with UNESCO assistance. In 1973 a similar program, using Pokhara as a model, was introduced in Dhankuta, the seat of regional development for the Eastern Region. Similarly, by 1976 the program was extended to Far Western Development Region in Nepalgunj and by 1978, the program had been introduced in Jumla in Far Western Region. Funding now comes from UNICEF.

According to the plan of operation, this project is implementated jointly by the Ministry of Education (MOE), Institute of Education (IOE), the District Education Office (DEO), and the Regional Education Directorate (RED). At the governmental level, MOE signed the contract with UNESCO and handles policy decisions and financial matters. The IOE is responsible for providing campus facilities, instructors and training courses to the program. The DEO and RED are responsible for the Upgrading Program, the recruitment and placement of the primary teacher trainees, and the maintenance of all records.

During the initial stages of the project, two sociological studies were made to analyze the factors hindering access of girls and women to education in villages and urban areas. The first study was a survey of three villages in Kaski District surrounding the town of Pokhara, made at the end of 1970 (UNESCO, 1975: 36). The second survey was carried out by the Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) in 1972 (Shrestha and Gurung, 1973). The results of these reports contributed to the design and direction of the Equal Access Project.

The quota for the number of women to be trained under this program is fixed by the Training Division of the Ministry of Education and the Dean's Office of the Institute of Education. The quota for each district is based on its level of development, the female literacy

For details refer to the original reports. Also see the entry in Part 4 of this Volume, "Inventory of Resources on Women, Nepal ."

rate and the female student enrollment in primary schools. Tables 4, 5 and 6 indicate the quotas fixed for the Pokhara, Nepalgunj and Dhankuta Campuses for the year 1976/77.

Trainees are chosen by one of the 10-15 Selection Teams according to the quota fixed for each of the districts. Each Selection Team consists of one representative each from the RED, IOE of the related campus, MOE and DEO; each is sent to different districts during the months of Srawan (July-August). Prior to the selection, information on the program is disseminated through radio announcements, newspaper notices and pamphlets and booklets as well as through personal contact with the prospective candidates in the district as arranged by the District Education Office.

In the selection process women from remote areas are given preference. Candidates must have completed at least 8th grade must be in good health although not pregnant. Final selection is made on the basis of performance in a written examination and an interview. According to concerned individuals from the Ministry of Education, the selection of candidates is conducted on a fair basis.

Due to the difficulties of transportation and communication and the parents' reluctance to send their daughters away from home to find lodging for themselves, lodging has been considered an important factor in encouraging female enrollment in teacher training programs. In Pokhara, a girls' hostel with 100 beds has been built with the assistance of UNICEF in 1975. Building of hostels in other campuses is still under consideration, but each of the campuses has a rented hostel with library facilities.

In addition to the travel stipend to and from the training centre, the program also makes provisions for educational tours, to enable trainees to visit places of historical and geographical interest or nearby urban areas.

 $^{^{}m l}$ This statement is in contradiction with the statement made by the CERID Research Staff, included in the analysis section.

Table 4

QUOTAS FIXED FOR EAWE TRAINEES, POKHARA CAMPUS 1976/77

.	Type of	Female	Primary	Quota Fixed		
District	Area	Literacy	Enrollment	B-Level	Upgrading	Total
Morang	Remote	4.3	27.04	4	1	5
Parbat		3.5	16.58	3	1	4
Gorkha	Remote	3.4	12.81	4	2	6
Myagdi	Difficult	4.4	17.09	4	1	5
Baglung	Remote	3.7	13.48	4	1	5
Kapilbastu		3.5	12.80	3	1	4
Gulmi		4.2	16.42	3	1	4
Ardhakhanchi		3.4	14.57	3	1	4
Tanahun		5.4	16.97	3	-	3
Lamjung		9.5	19.22	3	•	3
Kaski		10.00	26.58	-	-	-
Mustang	Remote	12.30	30.62	1	•	1
Nawalparasi		5.1	15.99	3	•	3
Kupandehi		6.8	23.65	3	-	3
Syangja		5.2	16.66	3	-	3
Palpa		8.2	19.98	3	-	3
rar Western Region						
Dolpa	Remote	5.3	18.44	4	1	5
Ro1pa	Difficult	1.4	6.17	5	2	7
Pyuthan		1.5	6.39	3	1	4
Rukum		1.8	3.95	4	2	6
Central Regio	<u>on</u>					
Rasuwa	Remote	3.0	15.82	3	-	3
Dhading		1.4	9.02	4	-	4
Nuwakot		2.6	16.31	3	-	3

contd. ...

Table 4 Contd. ...

Sindhupalchowk	Remote	2.1	11.70	4	-	4
Dolakha	Remote	3.6	12.11	4	-	4
Ramechap		2.6	10.10	2	-	2
Sindhuli		6.4	16.42	1	_	1
Rautahat		2.6	15.00	2	-	2
Sarlahi		3.2	15.74	1	-	1
Makwanpur		4.9	25.67	1	-	1
Total		·		88	1.5	103

Source: Ministry of Education

Table 5

QUOTAS FIXED FOR EAWE TRAINEES, NEPALGUNJ CAMPUS 1976/77

District	Type of Area	Female Literacy	Primary Enrollment	B-Level	Upgrading	Tota.
Salyan		1.5	6.39	2	1	3
Jajarkot	Difficult	2.0	15.43	3	2	5
Dailekh		1.3	4.60	2	1	3
Bardia		2.8	13.16	3	-	3
Bajura	Remote	1.9	3.16	3	2	5
Acham	Difficult	1.3	4.12	3	2	5
Humla	Remote	1.5	6.41	4	3	7
Jumla	Remote	1.4	3.44	4	3	7
Mugu	Remote	3.2	11.76	4	3	7
Kalikot	Remote	4.2	8.48	4	1	5
Banke		2.5	17.40	1	•	1
Surkhet		3.0	12.07	1	-	1
Dang		4:6	20.36	1	*	1
Doti		11.8	7.16	1	-	1
Darchula	Remote	4.1	10.06	3	2	5
Kailaĺi		2.4	11.33	1	-	1
Bajhang	SADP	2.0	3.95	3	2	5
Baitadi	SADP	2.9	7.58	3	1	4
Dadeldhura	SADP	2.4	9.51	3	. 2	5
Kanchanpur		4.2	13.83	1	-	1
Total		····	<u></u>	50	24	74

Source: Ministry of Education

Table 6

QUOTAS FIXED FOR EAWE TRAINEES, DHANKUTA CAMPUS 1976/77

District	Type of Area	Female Literacy	Primary Enrollment	B-Level	Upgrading	Total
<u>.</u>					3	9
Udayapur		2.5	11.39	6	_	_
Siraha		3.1	11.97	6	3	9
Panchthar		3.3	15.55	5	2	7
Bhojpur		4.5	14.37	5	2	7
Okhaldhunga		3.7	13.59	4	2	6
Saptari		4.2	12.59	4	2	6
Taplejung	Remote	4.9	21.35	3	3	6
Sankhusabha	Remote	5.0	17.79	4	2	6
Tehrathum	Remote	6.2	16.90	3	1	4
Dhankuta		6.7	17.52	3	-	3
Solukhumbu	Remote	4.8	16.38	4	, 3	7
Khotang	Difficul	6.1	12.73	3	2	5
11am		9.5	31.75	-	•	-
Jhapa		11.7	32.11	-	-	-
Morang		9.9	28.15	-	-	-
Sunsari		11.0	27.77	-	•	-
Total				50	25	75

Source: Ministry of Education

PROGRAMS

Initially under the EAWE project, regular courses on the A-level and the B-level primary teacher training were offered. Since 1973, an upgrading program has also been maintained.

A-Level Primary Teacher Training

The A-level training was offered to those women who had completed secondary education and passed the School Leaving Certificate (S.L.C.) examination. Upon completion of the one year training, candidates were expected either to enter the teaching profession or to continue their studies on the certificate level. They received credit hours for the amount of work done in this special training which could be applied towards this higher level. However A-level training was dropped in 1975/76, due to the lack of qualified women from the remote and rural areas.

B-Level Primary Teacher Training

The B-level teacher training program is offered to women who have not passed the SLC examination, but who have completed the eighth grade. The training lasts for ten months. Since the inception of this program in 1971, seven groups of women from remote villages have completed the training at the four Centres (Table 7).

According to the information received from the Ministry of Education, 800 women have received training under this program so far. There are, however, no official records of how many of these trainees have taken up the teaching profession and are actually employed in the school system. According to the CERID study (1978: Table 2.10) based

According to the study undertaken by CERID (1978) in preparation for the International Seminar on the Equal Access of Women to Education, October 1978, only 606 women have been enrolled in this program. The large discrepancy between these figures is accounted for by the Jumla trainees of 1978 and the dropouts which are not included in CERID's calculations (1980: Table 2.1).

on information from various District Education Offices and Campuses, 171 out of 234 teacher trainees are actually working in various primary schools.

Table 7.

WOMEN PRIMARY TEACHERS TRAINED UNDER EAWE

Date of Start of Training	Pokhara	Dhankuta	Nepalgunj	Jumla	Total
1971	25		-	-	25
1971	50	-	••	•	50
1973	42	38	-	-	80
1974	44	48	-	-	92
1975	48	46	-	-	94
1976	51	36	30	-	117
1977	67	48	12	-	127
1978	80	70	40	25	215
Total	407	286	82	25	800

Source: Ministry of Education

Upgrading Program

It was difficult to find girls who had completed eighth grade in the villages to recruit for the B-level training program. Moreover because of the isolation of many villages, it was found that information about opportunities for teacher training reached the potential candidates very slowly (UNESCO, 1975: 40). Hence, in 1973 an experimental upgrading course was initiated for ten girls from Manang and North Gorkha enrolled in school in Pokhara who had yet to pass the eighth grade. On the completion of eightth grade, they were taken in for the B-level training.

Photo on opposite page:
The girls being trained under the Equal Access of Women to Education Project may become the future teachers for the rural areas Photo by Ane Haaland



Since then, the upgrading program has continued in Pokhara Campus, and expanded to the Dhankuta Campus in 1974 and to Nepalgunj in 1976. Under this program, girls from remote areas with at least a fifth grade education are recruited and admitted to a school near the district centres. Once they pass eighth grade, they are admitted to the B-level teacher training program. Under this program, special tutoring is also given to weaker students.

Special Programs

In addition to the regular training courses, the EAWE has sponsored the following special programs:

- 1. Preparatory Course: In order to improve the academic background of the trainees, a seven week preparatory course was offered to 25 girls who had already been selected for the 1973/74 B-level primary teacher training program. Courses were offered in Nepali, mathematics and social sciences. The trainees received travel grants and stipends from UNICEF.
- 2. Training Course in Teaching Adult Literacy: With the help of the Adult Education Section of the Ministry of Education, a two week training course on Teaching Adult Literacy was organised. The course was given to two groups of 25 female primary school teachers. These participating teachers received some pocket money besides their regular salary and were housed in the women's hostel in Pokhara during the training.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

Since this project is a joint venture of His Majesty's Government and UNICEF, it receives staff support from HMG and major financial support from UNICEF to cover travel allowances of the recruitment teams, travel expenses and stipends of the trainees, educational fees and tutorials, educational tours, and hostel rent. Financial support gradually increased each year until 1975; in 1976 it increased significantly and has continued to rise steadily (Appendix: Tables 15 and 16).

