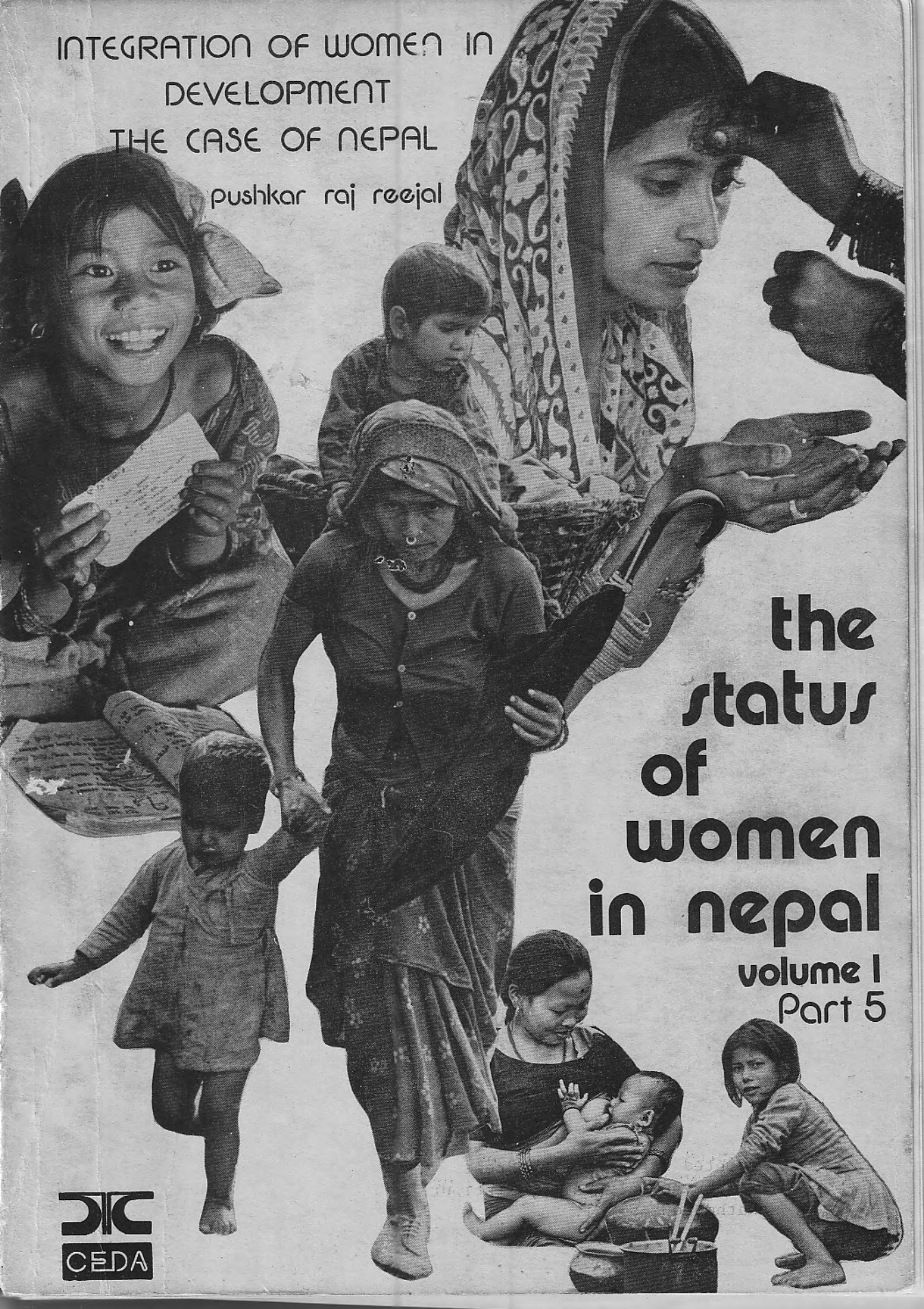


INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN  
DEVELOPMENT  
THE CASE OF NEPAL

pushkar raj reejal



the  
status  
of  
women  
in nepal

volume I  
Part 5

The Status of Women in Nepal  
Volume I: Background Report  
Part 5

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DEVELOPMENT  
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## FORWORD

This monograph is a part of a series of studies comprising Volume 1 (Background Report on the Status of Women in Nepal) of the "Status of Women" project undertaken by CEDA. The broader objective of the project was "... 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."