ANALYSIS

Since EAWE project was not conceived as an independent institution but rather as a part of the Ministry, an analysis solely based on the institution building model would be inappropriate. Until recently, very little research had been done on the effectiveness of the project. CERID, however, has just completed an impact study of the EAWE project which, along with this review of the program and interviews with some of the individuals involved in the project provides some insights on the program.

Recruitment

There seems to be a problem of inadequate channels for disseminating information about the program to the villages: announcements are made over the radio and notices placed in the newspapers. However, in many remote villages, there are few if any radios, and the vast majority of the villagers do not have access to newspapers and cannot read in any case. The paraphtets and booklets which are sent to the campuses often never reach the villagers. Because of such inadequacies, many prospective candidates who would qualify for the training are

¹Interviews were conducted with liaison officer (Mrs. Suganda Kamal) of the project from the Ministry of Education and with the project coordinator (Mr. Pramod Parajuli) and field assistant (Mr. Badri Sharma) from CERID.

left out and the selection is limited to those who have easy access to the information about the training program. Another constraint upon the effectiveness of the EAWE selection is the inappropriate timing of trainee recruitment which is carried out during the peak agricultural season (i.e., July/August). As the villagers are engaged in the fields during this time, many prospective candidates miss this opportunity to compete for the training because their families cannot spare their labor.

Selection Teams

According to the CERID research staff, the selection procedure as described earlier is not always followed faithfully. The recruitment procedure requires that each Selection Team consist of 4 members, one each from the Ministry of Education (MOE), the Institute of Education (IOE), the District Education Office (DEO), and the Regional Education Directorate (RED). However, the research team of CERID discovered that the Selection Teams do not actually fulfill this requirement. During Swaran (July/August), the IOE is closed for vacation and hence is unable to appoint its staff members to the Selection Teams. It was also found that sometimes there are not enough staff members in MOE, DEO, and RED offices to send on the Selection Teams. Once selected, the team members do not seem to be motivated to get out to the very remote areas to reach those village girls who are the actual target group. Hence according to the CERID report, the "procedures adopted in the selection and recruitment of candidates are, to a great extent, ineffective and inadequate in that they have not been able to go much beyond regular official notification." (CERID 1978: 34).

Responsibility

The responsibility for carrying out the EAWE project is shared among the offices of the Ministry of Education, the Institute of Education, the District Education Office, and the Regional Education Directorate. Because the responsibility is diffused and divided, none of the offices feels complete responsibility for the success of this program and thorough supervision from any one of these offices is

lacking. Although the Campuses are supposed to send the records and reports on the programs and the number of trainees to the REO and RED, these offices complain of not receiving such records promptly and hence not knowing how many trainees have passed the B-level course.

Communication and Co-ordination

The problem of communication in the project arises from three factors: great physical distance between the four offices, complicated bureaucratic procedures, and lack of overall responsibility for the project by any one of the four offices involved. As a result, directives from MOE are often delayed in reaching the Campuses and consequently the execution of these directives is often delayed too.

Due to the lack of co-ordination between the various offices, there exists a conflict between the EAWE project goal giving employment to the B-level qualified teachers and the criteria actually used in the selection of primary school teachers. Under the competitive recruitment procedures all candidates must have passed SLC and yet, the primary teachers who have passed the B-level training under the EAWE project have completed only eighth grade. When DEO and RED, who recruit the primary teachers, advertise for the posts, the SLC pass is a criterion for submitting an application and no special provision for EAWE trained teachers is given. Hence, the B-level trainees do not qualify for the post and are not able to find work as teachers. MOE and the recruiting office have not worked together to solve this conflict. In addition, there is a clash between the IOE vacation time and the trainee recruitment time, but nothing seems to be done to solve this problem.

Facilities

Very poor physical conditions exist at the Dhankuta and Nepalgunj Campuses. It has been reported by the CERID research project staff that

The CERID study found (1978: 2.34-2.35) from a very small sample (14 women) that an employment of EAWE graduates are due to the reason of "not applying for jobs." While this is clearly also an important problem, the lack of co-ordination involved in not reserving teaching slots for EAWE graduates must not be overlooked.

the conditions are the worst in Dhankuta, where there are only 5 or 6 rooms for fifty or more women. Moreover there is a scarcity of water in the hostels and the women must go literally miles away to bathe and to wash clothes. There are no latrines. In Nepalgunj, pits have been dug out to serve as latrines.

Neither of these Campuses has addining room and each has only a small kitchen. The girls sit out in open angan (a courtyard in the middle of the house) to eat. When it rains, they stand under the pindi (a small shed jutting out from the house) to protect themselves and their food while eating. Although the UNICEF agreement stipulates that a library should be provided in the hostels, in reality no libraries exist in the Dhankuta or Nepalgunj Campuses. Whatever few books there are housed in the Warden's room.

Because of these various practical problems, the usefulness and effectiveness of the project seem to have been limited. This is clearly reflected by the discrepancy between the number of women trained to be primary teachers and the actual number employed in the primary schools. Since the initiation of the program in 1971, 606 women have received B-level teacher's training, out of which only a limited number have been actually absorbed into jobs in the school system.

Despite these practical and administrative difficulties, the intrinsic value and usefulness of the EAWE project should not be minimized. The very fact that under this program 606 girls and women have received primary teacher's training is itself a significant achievement. The problem seem mainly of management and co-ordination.

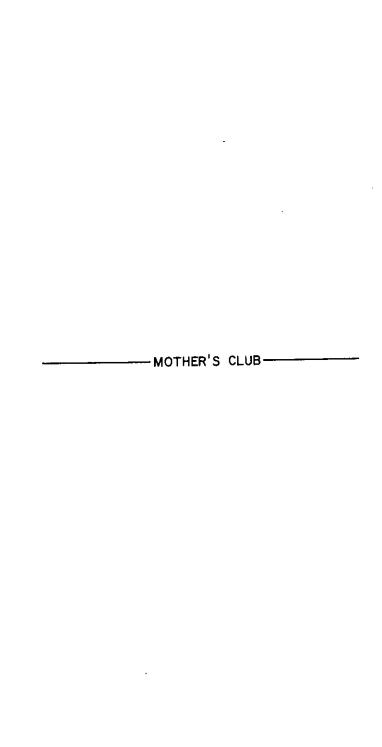
The CERID research team discovered that in some districts the rate of female enrollment has actually increased because of the recruitment and placement of female teachers in the primary schools. For instance there has been a positive increment in girls' enrollment rate in 10 out of 18 schools after EAWE teachers started teaching in those schools (1978: 2.54 Table 2.22).

The upgrading program seems especially helpful and useful as it gives an opportunity for those girls who cannot afford to undertake studies beyond fifth grade to go into the B-level training program.

This opens up employment opportunities for graduates from remote areas.

Under this program the girls also get a chance to move to urban areas which helps them to widen their mental horizons and to see what is going on in other parts of the country.

The project is a good one as it does help to fulfill its objective of increasing the access of girls and women to education. However, the major problems of management, administration and co-ordination must be corrected in order for the project to be truly effective.



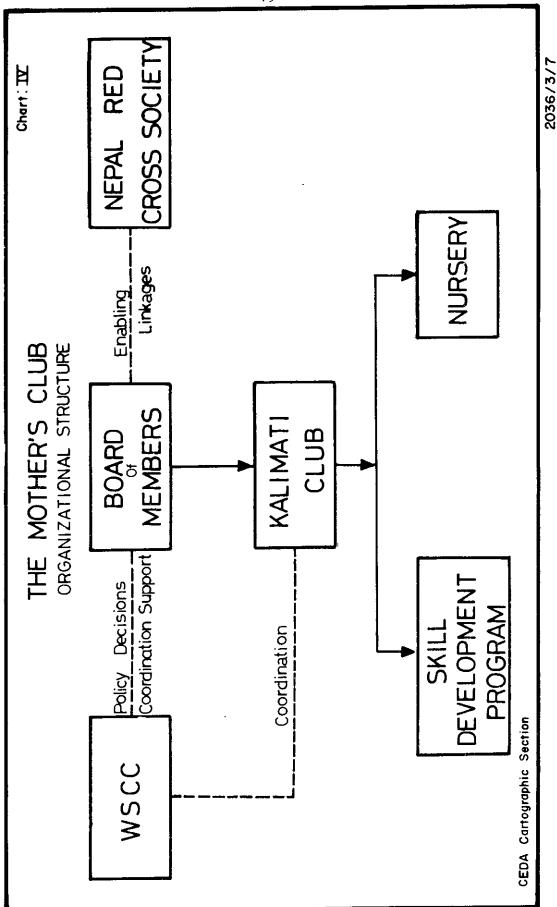
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND INTERNAL STRUCTURE

An integrated welfare plan for women and children was conceived when HRH Princep Shah, the chairperson of the Nepal Red Cross Society, met with Mobile Training Program Experts from ESCAP. The resultant plans for a welfare centre for mothers became known as the Mother's Club. This club was formally inaugurated by Her Majesty the Queen during International Women's Year, 1975.

The Mother's Club is a voluntary organization managed by a Board of ten members with HRH Princep Shah as the chairperson and Padma Shrestha of Ministry of Home and Panchayat as the member-cum-secretary. For 1978/79, the other members are: 1) the former Anchaladhish of Bagmati Anchal (Surya Prasad Shrestha); 2) Training Chief of the Ministry of Home and Panchayat (Ram Narayan Shrestha); 3) Chairperson of the WSCC (Kamal Rana); 4) Member-cum-secretary of Social Services National Coordination Council (SSNCC) (C.B. Gurung); 5) Member of National Development Council (NDC? (Ganesh Raj Singh); 6) Member-cum-secretary of WSCC (Tula Rana); 7) Lecturer, Kirtipur Campus (Biswa Kesar Maskey); and 8) Member of the Red Cross Society (Dr. J.N. Giri).

The Board determines the general policy of the Club as well as its specific programs, allocates budgetary expenditures and oversees general administrative matters (See Organizational Structure, Chart IV). The Broad members render their services voluntarily, while the support starf in charge of running the day-to-day activities are paid. The initial plan of the Club called for opening up 800 Mother's Clubs throughout the country within the five year span ending in 1980. So far, however, only one Club has been established and this is in Kalimati, with the capital. At present the Kalimati Club has eight paid staff members and two (non-board member) volunteers, the president of the Club, Shushila Shrestha (Shilu Singh), and the Treasurer, R.K. Ghosh.

As the number of Clubs expands and more staff members are required, it has been proposed that only local women should be recruited as "ward level workers" to perform basic services like running a nursery school



(Nepal Red Cross Society, 1977: 6-8). These workers will be given pre-servi training by the WATC. The Club will also approach the WATC or the Home and Panchayat Ministry to request that a Woman Worker be posted to the Club to provide assistance for a period of one year, (Nepal Red Cross Society, 1977:

In addition, it is felt that the Club will require a full time paid social worker to coordinate the activities of the organizations associated with the Club and upervise the Club staff (Nepal Red Cross Society, 1977: 6-8). It is not specified in the proposal whether this social worker is to be appointed from among the local women or from outside. However, it is clear in the proposal that the responsibility of running the Club will rest entirely with the Board, which may also form subcommittees to carry out specific programs (Nepal Red Cross Society, 1977: 8).

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Club, as stated in a booklet, "An Introduction to Mother's Club," are:

- A specific area programme will be carried out on a experimental basis and more than one organization will be made responsible for it
- To develop strategies and techniques to involve the people of the concerned area in the execution of the plan, and at the same time, to build local organizations for the execution of the plan
- To make basic services available to economically backward in both villages or towns.
- 4. To develop skills in women for the roles they have to play as mothers and housewives and also for helping their spouses in earning a livelihood.
- To establish a centre for making training and services available to mothers working in widest possible area that can be covered.

¹These objectives as stated are not very clear but when asked at the interview, Board members explained that the Club aims at building a village-based organization through which specific programs of the government, departments or agencies could be implemented in a co-ordinated manner.

ONGOING PROGRAMS

Although the Club has very broad and ambitious objectives, it is currently operating in a very modest way. The only Club operating, the Kalimati Club, is presently sponsoring the following two programs:

Day Care Centre

This centre has been opened to provide day care for children whose mothers are working. Children are admitted for a fee of Rs.20/- per month. Milk and vitaminised flour are provided by Bal Mandir for distribution to the children. Three ayahs (nannies) have been engaged to look after the children and four teachers have been hired to run basic pre-school classes. However, at present there are only 7 or 8 children enrolled.

Skill Development

The Club also offers sewing and knitting classes, run by two trained teachers who are paid a salary of Rs.300 to Rs.325 per month. At present there are 40 trainees in the knitting class and 60 in the sewing class. The trainees are required to pay a fee of Rs.10/- per month. Recently a carpet weaving class has also been started. The class, which has 6 students, is run by one volunteer teacher.

FUTURE PROGRAMS

As originally conceived, additional Mother's Clubs will be established and each should undertake the following programs:

Nursery School

The Club will seek to establish a nursery school in every neighbour-hood to be managed by the villagers themselves in keeping with the rural environment. A maximum of 90 students between the age of 3 to 5 years will be taken in the nursery. At every nursery school there is to be a child care centre. The children will be given tiffin in the afternoon.

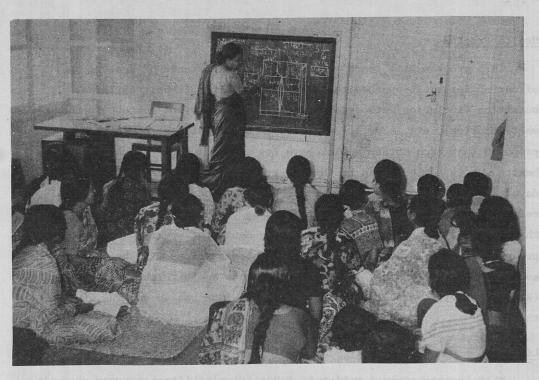
The children's organization (<u>Bal Mandir</u>) will provide milk and vitaminized meals to the children in order to supplement the nutrition in their daily diets.

Skill Development

As economic self-reliance is also one of the objectives of the Mother's Club program concept, training programs will be undertaken to improve existing skills, and to help women "acquire new skills such as tailoring garments." It is hoped these skills will help women supplement their husband's income. As stated in "An Introduction to Mother's Club" the skill development program will also provide the following facilities:

- Credit facilities for buying materials required for making garments
- Marketing of ready made garments¹
- 3. Market survey to find out the demand for the quality and quantity of the garments
- 4. Technical guidance to produce standard quality products
- 5. Skill training by the Women's Training Centre and Department of Cottage Industries
- 6. Arranging for foreigners who are willing to teach new skills to the local women
- 7. Teaching hair dressing to women (Red Cross Society, 1977: 9-10).

¹It is not specified whether this means teaching marketing techniques for supplying outlets for sales or automatic purchasing of goods produced.



Classes conducted by the Kalimati Mother's Club help explain the intricacies of making dress patterns and using knitting machines. Photos courtesy of Mrs. Kamal Rana



Health Programs

This program will teach rural women the importance of health, ways of caring for their own health and for the health of their children, nutrition (including methods of preserving the nutrient content in food while cooking), etc. For the convenience of the villagers, it is proposed that each Mother's Club have its own medical unit. A trained health aid is to be posted to this unit which will be open for three days a week. The health aid will keep medical records on the patients, referring patients who cannot be treated at the unit to health posts or the hospitals. There will also be arrangements for weekly check-ups for pregnant women. In addition, family planning services will be made available at these units. It is proposed that a mobile medical team (Red Cross) will inspect every week to assure the smooth working of the unit.

Literacy

This program aims at making at least 50 women literate every year through the local Mother's Club. It proposes that an intensive program be run during the slack agricultural season. The materials required for running the literacy classes will be obtained from Adult Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education.

Additional Programs

Besides the above-mentioned programs, other programs will also be undertaken, such as cultural and entertainment programs, debates, talks or seminars, cooking contests, baby shows, and kitchen gardening contests. In addition, arrangements will be made for publishing articles or poems written by women in quarterly publications from the Club.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

It is not yet certain how the entire Mother's Club plan and its various programs will be financed. For the plan to be implemented on the scale mentioned above, a huge amount of money would be required. It has been stated (Red Cross Society, 1977: 5) that the necessary funds will be obtained from various social welfare organizations, government and non-government bodies and international agencies. But so far there have been no firm financial commitments from any of these sources. Presently, the program at the Kalimati Club is being funded by the Red Cross Society (Appendix: Tables 17 and 18).

ANALYSIS

It has been four years since the first Mother's Club was established in Kalimati, yet the Club has not expanded beyond the pilot experimental stage. Here are some of the variables that have hindered the Club in its process of institutionalization.

INTERNAL VARIABLES

Leadership

Since the Board is responsible for decisions on all important matters as well as the day-to-day running of the Club, the chairperson and members of the board provide the Club's actual leadership. The composition of the Board shows that the previous leaders of the NWO have re-emerged as leaders of the Mother's Club while other members of the Board are also currently providing leadership in the WATC and WSCC. Under the provisions of the law enacted to establish and form the SSNCC in 1976/77, it is required that the Mother's Club, being a social organization, function under the supervision and in close co-operation with the WSCC. Perhaps because of the common leadership

¹See the section of this study on the Women's Services Co-ordinating Committee.

of the two institutions the programs set out in the long term and short term plans of WSCC are almost identical with the proposed programs of the Mother's Club.

Despite the common leadership however, the relationship between the WSCC and Mother's Club seems rather vague. The roles of the two organizations in relation to each other have not been clearly defined. It is not clear whether the WSCC is a co-ordinating body, an implementing body, or both. Although the proposed plans of the WSCC do indicate that the programs it has drawn up are to be implemented through the Mother's Club, the programs of the Club do not clearly reflect this fact.

It seems that leaders themselves are not clear on how the Mother's Club should be structured and what its role should be in a recent draft prepared by the WSCC on the "Description of Mother's Club," it is stated that a "Mother's Club based Family Planning Project will be launched with the co-operation of Family Planning International Assistance in the four developmental regions " (WSCC, 1977:3). Further, it states that the "Mother's Clubs run under this project will have the same purpose as above but the approach will be different," (1977:3). Whether this "Mother's Club based Family Planning Project" is a different type of Mother's Club or is one of the project activities to be carried out through the Mother's Club is unclear. According to an interview with the Chief of the Panchayat Training Division and the staff of the WATC, the Clubs .51 in this Study) previously opened under the WATC (See pages are to be turned into Mother's Clubs. Thus the initiators of the Mother's Club concept have yet to clarify the actual role of the Mother's Clubs in relation to other institutions concerning women.

Internal Structure

The major structural problem of the Mother's Club would seem to be the clear contradition between having the Club "run by local women to meet their felt needs" and the fact that it is actually run from the top down by a non-local board of elite urban women. No mention has been made of how this Board will relate to the 800 rural Clubs

when they are established. No single board could possibly supervise the day-to-day running of Clubs all over the country and the present structure would be incapable of handling the administration of the envisioned expansion of the Mother's Club.

There already seems to be a lack of communication between the Board and the single Mother's Club which is currently operating. An interview with the staff of Kalimati Mother's Club indicated their ignorance of the WSCC's proposed plans for programs to be implemented through the Mother's Club. The WSCC draft on the "Description of Mother's Club" has stated that: "At present it is being established in the rural areas with the co-operation of different agencies under the auspices of the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee of the Social Services National Co-ordination Council." (1977: 1). But this information has not been communicated to the Kalimati Club.

In addition, the draft neither specifies which are the "rural areas" where Mother's Clubs are to be established, nor the "different agencies" with whose co-operation they are to be established. Recently it has been decided by WSCC-not the Board-that a Mother's Club will be opened in Jumla. For the actual opening of the Club, two members of WSCC were sent to Jumla to make necessary preparations, but no representatives of the Club accompanied them. 1

Objectives

Looking at the limited framework within which the Club is presently operating, its objectives seem rather ambiguous. The broadest of the Mother's Club objectives is that the Club shall serve as an implementing body for various programs relating to women as envisioned by different HMG departments and other agencies. To do this, it also envisions establishing 800 separate units by 1980. Both of these objectives imply

¹See page 94, 99 for a detail discussion and analysis of the programs of the WSCC and its ambiguous relationship with the Mother's Club.

a wide network of linkages with the concerned departments and agencies and presuppose an efficient administrative structure, neither of which has yet been developed. This indicates that the Clubs objectives are far too ambitious to be achieved within the given time frame.

Objectives 2 and 3, listed above, seem very broad and vague because the Club has not defined that "strategies" and "tactics" it intends to use to motivate the local villages to be "involved" in the "execution of the Plan." Nor has there been any attempt to identify those "basic services" required in the rural areas.

Objective 4 seems to be a duplication of the NWO, WATC and WSCC objectives because skill development has been emphasized by all three other organizations.

Programs

Neither the programs envisioned nor those presently being carried out by the established Club display much originality. For example the Mother's Clubs intend to run a literacy program which will be supported by the Adult Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education even though the NWO currently runs a similar literacy program with a grant from the same Adult Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education. Likewise the Clubs skill development program centers around the familiar concepts of sewing, cutting, knitting and weaving as found in the other women's organizations. While the overall idea of skill development is basically sound, unless the Clubs allow the needs and resources of each locality to determine the final shape of the programs they offer (in all program areas - not just skill development), the Club will not be able to attain their broad and well intended objectives.

Another problem along the same lines is that some of the existing and proposed Mother's Club programs are heavily urban-biased. For instance, the notion of child care centres and nurseries seems more appropriate in an urban area like Kathmandu than in the villages. The question needs to be asked whether village women require day-care centres to look after their children while they are toiling in the field. It may be that the extended family provides adequate caretakers

or, as suggested by a recent study on the economic value of children, (Nag, White and Reet, 1978) that village children themselves spend much of their time looking after their younger siblings. Even if village women do need help, with child care, it is doubtful whether they can spend Rs.20/- per month to keep their children in day care centres.

The appropriateness and necessity of a hair dressing skill training program for the village context is also highly questionable. Again, this program does not seem to have focused on the real needs of rural women. Even the recently proposed training program for Jumla may be offering less appropriate skills to that poor rural area by teaching cutting and sewing rather than agricultural techniques or basic health care.