The present Volume 1, containing five separate 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 following monographs, comprising volume one, have been published:

1. Statistical Profile of Nepalese Women: A Critical Review, Volume 1, Part 1 (By Meena Acharya).
2. Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women, Volume 1, Part 2 (By Lynn Bennett with assistance from Shilu Singh).
3. Institutions Concerning Women in Nepal, Volume 1, Part 3 (By Bina Pradhan).
4. Annotated Bibliography on Women in Nepal, Volume 1, Part 4 (By Indira M. Shrestha).
5. Integration of Women in Development: The Case of Nepal, Volume 1, Part 5 (By Pushkar Raj Rocaal).

The Second Volume will deal with eight socio-economic case studies of Nepalese women in traditional rural communities. It will also consist of a ninth monograph which will analyse the aggregate data and summarize the major findings of the project in order to provide policy guidelines for a National Plan of Action for Nepalese Women.

This monograph entitled "Integration of Women in Development: The Case of Nepal" by Dr. Pushkar Raj Reejal makes an in-depth analysis of the Nepalese planning process, especially from the point of view of the role and place of women in national development. The focus has been rightly placed on the various policies, programmes, opportunities and constraints that interact and interrelate with women and development in Nepal.

This pioneer as well as professional work by Dr. Reejal deserves commendation. The views expressed in this monograph, however, belong to the writer and do not necessarily reflect the views of CEDA.

It is hoped that this study will contribute positively towards putting the role of Nepalese women in proper perspective in future development plans of Nepal and will also contribute towards promoting equality of sexes.

Dr. Reejal deserves thanks for his admirable research endeavour.

February, 1981

Dr. Govind Ram Agrawal  
Executive Director

## Chapter One

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Statement of the Problem

As elsewhere, recent discussion of development process in Nepal reflects an ever increasing concern with sex differentiation and its consequences on women's welfare. Sex differentiation is not a new concept. It was always self-evident to those familiar with the process of sexual division of labour in the evolution of human society through the ages. What is new is the suspicion that development has tended to favour men at the expense of women because planning has erred in one or more of the following ways:

- (a) By omission - that is by failing to notice and utilize the traditional productive roles which women are playing;
- (b) By reinforcement of values already in existence in the society which restrict women's activities to child-bearing, child-rearing and other household tasks; and
- (c) By addition - that is by superimposing western values of what is appropriate work for women in modern society on developing societies. (Tinker 1975: 5).

The empirical evidence underlying the new pessimism is limited but persuasive. For example, a government publication of 1971 conceded that "Nepalese women have yet to free themselves from the social customs and beliefs which still categorize them as sub-humans." (HMG/N 1973: 4). Consequently, in spite of the validity of the empirical evidence produced so far, the realization that sexual inequality exists does raise important questions relevant to plan formulation and execution.

Against the above mentioned background, this study is addressed to the question: To what extent women's participation in agriculture, industry, trade and science is reflected in Nepal's national plans and programmes? What has been the impact of past development efforts on sexual equality? What do the prevailing social and economic characteristics of women as a group imply for future plans and the planning process? While attempting to answer these questions, this study reviews the success and failures of development plans in Nepal implemented within 1956-80. The assessment of their impact on sexual equality also attempts to draw lessons for the design and implementation of future plans, programmes and projects. In this regard, this study also investigates whether there is a need to bring about methodological, institutional and procedural changes in plan formulation and implementation to increase their effectiveness in realizing the new objective of sexual equality.