Resources

If the objectives of the Mother's Club are to be fulfilled, it will require substantial financial resources. The Club is not, however, in a position to generate its own resources and this places severe constraints on its ability to institutionalize and expand. Lack of adequate and reliable funding is probably one of the major reasons why ne Club is still operating on an experimental basis.

DEVELOPMENT OF LINKAGES

At this stage it is rather difficult to distinguish the external linkages because the Club has not yet been able to interact with other organizations and agencies. Besides the WSCC the only visible enabling linkages so far established are with the Red Cross Society and Bal Mandir. The Club receives some financial support from the Red Cross Society and very limited financial help and milk and vitaminized flour for distribution to the children from Bal Mandir.

In short, it appears that the Club has not yet fully entered into the process of institution building, but rather seems to be in the formative stages with its definitive shape still cloudy. WOMEN'S SERVICES COORDINATION COMMITTEE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since the 1950s, quite a few social organizations and welfare associations (both national and international) have come into existence. While some of these organizations have worked well, others have barely sustained themselves, and many have duplicated functions. To co-ordinate these social and welfare organizations systematically, the Social Services National Co-ordination Council (SSNCC) was founded on 15th October 1977 under the chairpersonship of Her Majesty the Queen.

All the existing social organizations and associations were classified into six broad categories on the basis of their activities and client groups. For each of these catagories a separate co-ordinating committee was formed. The Women's Services Co-ordination Committee (WSCC) is one of those six, charged with the task of co-ordinating the activities and objectives of those social organizations and associations concerned with women in Nepal.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the WSCC are:

- To bring about comordination between different organizations concerning the activities of women and the activities of HMG
- 2. To bring about harmonization in national, bi-lateral and multi-lateral aid and assistance by designing national policies and programs and implementing them
- 3. To vigorously develop and expand the services, efforts and energy of the welfare oriented organizations concerning women and utilize them for national benefit in a co-ordinated manner
- 4. To defend and advance the cause of women with a view to promoting good will and understanding between various organizations, classes, job areas and regions in a more healthy, decorous and disciplined manner (USICA and CEDA, 1978: 36).

¹The other five committees are: 1) Health Services Coordination Sub-Committee (HSCC), 2) Nepalese People Services Co-ordination Committee (NPSCC), 3) Child Welfare Services Co-ordination Committee (CWSCC), 4) Community Services Co-ordination Committee (CSCC), and 5) Youth Activities Co-ordination Committee (YACC). For details of these committees see Nepal Recorder (1977: 1 (23)).

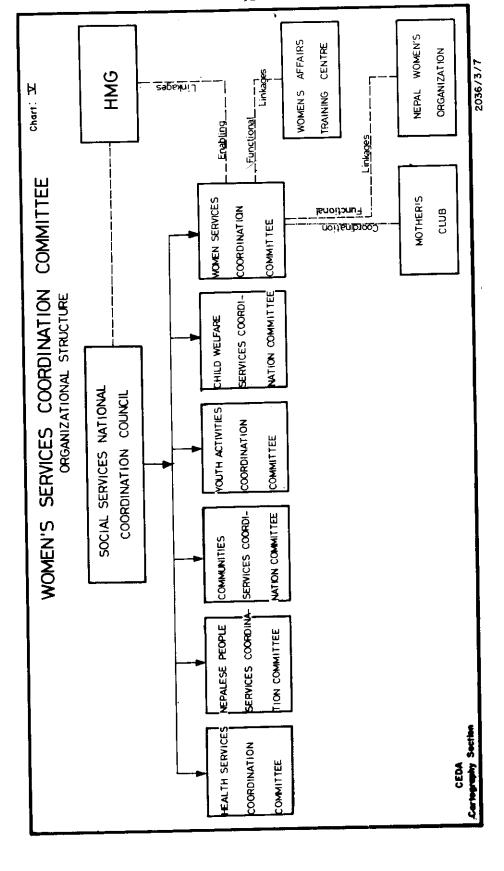
STRUCTURE

At present the WSCC consists of thirteen part-time members, including a representative from each of the Department of Cottage Industry, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Nepal Women's Organization, the Women's Affairs Training Centre, the Ministry of Education, the Mother's Club, and seven others, nominated in an individual capacity. The chairperson of the Committee is Mrs. Kamal Rana, who also serves on a part-time basis. The only full time members are the secretary and treasurer and their supporting clerical staff at the Committee's office in Bhrikuti Mandap. Members of the Committee meet monthly.

The WSCC is to exercise supervision over the various social organizations under its jurisdiction and to evaluate whether they are discharging their functions honestly and in accordance with the policies, plans and programs formulated by the Council. It is also to oversee all the financial matters of these organizations including their income, expenditure patterns and records of all government and external funds received. These matters are to be reported to the Council.

The Mother's Club falls under the jurisdiction of this Committee and is supposed to work in close co-operation with the Committee. The Committee in turn is to co-ordinate its activities and help develop and expand its activities towards the welfare of women (Chart-V).

¹Following are the names of the committee members: Kamal Rana, Santa Pokharel, Saraswati Rai, Kamala Neupane, Damodar Shrestha, Chandra Gurung, Prava Basnyat, Shilu Singh, Renu Singh, Bimla Maskey, Tula Rana, Inu Aryal, and Ambika Shrestha.



PROGRAMS

As a necessary first step in its task of co-ordination the WSCC has collected information on the plans and programs of all the organizations concerned with women as a basis for the Committee's formulation of its short term and long term plans and programs.

Nationwide Family Planning Services

During the fiscal year 1977/78, three-day seminars on population were undertaken in Pokhara, Hetauda, Surkhet and Ilam in joint collaboration with the Labour Department, HMG, International Labour Organization (ILO), and the United Nations Family Planning-International Assistance (UNFPIA). The chairperson of the WSCC inaugurated all these seminars and took an active part in them.

Each seminar began with presentation of papers followed by discussions, focusing on the problems of rapid population growth; family planning and methods; the relationship between the age of female marriage and the control of population; the relationship between the health and welfare of the family and women's social and educational status. At the end of each seminar, a report was submitted and a five person Committee was formed to keep in touch with the individual participants, and to help and supervise them in spreading and propagating population education. These five persons were representatives from the District Office, HMG; the Back-to-the-Village National Campaign; Maternity and Child Welfare Centre; Panchayat Training Centre; and Social Workers. The exact mechanisms for this important follow-up activity do not seem to have been specified.

Proposed Short Term Programs

For the future working of the WSCC, short term and long term programs have been drawn up and are awaiting approval from the main Social Services National Co-ordination Council.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{The}$ long term and short term programs have been taken from the plans drafted by the Committee. These programs have not yet been finalised.

Sewing and cutting is one of the three short-term programs to be undertaken during 1977/78 in collaboration with the Cottage and Village Industry Department and carried out through the Mother's Club. The program is to be undertaken first in Jumla, a poor isolated rural area, in Karnali Zone of the Far Western Region. The main objective of the program is to increase economic self-sufficiency of Jumla women by training them in sewing and cutting. It is stated in the draft plan that once women have acquired their new skills, the area will not have a shortage of tailors.

There will be a maximum of 30 trainees with at least one or two women from each of the 23 village panchayats. During the training, women will also be instructed in hygiene, balanced diet, population education and family planning methods. The trainees will also be given a sewing machine which they will be able to buy on installment basis at concessional prices. The funding for the program will come from the Cottage and Village Industry Department and the WSCC each giving Rs.40,5000 and Rs.41,250 respectively.

The second short-term program is the Agricultural Development
Training of Rural Women which is to be carried out between fiscal years
1978/79 and 1979/80, in all four development regions. This program
will be run in collaboration with the Agricultural Sub-committee of the
Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Training will be given in poultry,
buffalo rearing, kitchen gardening and horticulture. One hundred women
will be selected from among the members of the Primary Executive
Committees of the Women's Organization, the initiators of the Mother's
Club, rural women engaged in some work program, and initiators of the
rural youth programs.

The venue for the training is to be at the WATC centres in the respective regions. It is estimated that the required amount to run

It is one of the most underdeveloped districts of Nepal. Its elevation is between 5,000 to 19,000 ft. above sealevel and its area is 922 sq.miles. A majority of the land is the high mountains and population only 122,753. The main ethnic groups occupying this area are Brahmins, Chetris, Thakuris, Damais, Sarkis, etc. Land is not suited for agriculture. As it is extremely cold and snowy in winter, a large proportion of the population, mostly male, migrates south during the winter in search of wage labor.

the training will be on the order of Rs.91,000. Out of this Rs.53,000 will be borne by the four WATCs, each contributing Rs.14,000, while the Agricultural Department will bear Rs.35,000.

The third short term program to be carried out during 1977/78 is skill development program to teach cloth weaving and bee-keeping. This training will be given to 40 women in Makwanpur. Twenty will be taught cloth weaving and the rest, bee-keeping. Raw materials and instructors for the weaving component will be provided by the Cottage and Village Industry Department. Instructors in bee-keeping will be provided by the Agricultural Department. In addition to training in these two areas, special arrangements will also be made for sessions on health and balanced diet, and family planning. The estimated amount of money required for this program is Rs.44,440 out of which the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee will contribute Rs.13,480; the Rural and Cottage Industry Department Rs.29,380; and the Agricultural Department, Rs.1,580.

Proposed Long Term Programs

The WSCC has also drawn up long range plans to implement various programs over the next five years (1978-83). The main objective of these long term plans is to make the rural women economically independent. Towards this end, the WSCC will concentrate on skill development in the following areas:

- 1. Cloth weaving (cotton as well as wool)
- 2. Sewing (readymade garments)
- 3. Hosiery (vests, sweaters, socks, caps)
- Carpet weaving
- Traditional weaving (such as baskets)

¹Makwanpur is in Narayani Zone of the Central Region. Its elevation is 1000 ft. above sealevel with the mixture of hill and plain land. It has an area of 235,500 hectares with a population 163,766 consisting of Tamang, Chepang, Danuwar, Brahmins, Chetris, Newars, etc.

- Rope making
- Traditional and indigenous arts and crafts
- 8. Bee-keeping

It is stated in the draft plan that this venture will be undertaken jointly by the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee and the Department of Cottage and Village Industry, HMG.

The plan proposes to train 200 women annually making a total of 1000 women trained by the end of 1982/83. The necessary raw materials for promoting these skills will be made available through the Department of Cottage and Village Industry and priority will be given to upgrading the skills of women who by tradition or experience are already engaged in such crafts.

Another aspect of the long term plans of WSCC is the establishment of "Industrial Sub-centres for Development of Women" (Nari Bikas Udhyog Upa-Kendra). These will provide raw materials needed by women to produce the goods which they have been trained to make. These Centres will also facilitate marketing of their products. The plan is to open eight such sub-centres within the period of five years. The plan is not clear as to where these sub-centres will be or how they will be staffed or funded.

It is also planned that within a period of five years, efforts will be made to make some financial credit available to those women who receive training. Such credit or loans, up to about seven thousand rupees, are to be available through the Cottage and Village Industry Development Committee and local commercial banks through the Investment and Hirepurchase Sub-committee (Lagani Tatha Hirepurchase Upa-Samati).

Women's Services Co-ordination Committee has also worked out an estimated budget for the long term five year plan (Appendix: Table 19). But the plan is silent on how the necessary funds will be obtained. No details have been given in the plan how, where, when or by whom the above training courses will be offered. Thus there is a gap in the plan regarding its implementation.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

Like the other Committees which form the Social Services National Co-ordination Council, the WSCC must raise separate funds of its own. Its sources can be government grants, funds from the Council, contributions and donations from any individual, agency or nation, as well as funds earned by the Committee itself. Initially, the Committee had received a government grant of Rs.76,002 for setting up its office and recruiting the staff.

ANALYSIS

WSCC is still in the initial stages of institutionalization so that it is not possible at this point to make an analysis of each variable separately. However, the programs and plans as set out by the Committee indicate its intended courses of action and are therefore worth examining.

INTERNAL VARIABLES

Objectives

The objectives of the Committee as mentioned above are worthwhile, especially in its co-ordinating role. Co-ordination of the various organizations concerned with women's welfare is precisely what is needed, considering the current tendency of the existing organizations to duplicate each other's functions. However, the programs and plans of the WSCC do not seem to be in keeping with its major expressed objective

of co-ordination. Officially, the only organization that falls directly under the jurisdiction of the WSCC is the Mother's Club. Hence, the administrative superstructure of WSCC seems rather an extravagant proposition if it is only to co-ordinate the activities of one Club. It would seem appropriate that the WSCC also concern itself with the problem of co-ordinating the functions of NWO, WATC and other organizations concerning women.

Furthermore, the programs set out do not meet the WSCC's own objective to do away with "duplication of functions." Many of the short term and long term programs planned for the next five year period are exactly the same areas of the programs the NWO and WATC have been running for many years, namely: knitting, sewing and cutting, health and hygiene, family planning, poultry and kitchen gardening, etc.

Thus, although it is rather premature to predict, it would seem that if the present trend continues, the whole purpose of the Committee as a co-ordinating body will be defeated. This will become even more apparent in the following discussions on the programs of the Committee.

Programs

The plans and programs set by the Committee for the next five years have not introduced any innovations. They reflect the same familiar conceptions of women's needs evident in the NWO and WATC programs. The areas of training are basically the same as WATC, indicating that there has been very little rethinking of the actual problems and needs of rural women.

Most of programs devised for the next five year period appear to be derived from already existing programs of the Cottage and Village Industry Department and Department of Agriculture (Fifth Plan, 1976: 403-406) and will, in fact, be run through the Mother's Club in collaboration with the WSCC and Cottage and Village Industry Department. If the program already exists under that Department, it makes very little sense to transfer the existing budget from the Department to the Club for its implementation only. What then is the real contribution of WSCC towards the development of women? If the tendency of the Committee is to duplicate programs, then the justification of its existence will come into question.

A review of the plans and programs of the WSCC reveals that there is an implicit confusion about whether the Committee should be a coordinating and/or an implementing body. It is evident from the recent decisions made at the WSCC meetings that this confusion exists even among the members of the Committee. It was decided that a short term program on sewing and cutting is to be undertaken in Jumla through the Mother's Club, in co∗ordination with WSCC and Cottage and Village Industry Department. As there is no local Mother's Club in Jumla, Santa Pokharel and Inu Aryal (both members of WSCC) were sent to Jumla to help open one by forming a "Temporary Committee" with maine members. 2 is rather surprising that there is no initiative coming from the Mother's Club itself to open its branch in Jumla. What is even more astounding is that no members of the Club went to Jumla nor did the "Temporary Committee" consist of any of the Club members and, in fact, the Committee had only one woman. This shows a clear misunderstanding of what "coordination" means and indicates the serious possibility that the WSCC will end up being yet another implementing body or acting on behalf of the Mother's Club. Because of the common leadership in both these institutions (see the composition of leadership of both the institutions p. 78, 91 of this report) perhaps WSCC feels a strong committment to the development of Mother's Club.

Moreover, for programs to be effective and successful, they must by very clear and specific, qualities which are as yet lacking in the plans of the WSCC.

 $^{^{1}}$ Refer to the minutes of the meetings held on 24th Baisakh 2035 and 27th Jestha 2035 (7th May 1978 and 9th June 1978).

²The nine members are the District Panchayat Chairman, as the Chairman of the Committee, Panchayat Development Officer, Bhim P. Shrestha, Dev Dutta Devkota, Pradhan Pancha, Chandra Nath an Officer from the Cottage Industries Dept., Ex-Assistant Minister Yadab Singh Khadayat, Maha Shankar Devkota, and Mitra Neupane. Note that there is only one woman member in the temporary Committee.

Resources

The Committee is not endowed with adequate resources nor has a permanent source of funds been identified--very real constraints on any effective programming. From the present financial prespective of the Committee, the above-mentioned duplication of functions only means a waste of its limited resources.

From the above analysis, it can be inferred that the present leadership at the operational level has yet to show its innovative character in directing the whole committee toward its true purpose of co-ordinating the various programs for women in Nepal: There is a dire need for this function if real progress towards the development of women is to be achieved. SOCIO CULTURAL CENTRE FOR WOMEN (SCCW)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND STRUCTURE

Very few women, even among the literate and more educated in urban areas like Kathmandu, are conscious of and concerned with the changing role and status of women. For those women who have wanted to become involved in activities outside their homes, there have been few opportunities for self betterment. Within this context, the Socio-Cultural Centre for Women (SCCW), was conceived, with the idea of raising consciousness among women by providing opportunities to meet other women, exchange ideas and share of experiences with women from different walks of life and other cultures.

The Centre was registered with the District Office, HMG, Kathmandu in 1975 and opened its office in Kamaladi. In its initial stages, the Centre had about 20 members consisting of both local and foreign women, working on a part-time, volunteer basis as did the seven executive members who ran and operated the day-to-day activities of the Centre.

The Centre was active for almost a year, after which it has remained virtually dormant except for occasional meetings of the executive members. It has shifted its headquarters to more affordable space at the Himalaya Vidhya Mandir School building in Naxal, Kathmandu.

OBJECTIVES

According to the proposal of the SCCW, its main objectives are as follows:

- To help those women who feel themselves left behind and neglected in the society, or those women who feel themselves inferior to men or women who have had better chances in life
- To help women to gain confidence and partake in discussions, ideas and activities
- To help create a constraint free environment through exchange of programs where women can inprove themselves

4. To enlighten women and keep them abreast of the changing times and environment so that they can adjust and adapt themselves to the demands of developmental change. This will be done through investigation and studies on the problems faced by women¹

PROGRAMS

Within these broad objectives the Centre was to carry out its programs in two phases. Due to financial constraints and the lack of ready community acceptance of the Centre, the first phase was limited to a humble start, mainly of getting the women together to exchange their ideas and to become acquainted with new people. Towards this end, the Centre concentrated on two activities, language instruction and yoga. Language being the main means of communication, English was taught to the local women and Nepali to the foreign women. One of the foreign members, who was also a language teacher in the USIS language program, volunteered to teach conversational English to about 15 members. The Nepali language class, taught by one of the executive members, ran for only two or three sessions. At the request of some members, the Centre also ran a yoga exercise course taught by voluntary instructor.

It was proposed that once it was able to build up its acceptability and creditability, the Centre should offer professional courses, such as secretarial studies and interior decoration, which would help the women interested in seeking jobs. When the Centre has taken firm grounds in its process of institutionalization, it was also proposed that research studies be undertaken to probe into the real problems of women, the ways and means of increasing female participation so that women may become conscious of their changing role and status in the society.

¹ For details see Constitution of SCCW, 1975.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

The main source of financial backing for starting this Centre has been individual donations by three women. Each of them contributed Rs.3,000 as initial capital. As there were no other sources of funds available, fees for the sessions on language and yoga were charged, fixed at Rs.25 and Rs.50 per month for local and foreign women respectively.

ANALYSIS

The Centre is somewhat different from the already existing organizations concerning women: The Centre is urban-oriented and primarily a consciousness raising and women's studies organization. However, the programs of the Centre were short lived and hence have not been able to exert any impact on the urban women.

A review of the programs and SCCW's financial situation highlights some of the problems faced by the Centre:

- For any new institution to become established, a great deal of time and energy must be invested. This has been lacking in the establishment of the Centre, perhaps because of the lack of experience of its leadership.
- 2. Another grave problem faced by the Centre has been financial. Apart from the individual donations, there have not been any other sources of funds. It was found that none of the members were willing to pay the required fees and hence the amount received from the donations was spent mostly on overhead of the Centre, e.g., rent and operating expenses. As a result, the Centre inevitably had to close down its on-going programs, at least temporarily.

¹The women who donated for the initiation of the Centre were Mrs. Kanchi Maiya Shrestha, Mrs. Mishri Maiya Shrestha and Mrs. Hasina Maiya Shrestha. These three relatives were inspired by the idea that each person needs opportunities for self improvement. Each of them regrets that there were no such facilities in their own time.

3. The third problem has been of environemntal constraint.

Because the Centre is composed of an entirely new group of women, it has not been able to immediately establish a solid reputation. It takes time for new leadership to build up normative linkages.

Thus, it is yet to be seen how this new institute with its new leadership will revive and survive in the environment.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB (BPWC)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND STRUCTURE

The Business and Professional Women's Club was conceived by several Nepalese women, most notably Ambika Shrestha, who were inspired by the International Business and Professional Women's Organization.

Although the Club was formally registered in the year 1976, it remained virtually dormant until quite recently, when it has embarked upon some activities.

At present, the Club is run by an ad hoc Committee consisting of four executive members.² There are about 140 members in the Club which is open to any woman engaged in some profession. Dues are Rs. 12/- per annum.

The Club does not have its own office, but rather meets and operates from the office of the Kathmandu Tours and Travels. When there are talks or audio-visual programs, the Club has been making use of the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA) hall and auditorium facilities.

OBJECTIVES

This Club is to cater exclusively to the interest of the professional women and hence its objectives as stated in its constitution are as follows:

- For the development of skills of working women by discussions and talks with visiting experts as well as experts in the country
- To create the feelings of friendship and encourage them to be comperative

Permission was granted by the Anchaladhish Office (Zonal Commissioner's Office), Bagmati Zone for its legal recognition.

²The four members are Kamlesh Lata Rajbhandari, Shahi Maya, Laxmi Hera and the Chairperson, Ambika Shrestha, Managing Director of Kathmandu Tours and Travels.

- 3. To inspire the working women for their financial, social and intellectual development
- 4. To try to give better opportunity to serve in suitable fields to those educated women who are either too shy to come out in the open or are unable to do so because of the lack of opportunity
- 5. To make every possible effort to develop the ability of the members to serve the country according to the need but within the frame-work of the prevailing laws

PROGRAMS

From interviews with the chairperson of the Club, it was learned that for the present, two types of programs have been planned: 1) a Discussion and Talk Program, and 2) a Child Care Centre to help working mothers.

Discussion and Talk Program

Under this program, the Club members meet every first Tuesday of the Nepali month. So far there have been talks delivered by various Nepalese and foreign experts; vidio-tapes and shows on women in different countries, with the help of the office of the USICA and some feature films.

Child Care Centre

BPWC has plans to open up a Child Care Centre in the near future for the children of working mothers. The idea is to locate the Centre in a centralized place convenient for most of the women to pick up their children after work. One of the problems has been finding such a suitable place. The details of the plan, therefore, are still being worked out.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

So far the only source of funds of the BPWC is the membership fees.