It may be noted at the very outset that Nepalese plans till now do not explicitly recognize male and female as separate target groups. Consequently, the impact of past development efforts on women's welfare discussed in this study is based on indirect evidences deduced from analyzing the contents of planning documents.

All the reviews and impact analysis of the plans and programmes contained in this study are based on secondary data. Since no field surveys were conducted, the research questions are answered on qualitative rather than quantitative terms.

### Organization of the Study

The basic premise of past development efforts in Nepal was that investment in economic infrastructure such as roads is not only necessary to stimulate commodity production in agriculture sector but also essential for the introduction and smooth execution of a more comprehensive plan in the future. Consequently, in spite of the fact that each development plan stressed the need to increase agricultural production in general and food production in particular, planned outlay as well as actual expenditure in periodic plans came to be heavily biased in favour of transport and communication sector and capital investment projects. This had several implications for food production and technology, migration and employment, education, health, nutrition and family planning--the very "factors and needs" identified as of special importance to women's integration in development by the Seminar on Women in Development held in Mexico City in 1975. (1976: 1-11 and 141-177).

Accordingly, the ensuing chapters of this study are organized on the basis of the topical headings mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Three important concerns in the discussion of each of the topical headings are: (a) evolution of planning strategy over time and their rationale; (b) their impact on women's involvement in plans, programmes and projects, and (c) assessment of prospects for future.

Chapter 7 provides an overall evaluation of the impact of twenty-two years of development plans and programmes on the economic role and status of women in Nepalese society. Two other concerns of this chapter are: (a) identification of structural features and cultural tradition that account for long-term stability in women's status, and (b) the reason for current change and discontent.

## Chapter Two

### AGRICULTURE AND FOOD PRODUCTION

#### Allocation of Investment Outlays in the Plans

Table 2:1 presents the sectoral allocation of investment outlays in each of the five consecutive plans of Nepal, including indicative allocation for the Sixth Plan. As is evident from the table, an overwhelming percentage of actual expenditure was absorbed by transport and communication, industry, tourism and mines and power sectors. Three factors responsible for this type of sectoral development strategy were: acute shortage of economic infrastructures; donors preference; and the desirability of political integration.

Prior to 1950 there were altogether 300 k.m. of roads, 6,280 k.w. of electricity and 14,700 hactres of irrigated land for a population of 9 million spread over 145,391 square kilometers. (Pant 1980: 170-91) Development of infrastructure were also particularly favoured by some aid givers under the premise that these investments were basic to the attack on economic and technological underdevelopment. Furthermore, infrastructure provided better opportunities for publicizing the donor's aid programmes. Lack of roads was also weakening the economic and political links between different parts of the country. Defense requirements added additional importance for investment on transport and communication facilities.

#### Development Strategy Related to Food Production 3; and Rural Development

Since the very inception of planning in 1956, rural development has been a major consideration of the Nepalese planners. Each development plan has stressed the need to accelerate the growth rate of agricultural production in general and food production in particular.



Table 2:1

## PUBLIC SECTOR OUTLAYS AND EXPENDITURE IN PERIODIC PLANS BY MAJOR SECTORS

(In percentage)

Sectors	Plan I (1956-60) Outlay Expendi- ture	Plan II (1962-65) Outlay Expendi- ture	Plan III (1965-70) Outlay Expendi- ture	Plan IV (1971-75) Outlay Expendi- ture	Plan V (1976-80) Outlay Expendi- ture	Plan VI (1980-85) Proposed Outlay
1. Agriculture, Irriga- tion, Forest and Drinking Water	28.64	15.68	23.13	27.24	33.49	29.4 <sup>1</sup>
2. Transport and Communication	37.58	23.92	35.34	40.86	26.38	20.6
3. Industry, Tourism and Mines	7.58	17.00	7.18	9.52	9.36	21.9 <sup>2</sup>
4. Power	9.09	15.16	14.94	8.77	10.60	-
5. Social Services	13.33	17.12	15.37	13.04	15.78	28.1
6. Miscellaneous	3.78	11.12	4.04	0.57	4.39	-
Total in Million Re.	330.0	600.0	1740.0	2570.0	7545.0	16000.0

Source: For data relating to Plan I through Plan V: Plan 1980; 190-91. For data relating Plan VI National Planning Commission 1979: 7 of Chapter 5.