ANALYSIS

The Club is still in the initial stages of the formation and hence is in a fluid state. However, the objectives of the Club indicate that it is a different kind of organization than those already existing. It is both urban and professionally oriented. At this juncture, there seems to be a need for this kind of organization as there has been a growing number of women in different professions for the past two decades. It is also timely that there should be a concerted effort from the women's front to do away with the existing built-in social attitude of viewing women as solely household managers. As long as this sort of attitude prevails, among women as well as men, the burden of a working women will be double: She will be expected to manage home and fulfill social obligations and at the same time carry out her professional duties.

The establishment and revitalization of the BPWC signals the potential emergence of new leadership for women's activities. Whether this leadership will be effective and capable of innovation is yet to be seen. One challenge the BPWC faces is to design programs appropriate for meeting the Club's objectives; the Club is still too much in its formative stages to judge their success as yet.

The second major challenge for BPWC's leadership is to establish its credibility with the other women's organizations and start building normative linkages. Thus far the BPWC has not turned to the WSCC for assistance in the Club's activization and development, nor has the WSCC offered any such assistance. However, Ambika Shrestha, the Chairperson of BPWC, also serves on the Board of the WSCC which may assist in this process.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, a descriptive inventory of seven institutions concerning women in Nepal has been presented, each one followed by an analysis of the significant factors which influence that organization's growth accomplishments, and problems. The major findings of this portion of the Status of Women Project are summarized below.

INTERNAL VARIABLES

Leadership

The leadership pattern in the four institutions, the NWO, WATC, Mother's Club, and WSCC, shows a strong tendency to draw mainly from women of upper-middle class families. In fact, the same few women who emerged as leaders in 1950's have alternated in filling the leadership roles in different institutions ever since. When the four tier structure of NWO was dissolved in 1976, the central level leadership positions of NWO were also abolished. Yet, with the establishment in 1975 of the Mother's Club, and the Social Services National Co-ordination Council and its sub-committee, the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee (WSCC), the same leadership re-emerged.

We have seen that women's groups in Nepal started as early as 1913, championing both political causes and improved status of women. By the 1950s, the groups multipled and divided rapidly, leaving behind few permanent structures, but a core of leaders who still today dominate women's organizations. In the past decade, the number of organizations has caught up with the number of the available leaders. The result is a plethora of well intended organizations with complicated hierarchical structures, part-time, status-quo oriented leaders, sporadic funding, and unimaginative and overlapping programs which often bear little relationship to either the expressed goals of the organizations or the needs of the women they are pledged to serve.

This is not to say that there are not good programs sponsored by these organizations. Yet considering the enormous challenge they face and the limited resources they control, the women's organizations have failed to live up to the full potential they possess.

In several of these organizations, especially NWO and WATC, the highest level of decision-making belongs to people not directly involved in those organizations, i.e., the Back-to-the-Village National Campaign and COCAC for NWO and the Panchayat Development Committee of the Home and Panchayat Ministry for WATC. These highly placed bodies have little if any direct contact with the target groups of the women's organizations nor any means of generating information about rural needs or interests. Moreover, as coordinating bodies for a number of training and service agencies, neither COCAC or PDC can possibly devote the full time leader-ship which these women's groups require.

In light of this, it is easier to understand, if not necessarily accept, why so little innovation has characterized the leadership of these organizations. The Equal Access of Women to Education (EAWE) has an even greater leadership problem since four agencies are involved but no one has ultimate, overall control.

Objectives

The objectives of all the institutions concerning women in Nepal are well intended. However, there is much duplication. For instance, the objectives of "raising the consciousness of rural women" and "making women economically self reliant" are common to NWO, WATC and Mother's Club. With such overlapping, it is no wonder that many functions are duplicated as well. Moreover, given the variety of constraints upon these organizations - leadership, financial, programming - the well intended goals are often too vague, unrealistic, and financially impossible.

Internal Structure

An examination of the internal structures of the organizations shows that they are not conducive to the development of innovative dynamic leadership. For instance, as a "class organization" NWO has to operate in close co-operation and supervision with the BVNC which perhaps limits the possibility for developing powerful leadership. No effective and powerful leadership has emerged so far. The WATC staff are mere implementors of the training programmes already decided upon by the top level decision making body.

The organizations especially the NWO and WATC are hierarchically structured with numerous levels in between decision making and program implementation. The authority and instructions flow from top to bottom with very few channels of communication from the bottom up. As a result there are often unnecessary delays in communication and implementation.

Programs

The programs undertaken by the various organizations can conveniently be categorized into six main areas: (1) nutrition (2) family planning (3) child and maternal health care (4) skill development (knitting, sewing, handweaving, carpet weaving, arts and crafts) (5) kitchen gardening and (6) literacy.

Many of these programs reflect a conservative concept of the role of women and seem designed primarily to enable them to do better housew keeping. The narrow definition of such programs puts a limit on the fulfillment of the stated objectives of the organizations. For instance, the various skill development programs meant for achieving "self reliance" among women make little sense when over ninety percent of the village women are engaged in agriculture: The skills that are taught in the Women's Training Centres are rarely the skills the village women practice

at home. No training in agriculture except in kitchen gardening and poultry are offered to the women in spite of the fact that they play an important role in Nepal's agricultural production.

Moreover, most of the programs to date have merely carried out the general policies and ongoing programs designed by His Majesty's Government. This indicates that the existing institutions for women are functioning primarily as implementing bodies for HMG. While this is a valuable and indeed vital function, it should not supplant their potential role in actively identifying women's needs and problems and generating programs to meet those needs.

There have been few innovations in the programs since their inception over twenty years ago. The early programs initiated by NWO and WATC with their 1950's concepts about women, women's needs, and appropriate programs—remain almost intact today, dispite the fact that our understanding of those needs, and the needs themselves, have changed and broadened greatly during the intervening years. It is also clear from the review of the programs of both the old and new organizations that there is heavy duplication. For instance, both the NWO and the Mother's Club are assisted by the Ministry of Education for their literacy programs. Even the programs of the new institutions such as the WSCC have been formulated along the already existing lines without evaluating whether the old programs are still relevant or whether new ideas and methodologies should be developed.

In addition it is evident that all the major organization have placed heavy emphasis on skill training programs. While this emphasis must be commended it should also be added that such programs when they are not tailored to the specific needs and resources of the community and when they are offered sporadically and in isolation from

¹See Part 1 of this Volume ("Statistical Profile of Nepalese Women: A Critical Analysis") for a detailed account of the significant yet overlooked economic contribution of women in Nepalese society.

other services, they are probably not effective change agents. In fact unless the necessary support structures (such as reliable supplies of raw materials, markets for goods produced, credit schemes, etc.) are also provided much of the effort that goes into skills training is wasted.

Resources

Most of the institutions concerning women have faced resource constraints. WATC and EAWE are exceptions since the former receives its funds from the HMG central budget and the later is exclusively financed by UNICEF. Resource constraints have been one of the important variables causing the stagnation of several of the organizations and stalling the process of their growth. Even the relatively new Mother's Club and WSCC are not in a position so far to identify their sources of funds for their future programs.

DEVELOPMENT OF LINKAGES

Enabling Linkage

The institutions concerning women in Nepal have been able to establish some relationships with the government and external agencies to the extent of being able to derive authority for their legal existence and a minimal amount of resources for their basic functioning. Apart from this, the enabling linkages of the organizations with the government, and external and internal agencies have been rather weak.

Functional Linkage

The interaction between the institutions concerning women and other agencies has also been minimal. It has been found that the concerned agencies such as the village and district panchayats and other related offices are indifferent to the women's programs proposed by the organizations. Although these offices and agencies are supposed to supply information on local needs to the women's organizations and also use the programs and services of these organizations, this kind of exchange relationship has not been found to exist.

Normative Linkage

The existing Nepalese institutions concerning women have made little effort to co-ordinate with each other or to strengthen their own credibility as effective instruments to achieving their policy and program goals. Instead of gearing their functions to new programs reflecting the genuine and changing needs of women, these institutions are often more competitive than complementary. This tendency does not seem to attract external support for the institutions from the environment. This is quite evident from the apathetic attitude of the village and district panchayats.

On the whole, a number of vital linkages are missing and this hinders the effectiveness of many programs. For example, although over 400 women have been trained for the post the number of Women Workers employed by HMG has not increased from the original 150. Supervisors have been trained for field positions to compensate for the apathy towards women's programs shown by local panchayat officials, yet no salaried posts were created for these supervisors.

The Equal Access of Women to Education project was begun, with the support of UNESCO for the purpose of recruiting and training rural women who had previously been ineligible to become primary teachers. Yet not only do the agencies involved fail to co-operate fully in the recruitment process but worse, there are no special hiring provisions for those women who successfully complete the training! The old, SLC pass qualifications continue to apply which disqualify all the women who have received training!

RECOMMENDATIONS

Taken all together, the existing women's institutions do not seem to have achieved optimal effectiveness in their efforts to improve the lot of the women of Nepal. There is marked structural inefficiency in the organizations themselves and too much duplication and superficiality in most of their ongoing and proposed programs for women. The question arises: Within the existing framework of institutions concerning women, what are the possible measures that will help remedy the structural problems and avoid at least some of the program weaknesses?

From the analysis of the institutions, it is clear that leadership at the operational level must emanate spontaneously and be motivated by a conscious intention to strive for the betterment of women. Such leadership must be dedicated and committed to this purpose and their attention should be undivided and continuous.

Moreover central level leadership alone is not enough to bring about the participation of women at the local level. Instead of attempting to monitor everything from the central organizations as is presently done, local leadership should be encouraged when it emerges at the village and district levels. In order to create a congenial atmosphere for the development of local leadership the following steps seem necessary:

Women's participation in local community action should be encouraged. Since at present there are almost no institutions which encourage such participation, it is suggested that any social or professional organization or institution be allowed to operate at all levels village, district or national. Once an organization is registered with the zonal officials, it should not have to further seek the recommendation of the WSCC for its existence. Under the present restrictions on the formation of interest groups, women's participation cannot be ensured especially in a society like ours where women are socialized to shy away from public participation in decision-making. It is very aptly recognized by Ms. Acharya that "the formation of different

interest groups including... women, such as groups for landless labourers, small farmers, etc., should be encouraged and nurtured.. Only these groups emerging from below can be active and effective vehicles of participatory development." (Acharya, 1978: 41).

It seems inappropriate for the NWO to be categorized as a "class organization" and thereby be compelled to operate under the political and bureaucratic dominance of the BVNC. By definition class is a "grade of society as classified by birth, wealth and occupation." Women as such can in no way be categorized as a "single class." They can belong to different classes such as "youth", "peasants", "adults", "labourers", etc. In a class of peasants or adults or labourers there can and should be both men and women. But when women are categorized as a "class", it seems to indirectly imply that women cannot be members of other class organizations. This has policy implications of segregating women from men. Therefore, it is recommended that NWO should operate as an autonomous organization.

In addition BVNC is a political control mechanism for channeling the political development of the country. Such control mechanisms and the development of powerful leadership are in direct opposition. Hence if women leaders are to emerge at the operational level, the continued dominance of the BVNC does not provide a congenial atmosphere. Indeed NWO and its leaders tend to be mere tools in the hands of the BVNC. It is suggested that those women who are interested in enhancing their political carrers be encouraged to seek membership in other class organizations.