<sup>1</sup> Includes Forest.

<sup>2</sup> Includes Power.

Financial priority accorded to the development of the nonagricultural sector has been counterbalanced by the operational priority accorded to the development of the agriculture sector. In this regard planners have claimed that programmes in the non-agricultural sectors have always been structured to facilitate the overriding objective of rural development. In this regard the Third Plan (1965-70) observed that "Industry not only provides employment, but also increases productivity and national income by utilizing available resources. Additional markets for agricultural products are also created. Thus industrial development and the expansion of agriculture are complementary to one another." (National Planning Commission, HMG/N: 1965: 93).

In the First Year Plan (1956-60) community development programmes were launched to alleviate the poor living conditions of the rural masses. The Three Year Plan (1962-64) laid stress on agricultural reform, agricultural extension work and irrigation.

The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) introduced a separate Panchayat development sector aimed at activating the district and village level elected bodies for the village and district level development works. Plan allocation under this sector was made on the basis of classified criteria of remoteness or the difficult or inaccessible terrain, in the form of grants to meet part of total project costs. The rest of the costs was to be borne by and mobilized in the forms of people's participation offering voluntary labour. (Singh, 1980: 2)

The Fourth Plan (1970-75) introduced growth axis strategy of development "to create conditions for the significant transformation in the spatial articulation of the economy [A long-term objective] of product diversification in Nepalese agriculture based on ecology and resource potential of individual regions with emphasis on cereal production in the Terai, horticulture in the hills and livestock in the mountains [was also announced]. (Ibid : 3).

In the Fifth Plan (1975-80) two new programmes--Small Area Development and Integrated Rural Development were launched simultaneously. The Small Area Development Programme was to replace the growth axis strategy in view of the fact that "conditions for the realization of axis approach cannot be met within one or two mid-term plans in a country where overwhelming majority of the population subsist on agriculture and where there are inaccessibility, lack of markets and pocket economies with little interaction between different regions." (Ibid.) The objective of the Small Area Development Programme is "to strengthen the productive base of agriculture and activate the pocket economies with provision of integrated package development programme... Agricultural development is the focus of such area development programmes and other projects like transport facilities, forestry, soil conservation, minor irrigation, water management, provision of social, economic and administrative services, cottage industries and non-agricultural activities are built around this focus." (Ibid.)

Integrated Rural Development strategy calls for (a) planning with reference to micro-conditions relating to human, financial, infrastructural and natural conditions, (b) planning for the composite needs such as agricultural production, health and social services and (c) planning for the delivery of a package of interrelated inputs for local development. The nature of Integrated Rural Development programme is similar to that of Small Area Development Programme "except that the integrated programmes are supposed to evince a demonstrative effect in enhancing the productive base of an area far more extensive" (Ibid.: 4).

### Impact on Women's Welfare

In spite of tremendous increase in the size of investment outlays in successive plans, gross domestic product at constant prices increased on an average by 3 percent per annum whereas within the same period, population increased on an average by more than 2 percent. Consequently, per capita gross domestic product in real terms increased by less than 1 percent. (National Planning Commission, 1979: 10).

There has been only marginal increments in the production of major foodgrains whereas the combined yield per hectare has actually gone down in recent years. This is evident from the data presented in Table 2:2 which covers the period 1966 to 1973. The inference of stagnation in agricultural sector is supported by recent government publications. For example, according to a recent publication of the Ministry of Finance, agricultural production during the decade 1967 to 1977 increased at an annual average rate of 1.7 percent only whereas during the same period population increased by 2.07 percent (Ministry of Finance, HMG/N. 1978:4).

The virtual stagnation of the economy in terms of the structure of the labour force is evident from Table 2:3. During the period 1952/54 to 1971, the dependence on agriculture (measured as a proportion of the work force) has remained more or less the same at around 94 percent, while in absolute terms, the number of persons dependent on agriculture has increased.

Table 2:2  
ANNUAL PERCENT CHANGE IN AREA PRODUCTION AND  
YIELDS OF MAJOR FOODGRAINS NEPAL: 1966-73

		Annual Change Percent
Paddy :	Area	0.7
	Production	1.8
	Yield	0.6
Maize :	Area	0.7
	Production	0.9
	Yield	0.1
Wheat :	Area	8.9
	Production	5.0
	Yield	-3.6
Barley :	Area	0.9
	Production	0.0
	Yield	-0.9
Millet :	Area	3.0
	Production	2.7
	Yield	-0.3
Total		
Grains :	Area	1.8
	Production	1.2
	Yield	-0.2

Source: C.H. Antholt, unpublished working paper Agriculture Sector Assessment for Nepal, 1974, as quoted in Albert R. Hagen, The Agricultural Development of Nepal, Missouri: University of Missouri, 8.

Table 2:3  
SHARE OF AGRICULTURE IN TOTAL EMPLOYMENT 1952/54 - 1971

Census Period	Percentage of Total Employment	Male	Female
1952/54	93.5	91.7	96.1
1961	93.8	91.7	96.9
1971	94.4	92.8	98.2

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, HMG/N, Population Censuses.

Table 2:4 indicates that the share of agriculture in gross domestic product has not declined in any perceptible manner during the period 1964/65 to 1973/74.

Table 2:4  
SHARE OF AGRICULTURE IN GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT  
1964/65 - 1973/74

Year	Share of Agriculture in %
1964/65	65
1965/66	68
1966/67	66
1967/68	67
1968/69	65
1969/70	66
1970/71	67
1971/72	65
1972/73	65
1973/74	65

Source: National Planning Commission, HMG/Nepal.

Structural stagnation of the economy over a long period of time has restricted opportunities for occupational mobility for the population as a whole. The percent of active female population engaged in agriculture increased by 2 points between 1952/54 and 1971. Within the same period the percent of active male population engaged in agriculture increased by 1 point. The absolute difference between male and female engaged in agriculture was 4 percent points in 1952/54. It increased to 5 percent in 1971.

Translating the consequences of infrastructure oriented approach of development to the area of women's problem in rural areas, we can trace the following types of incongruence between resource allocation in the plans and the needs and requirements of women.

First, a deliberate policy of giving heavy emphasis to overhead facilities meant a deliberate policy of according low priority to the development of the social sector such as health, education and general welfare. The fact that these sectors were not favoured for growth meant that most of the investment undertakings were only indirectly related to the myriad functions of women engaged in subsistence agriculture and personal and community services in the non-agricultural sector

Second, infrastructure oriented approach to development also meant ignoring the internal economic needs of the village economy in which women as a group are heavily concentrated. As long as the needs of the urban areas continue to take precedence over the internal economic needs of the village economy, the expected automatic increase in women's participation rate and female status may never come about. Infrastructure oriented approach to development also meant that women's labour embodied in the creation of "use-values" for the household economy, which otherwise would have to be undertaken by the industry or the state was indirectly underwriting the profits of construction companies which happened to be almost entirely owned and operated by foreigners.

Third, to the extent that Nepalese men migrated for employment in construction activities in far distant places, women in the villages were called upon to perform both intra-mural and extra-mural works. Naturally, they were overburdened. While women continued to provide subsistence for the family and barter trade which would supply their minimal daily needs, men constructed roads to strengthen Nepal's links with India and the rural sector with the urban. When Nepalese men migrated to different places to construct roads and buildings, it was the women who continued to provide for the family in their absence. Women in the countryside performed a role analogous to the housewife's role, especially for foreign owned and operated construction companies.