One of the most pervasive problems which the existing institutions face is structural. As can be seen from the foregoing analysis, it has not only hindered the decision-making and implementation process but has resulted in inefficiency and ineffectiveness. The following are a few of the steps that can be undertaken in the near future:

- As analyzed earlier, the decision-making level is usually under-represented by those that are actually responsible for implementation. Therefore, to make the plans and programs more realistic and responsive to actual village conditions there should be more representation by those that are directly concerned with the implementation. For instance the Panchayat Development Committee (DPC) and the Training Division of the Home and Panchayat Ministry have no representatives from the training institutes: Hence the personnel of these institutes have virtually no say in the design and scope of the programs they are to implement. Clearly there should be more representation by the institutes at the PDC. Similar situations are found in Mother's Club and NWO. This kind of gap between the decision-makers and the implementors needs to be corrected wherever it exists.
- As is evident from the foregoing analysis that both financial and beauracratic authority of the existing wmen's organizations is centralised. In other words, authority flows from the top down. For the efficient working of the institutions, the authority should be decentralised or delegated to the operational level. For instance in the case of NWO all financial as well as decision-making authority is held by the BVNC. Even a transaction involving as little as Rs.100/must be approved and sanctioned by the BVNC. Similarly the Home and Panchayat Ministry controls the finances of the training programs of the WATC and the field workers, leaving the institutes themselves no financial or controlling authority at the field level. The WATC's have only a supervisory role. Instead, power and authority should be concentrated where the action is. If there are too many layers between the implementation and decision-making levels, the decisionmakers become isolated and will be exercising control which is remote and hence ineffective.

There should be a a two-way flow of communication—from the bottom up as well as from the top down. Each institution must establish direct communication channels so that the information from the local and operational levels can be fed in at the decision-making level in order to have the actual prevailing problems and needs reflected and incorporated in the decision-making process.

Another structural problem is that of diffused responsibility. As far as possible, the responsibility for carrying out a program should be shouldered by one single agency or body because every-body's responsibility becomes nobody's responsibility. This comes out very clearly from our discussion of the EAWE under the Ministry of Education and the WATC under the Home and Panchayat Ministry.

From the review of the programs of the various institutions, it has become evident that there is a heavy duplication in almost all the institutions. The programs tend to be urban-based and often do not reflect rural needs and conditions. The following recommendations are offered as a beginning to correct these problems:

As far as possible duplication of programs should be avoided by the institutions. It is suggested that each institution needs to define more clearly its specific goals and objectives rather than retaining the present very broad and well intended objectives like "making women more self-reliant and independent." Each institution must be able to define the parameters of making the women self-reliant and the ways and means they intend to use to make them self-reliant. Once this has been defined each institute should specialize its programs accordingly

WSCC could play an important role in assuring that the various institutions do not duplicate their objectives, functions or programs. It is felt that this is one of the most important aspects of comordination. WSCC should be able to support the existing institutions and encourage them

to perform their functions sincerely and in accordance with their specific objectives. However, if WSCC exists mainly for the benefit of one or two organizations, its crucial co-ordinating, function is not being fulfilled. In order to avoid duplication, this committee should review the programs of all the institutions including the NWO periodically. It should also be able to integrate programs of the institutions specializing in women's programs with broader secural or regional rural development programs incorporating components targeted for women. It should encourage the proliferation of organizations in rural as well as urban areas. It should act as a communications link not only with other institutions and itself but also as a link between the various institutions.

There has to be a general rethinking both at the policy and at the program formulation level on the nature of the programs to be undertaken. So far most of the programs carried out by the various institutions have concentrated in the following six areas: nutrition, family planning, child/maternal health care, skill development (i.e., knitting, weaving, sewing, cutting and carpet weaving), kitchen gardening and literacy. While the importance of these areas cannot be minimised it should also be pointed out that programs in these areas do not necessarily help women in raising their income or their status. These kinds of programs may be appropriate in some areas of Nepal but it does not seem desirable that they should be carried out irrespective of the specific situation, nor by almost all the institutions for women. Effective programs for women have to be area and resource specific. Each institute should specialise in different areas of interest for women. Before each of the institutes design their programs, the needs of each specific target group of women have to be taken into account.

It also comes out quite clearly that skill development programs mainly involve training and seminars. It must be realised that training and seminars are not exclusive agents

for change but rather help to increase efficiency and know-how of those who are already on the job with resources available. This kind of training means very little for those who are not employed and have none of the necessary resources available. Therefore, to reach those women most in need the problem is not only to give the necessary skill training but also to generate the jobs and make resources available. For this the programs have to be more commercial or economically oriented, e.g., making raw materials available and facilitating marketing of finished products, thus, helping the rural women actually to raise their income.

In spite of the fact that 98.17% (Population Census 1971 (I): Table 21) of the females are engaged in agricultural pursuits, no women's programs in agriculture except kitchen gardening are carried out by these organizations. This is one of the genuine needs of rural women which has been neglected by all the institutions for women. It is felt that at least one of the institutes should direct their programs towards increasing the productivity of women in their important agricultural role. Empirical evidence indicates that many agricultural processes are almost entirely carried out by women. For instance, in many parts of Nepal the seed selection and storing is done exclusively by women. This task is a very important one in increasing over-all agricultural production. Yet nothing has been done for women to provide better know-how and techniques in this process. Likewise almost all vegetable farming is carried out by women but WATC and NWO provide only basic training in kitchen gardening and do not involve themselves in training women for largescale vegetable farming.

The resource constraint has been identified as an important variable in the process of institutionalization of the institutions concerning women. The leadership must find out

ways and means of generating its own permanent source of funds so that its development does not have to depend on forces that provide funds.

- Since institutions cannot florish in isolation, they must develop linkages with outside agencies and other institutions. The rural based institutions such as the NWO and WATC must work in close co-operation with the local panchayats. There must be a good rapport between the panchayats and the institutions. The apathetic attitude of the local panchayats towards the women institutions must be overcome.
- Above all existing institutions concerning women must make every effort to co-ordinate their activities with each other so that each institution complements the others in their joint effort to improve the status of women rather than being competitive.

APPENDIX

<u>Table: 8</u>
BUDGET SINCE 1966/67 = 1973/74
(In rupees)

So.	Sources of Income	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	15/0/61	1971/72	1971/72 1972/73 1973/74	1973/74
i	1. HMG Home & Panchayat Ministry	113,000,00	73,158,00	95,500,00	95,500.00 105,750.00	75,000,00	N.A.	N.A.	133,500.00
2.	2. Receipts for Birthday Celeberation & from Fairs	2,158,00 25,651,00	•	1,000,00	500,00	ı	:	2	
ကိ	3. HMG Education Ministry	•	•	•	300,00	•	:	:	125,700,00
4.	4. HMG Foreign Ministry	•	•	•	•	1	:	:	1,000,00
'n,	5. Ramailo & Hemanta Fairs	6,624,11	•	68,557,21	8,230,77	•	:	:	•
••	6. Donations for "Mahile Bolchhin" Magazine	•	2,054,75	1,444,00	705.00	442,50	:	:	•
7.	7. Donations for Literacy Campaign Program	•	5,829,09	5,619,25	100,854,00	1	2	:	•
8	8. Other Donations	2,703,00	605,55	1,075,00	•	•	:	:	•
•6	 Miscellaneous Sales Sale of Lottery 	1,324,55	3,859,94	8,896,82	1,873,83	1,196,28		•	16,173,90
10.	10. Loans & Interest Received	3,744.00	•	•	•	5,886,75	?	:	•
11.	11. Value of Goods in Hand	4,254.00	•	•	•	•	:	:	•
12.	12. Foreign Assistance	1	•	t	•	•	:	:	9,381,30
13.	13. Miscellaneous	103,50	•	•	•	667,10	•		•
		159,355,16	88,507,33	182,092,28	88,507.33 182,092,28 218,213,60	83,192,62	:	**	285,755.20

Contd. ...

Table 8 Contd. ...

Expenditures	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72 1972/73	1972/73	1973/74
1. Expenditure of Central Office: Salary & Wages	2,909,00	19,667,75	23,342,50	14,191.50	24,463.00	N.A.	N.A.	31,263,26
2. T.A., D.A.	8,093,14	28,201,45	34,814.71	15,146,34	10,846,88	:	:	8,127,75
 Printing: "Mahila Bolchhin" & Others 	5,912,51	{3,000,00 {11,217.60	{ 7,279.63 { 9,536.68	16,775,42	14,242.23	:	:	19,969,83
4. Rent and Fees	5,485,00	5,636,16	5,431,29	9,981.12	16,924.00	:	:	7,900.00
5. Contingency (includes entertainment exp.)	1,805.06	5,123,10	4,883,87	5,420,66	3,261,49	:	2	33,555,68
6. Transportation	541.46	2,733.89	1,703,99	2,887,57	2,041,49	:	:	11,434,69
7. Other Materials	499.87	3,587,44	14,843.24	11,956,91	3,683,25	:	:	1
8. Maintenance & Repairs	95.74	1	•	•	•	:	:	1,558,10
9. Stipend & Financial Help	3,813,00	12,501,50	19,432,70	15,138,72	11,409,50	:	:	34,165,50
10. Sharing of the Income from Mela (Fairs)	11,183,28	83,33	300.00	·	:			ı
11. Birth.day Celeberations	5,000,00	5,000,00	11,487,29	4,646.15	•	:		10,534,57
12. Miscellaneous Exp.	414.00	272,00		·	ŧ	:	:	•
13. Jeep (Vehicle)	28,158.00	•	•	•	•	:	:	•
14. Loan Repayment	8,744,00	•	1	•	•	:	:	39,925.00
15. Exp.on Office Equipments	4,254,00	•	•	•	•	:	2	7,059.00
	90.806.68	87,024.22	132,455.90	106,144,39	86,871,79	:	:	205,493,38
		-					,	

Contd. ...

Table 8 Contd. ...

Expenditure for Literacy	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1969/70 1970/71 1971/72 1972/73	1973/74
1. Campaign: T.A.,	D.A. 4,931.35	2,882,09	2,971.78	2,971.78 17,121.92	B	N•A.	N.A.	7,531,40
2. Transportation	875.04	1,212,91	1,144,74	1,247,00		:	3	13,825,38
3. Printing	1,069,38	736.84	263,84	2,672.80	1	:	:	4,614.09
4. Contingency	89.00	49.25	00.6	•	•	:	:	•
5. Other Materials	20,80	24.00	2,434.99	2,193,50		•	:	5,114,36
6. Financial Assista	tance,	13,925.50	12,050,10	24,230,00		÷	:	97,417,40
7. Rent and Fees	•	•	00.00	97.00	•	•	**	
	6,985,57	6,985,57 17,830,59 18,964,30 47,762,22	18,964,30	47,762.22	,	**	**	128,502,63
	96,893,63	96,893,63 114,854.81 151,420,20 153,906,31 86,871,79	151,420,20	153,906.31	86,871.7	** 6	:	333,996.01

N.A. = Not Available
* Including honourarium for the Instructors.