Fourth, overhead facilities constructed mainly under foreign aid programmes did not favour women's employment. With foreign aid came foreign technology, foreign advisors, foreign hiring practices and prejudices and values of foreign labour contractors. With increasing use of foreign technology, the need for skilled labour force increases; yet, education for the sexes is unequal. This is also reflected in the educational level of economically active female as shown in Table 2:5. More importantly, in the absence of adequate technical training facilities for native population, skilled labourers had to be imported to operate complex machinery. Among native population, technical training and jobs tended to be more reserved for men than for women.

Finally, heavy emphasis laid on infrastructure development without due consideration for commodity production also lead to considerable inflationary pressure on the economy. This was accompanied by a tax hike in the rural sector; both direct and indirect. To top this all, a new tax under the name of Panchayat Development and Land Tax was also introduced in 1977/78. In its impact on the welfare of the agricultural population in general and women as housewives in particular, the new tax is quite akin to the tax on agriculture imposed by the Meij's in Japan.



Table 2:5

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE  
POPULATION BY SEX 1971  
(In Percentage)

Educational Level	Male	Female	All
No Schooling	91 61	98 96	93 96
Primary	4 42	0 64	3.31
Secondary	3.24	0.32	3.99
Intermediate	0.37	0.03	0.27
Graduate	0.37	0.05	0.27

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Population Census 1971.

Five different types of adverse consequences of an overhead approach to development as noted in the preceding paragraphs, have however, several elements of inevitability about them. If lack of roads acted as the vicious circle of "no economic activity-no-road-no economic activity" concentration of resources in their making was a "logical" consequence. If talent was scarce, and resources were available largely under foreign aid, it is quite natural, given donor's preference for infrastructure type of projects, that capital be concentrated geographically and in large projects so as to conserve scarce domestic talent and also to attract supplementary talent from abroad.

To the extent the self-employed status of Nepalese labour force in general, and that of women in particular, prevented regular labour supply to foreign owned construction companies, it was quite appropriate on their part to employ non-nationals. In this regard, the Third Plan while reviewing the labour supply situation in the Second Plan period observed: "Many of the Second Plan projects were faced with labour shortage and resultant delays. Among these were the Trisuli Hydel, the Khageri Irrigation, the Kathmandu Drinking Water and the Sunauli-Pokhara road projects. The bulk of the labour supply consists of cultivators on a part-time basis. Problems of instability of supply result since the workers leave to return to their farms at planting and harvest times." (National Planning Council, HMG/N, 1965: 165).

Finally, development of agriculture and social sectors to facilitate increased participation rates of women and female status, themselves required that initial planning efforts be concentrated in creating a base of infrastructure so as to launch more vigorous programmes in future in that direction. However, these natural outcomes were unnecessarily aggravated in intensity and complicated in different ways by planners inability to design a proper mix of consumption oriented and capital oriented development projects.

In spite of all these the premise that investment on overheads is essential for the creation of certain basic conditions that are essential for the introduction and smooth execution of a more comprehensive plan is vividly confirmed. The size and composition of investment programmes in successive plan documents are themselves evidence in this regard. All kinds of infrastructure have improved beyond recognition. Road networks have grown in size to accommodate the rapid growth of commercial truck and bus fleet, as has air traffic. The production of electric power has increased rapidly between 1956 and 1978. Although demand still runs ahead of supply, power production has met the needs of rapidly growing industries, provided irrigation for agriculture, vastly improved services for urban consumers, and made a small start on rural electrification. The imperative to invest in infrastructure are such that "in a predominantly agrarian economy like Nepal's, the vicious problem is lack of infrastructures like roads, but no roads, are economically feasible because there is not much development." (Singh 1980: 3).

#### Reasons for Limited Effectiveness of Rural Development Programmes

The limited effectiveness of agricultural development programmes cannot be attributed to the failure of targetting them to women, but to a combination of factors that thwarted programme implementation. The number of research and demonstration farms were very few. Most of them are very ill-equipped and understaffed. Accordingly, most of the initial planning efforts, as well as investments, were expended in establishing an organizational structure rather than on delivery of actual goods and services. Fertilizer had to be imported either under Indian quota system or from overseas countries. Supply was inadequate. Moreover, international price fluctuation was retarding fertilizer imports and consequently affected its sale as well as profitability of its use to small farms.