NWO's Magazines "Mahila Bolchhin", year 2025 Ashad, No3, p. 17; year 2028 Jestha, No.2, Table 2 & 3; year 2027 Jestha, No 2, p. 35; year 2028 Jestha, No.2, Table: 4; year 2031 Chaitra, No.8, p. 20. Source:

Table 9

BUDGET FOR THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM SINCE 1974 - 1978

Categories	1974/75* 1975/76	1976/77	19777/78
Salaries including fringe	161,600	333,220	384,100
Consultants	4,000	3,200	4,400
Travel	91,840	115,970	75,090
Materials & Equipment, NWO Travel & Per Diem		20,000	7,800
Other direct costs	36,200	29,200	22,100
	160,206 293,640	510,590	493,550
	\$ (12,868)		
	The then prevait	ing Excha	nge Rate:
	(Rs. 12.45 = \$1	L)	

Source: Nepal Women's Organization, Multipurpose Centre.

^{*}Breakdown is not available.

Table: 10

FUNDS RECEIVED FROM WORLD NEIGHBOURS FOR THE

NWO SKILL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM 1974-1978

(In rupees)

Salaries ¹	Transport ²	Program & 3 Material Expenses	Revolving 4 Fund	Total
23,850	14,100	18,600	20,000	76 , 550
44 , 730	11,025	11,865	34,650	112 ,2 70
18,600	6,360	4,400	•	29,060
29,300	26,400	15,000	16,000	86,700
	23,850 44,730 18,600	44,730 11,025 18,600 6,360	Salaries Transport Material Expenses 23,850 14,100 18,600 44,730 11,025 11,865 18,600 6,360 4,400	Salaries Transport Material Expenses Fund 23,850 14,100 18,600 20,000 44,730 11,025 11,865 34,650 18,600 6,360 4,400

Source: Nepal Women's Organization.

¹Includes the salary of the project-in-charge, target achievement allowance, peons, accountant, clerk, sales girls, etc.

²Travel of the buyer.

³Includes show-room rental, maintainance, materials, etc.

⁴Revolving fund for handicrafts in Bhainsepati, Bhaktapur, Palpa, Parsa, Pokhara, Surkhet, Kathmandu.

 $^{^{5}}$ Exchange rate Rs. 12.45 = US \$ 1

Table: 11

FUNDS RECEIVED THROUGH HMG, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION FOR THE

NWO LITERACY PROGRAM 1975-1976

(In rupees)

INCOME		EXPENDIT	URES
Source	Amount	District	Amount
1. Balance from			£ 700 80
previous year	37,233.30	1. Palpa	6,788.80
2. Grant	45 , 307 . 00	2. Dailekh	1,860,00
Donation	2,000.00	3. Ilam	9,000.00
		4. Bhaktapur	9,192.00
		5. Kathmandu	17,191.85
		6. Dang	2,880.00
		7. Dhankuta	6,000.00
		8. Bhojpur	7,200.00
		9. Doti	4,500.00
		10. Jhapa	5,310.0
		11. Tanahun	9,000.00
		12. Contingency	5,470.4
		13. Balance	147.2
	84,540.30		84,540.3

Source: Nepal Women's Organization

¹Exchange Rate Rs. 12.45 = US \$ 1.

APPNEDIX

Table: 12

FUNDS RECEIVED THROUGH HMG, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
FOR THE LITERACY PROGRAM 1976/77¹

(In rupees)

INCOME		EXPENDITURES	
Source	Amount	Expense	Amount
Balance from previous year	147.25	Salary & Wages for Bhaktapur Literacy	5,520.0
Grant Received	87 , 000.00 87,000.00	Program Functional Literacy Class, Tehrathum	2,400.0
**	37,500.00	Bhojpur	2,400.
		Sankhuwasabha	2,400.
		Sunsari	4,800.
		Morang	4,800.
		Chandragadhi	2,400.
		Shanischare	2,400.
		Ilam	2,400.
		Rajbiraj	4,800.
		Siraha	2,400.
		Sindhuli	2,400.
		Taulihawa	2,400.
		Syangja	2,400.
		Dang	2,400.
		Palpa	2,400.
		Pyuthan	2,400.

Contd. ...

 $^{^1\}mathrm{The}$ budget for fiscal year 1976/77 was received only at the end of the fiscal year from the Ministry of Education. Hence the amount could not be utilised for the literacy program in that year. It will be expended on functional literacy in fiscal year 1977/78.

²Exchange Rate Rs. 12.45 = US \$ 1.

Table 12 Contd. ...

211,947,25		
	Ratna Adult Education Centre	
	Shanischare	2,400.00
	NWO, Bhaktapur	2,400.00
	Multipurpose Centres	
	Dhankuta	4,800.00
	Pokhara	4,800.00
	Surkhet	4,800.00
	Kathmandu (Pulchowk)	19,800.00
	T.A., D.A. for the Supervision Tour	
	Miscellaneous	599.34
	Loan to other Literacy Programs	41,000.00
	Balance	7,900.00
211,947.25		211,947.25

Table: 13

GRANT RECEIVED FROM HMG, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION FOR 500

NWO LITERACY CLASSES 1977/78

(In rupees)

Source	Amount	Expenditure	Amount
Grant Received	92,000.00	Nepal Women's Organization	
		Panchthar	4,000.00
		Sunsari	4,000.00
		Parsa	4,000.00
		Trisuli	4,000.00
		Taulihawa	4,000.00
		Baglung	4,000.00
		Dang	4,000.00
		Mahendranagar	4,000.00
		Jumla	4,000.00
		Siraha	4,000.00
		Sindhuli	4,000.00
		Gorkha	4,000.00
		Doti	4,000.00
		Nepalgunj	4,000.00
		Nirmal Secondary School	
		Damouli	500.00
		Balance	4,000.00
	92,000.00		92,000.00

Source: Nepal Women's Organization

 $^{^{1}}$ Exchange Rate Rs. 11.90 = US \$ 1.

Table: 14

BUDGET FOR THE WOMEN'S TRAINING PROGRAMS

1962/63 - 1978/79

(In rupees)

Fiscal Year	Training Centres	Approved Budget Rs.	Actual Expenditure Rs.
1962/63	WATC, Jawalakhel	97,611.00	90,818.99
1963/64	>>	134,700.00	98,838.00
1964/65	>>	118,018.00	116,313.00
1965/66	**	214,720.00	184,200.00
1966/67	**	279,400,00	200,490.00
1967/68	**	N.A.	468,455.00
1968/69	**	N.A.	633,026.00
1969/70	**	N.A.	400,000.00
1970/71	3.3	419,000.00	480.000.00
1971/72	**	N.A.	N.A.
1972/73	**	439,450.00	428,676.00
1973/74	**	846,713.00	837,199.00
1974/75	**	1,058,309.00	1,051,438.00
1975/76	3>	731,269.00	648,244.00
1976/77	1. WATC, Jawalakhel	948,000.00	780,333.00
	2. Pokhara Centre	350,000.00	344,975.00
	3. Surkhet Centre	330,000.00	320,386.00
	4. Dhankuta Centre	340,000.00	327,267.00
	5. Jumla	190,000.00	62,649.00
1977/78	 WATC, Jawalakhel 	777,600.00	672,181.00
	2. Pokhara Centre	495,700.00	484,190.00
	3. Surkhet Centre	561,000.00	241,190.00
	4. Dhankuta Centre	486,000.00	234,747.00
1978/79	WATC, Jawalakehl	662,000.00	
	2. Pokhara Centre	613,000.00	
	3. Surkhet Centre	486,000.00	
	4. Dhankuta Centre	429,000.00	

Source: HMG, Home and Panchayat Ministry, Training Division.

N.A. Not Available.

¹Exchange Rate Rs. 12.45 = US \$ 1. until 1977, Rs.11.90 = US \$1. 1977-present.

Table: 15
TOTAL EXPENSES OF EAWE PROJECT

1972 - 1979

Year	Amount
1972	22.00
1973	37,20
1974	38,20
1975	36.50
1976	288,10
1977	323.70
1978	372.00
1979	439.20

Source: Ministry of Education.

Table: 16

BUDGET OF EQUAL ACCESS OF WOMEN TO EDUCATION

1977

(In rupees)

Heads of Expenditure	Pokhara	Dhankuta	Nepalgunj
1. Stipend	150,000.00	112,500.00	112,500.00
2. T.A.	20,000.00	22,500.00	22,500.00
3. Education	25,000.00	18,750.00	18,750.00
4. Tutorial Four Programs	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
5. Seminar etc.	10,000.00	10,000.00	10,000.00
6. Recruitment	20,000.00	20,000.00	20,000.00
7. Hostel	<u>-</u> *	40,000.00	40,000.00
8. Staff Cost	53,858.00	76,837.00	47,263.00

Source: HMG, Ministry of Education.

There is a separate budget allocation to cover school broadcasting, research, innovation, and monitering which is as follows:

School Broadcasting 89,000.00 Research 140,000.00

The Impact Study on Equal Access of Women and Girls to Educational, undertaken by CERID, is financed out of this Research budget.

^{*}Hostel Building in Pokhara was built with a cost of Rs.800,000 hence no rent incurred.

Table: 17

BUDGET FOR KALIMATI MOTHER S CLUB

NOVEMBER 1976 - July 1977

(In rupees)

Sources	Amount	Expenditure	Amount
Membership	2,632.00	Expense for	0 / 27 00
Tution Fees	4,685.00	Membership* -	2,437.80
Nepal Red Cross	9,100.00	Tution	2,443.80
Bal Mandir	5,550.00	Salary	11,321.00
		Wages	77.00
			16,279.60
		Balance	1,087.40
	17,967.00		17,967.00

Source: Office of the Kalimati Mother's Club.

^{*} The definition of "Expenditure for Membership" is not clear.

Table: 18

BUDGET FOR KALIMATI MOTHER'S CLUB

JULY 1977 - JULY 1978

(In rupees)

Sources	Amount	Expenditure	Amount
Balance in hand with	· · · · · ·	Salary	21,360.50
Bank	1,687.40	Wages	4,068.85
Memberships Fees	3,735.60	Stationery	1,740.60
Tution Fees	8,691.00	Education Materials	243.03
Red Cross Society	14,572.85	Tiffin	2,747.41
Bal Mandir	4,425.00	Transpor	299.80
Material Sale	3,419.50	Sewing & Knitting	2,882.80
Others	64.00		
			33,342.99
		Balance	3,252.3
	36,595.35		36,595.3

Source: Office of the Kalimati Mother's Club.

APPENDIX

Table: 19

ESTIMATED COST FOR THE WOMEN'S SERVICES CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

LONG TERM PLAN 1978 - 1983

(In rupees)

Establishment Cost	lst Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year	Total
1. Fixed Cost	573,750.00	573,750.00	1,147,500,00	1,147,500.00	573,750.00 573,750.00 1,147,500.00 1,147,500.00 1,147,500.00 4,590,000.00	4,590,000.00
2. Cottage Weaving	131,600,00	131,600,00 131,600,00	131,600,00	131,600,00	131,600.0	658,000,00
3. Sewing & Cutting	111,760.00	111,760.00 111,760.00	111,760.00	111,760.00	111,760,00	558,800.00
4. Carpet Weaving	157,680.00	157,680.00 157,6800.00	157,680,00	157,680,00	157,680,00	788,400,00
5. Bee-Keeping	5,480.00	5,480.00	5,480.00	5,480,00	5,480,00	27,400,00

Source: Office of the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee.

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