Second, even in places where an organizational structure of the agricultural extension service existed, the quality of service provided was very poor. Field level extension workers lacked farm back-ground experience, education and training to work effectively. They lacked adequate "backstopping" support for keeping upto-date with improved technologies which were tested and proven in the localities where they worked. There were no district subject-matter specialists to train, advise and assist them in adopting new technologies to local conditions. As a result the farmer often knew more, at least about what was wrong with the new innovations. That extension agents who often did not follow their own advice had become part of a folklore of extension service in Nepal.

Third, problems emanating from the inadequate development of extension services were superimposed on problems emanating from the low base of infrastructural development in the country - such as roads. Lack of transportation facilities had an important bearing on the intensity of extension services. Field level extension agents had to expend a good deal of time in just travelling. Problems emanating from lack of transportation facilities was also superimposed on the administrative problems created by the populist ideology propounded by a handful of politicians for short-term political gains. Consequently, whatever limited resources were available came to be scattered over too many projects and over too many lines of production over too wide a geographical area. As a result, services provided through extension programmes were too weak to make any visible impact on the vast scale and magnitude of problems that beset the agricultural sector. Both the Third and the Fourth Plans realized this problem and made significant attempts to consolidate extension activities under their respective intensive area development programmes. However, because of political pressure, attempts at consolidation were largely unsuccessful. Here it may be noted that the intensive area development

approach of the Third and the Fourth Plans were in keeping with the fundamental and proximate objective of maximizing output. However, such an idea was not in keeping with the objective of redirecting investment efforts towards the depressed areas in the Hill and the Mountains where women's activity rate also happens to be substantially higher than the national average. Had the intensive area development approach been carried to its logical conclusion, it could have diverted scarce resources to those regions in the Terai which were already better-off in relative terms and where women's activity rate is not as high as in the Hills and the Mountains.

In the absence of adequate and assured irrigation facilities, there was very limited scope for adoption of modern inputs by the farmers--such as improved variety of seeds and chemical fertilizer. Only 7.93 percent of the area under cultivation came under the network of irrigation facilities even as late as 1975. (Pradhan 1978: 7-10 and Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Irrigation 1972: 1).

A poor base of existing overhead facilities and institutional development were the main hurdles for any large scale improvement in agricultural development. It is quite doubtful whether simply targeting programme towards women or certain depressed areas could have made any difference. Although one can argue that the need for overhead facilities and institutional development are partly determined by how delivery of agricultural services is organized, one cannot dismiss the fact that there is an upper limit to benefits derived from organizational changes. Besides, organizational changes actually effected during the Third and Fourth Plans also prove that Nepalese planners and administrators have not been oblivious to the need for such changes. However, the fact remains that mere organizational reshuffling cannot tackle the fundamental problems of the agricultural sector emanating mainly from the inadequacy of investment efforts.

In view of the nature and the magnitude of the problem in the agricultural sector, the investment efforts made by our planners were too marginal to have an overall impact on development and social change.

Neglect of women in agricultural extension has become a recurrent theme in literature dealing with women's problem. For example Mead as well as Lele (Mead 1976: 9-11 and Lele 1976: 76-78) have argued on the basis of their African experience that extension services based on traditional American concepts not only fail to reach the majority of women but also tend to undermine women's needs. Planners and extension authorities tend to view women in western terms - i.e., essentially as domestic workers and not as productive members of the society. Consequently, they promote homebound activities for women instead of promoting their participation in actual agricultural operations. This tendency, it is said, is further reinforced by the practice of exclusively orienting extension programmes for women towards domestic science and home economics. Very often this has the opposite effect. The burden of labour on women increases instead of decreasing: they have to work both as farm labours as well as housewives. Carrying their argument further, both Mead and Lele argue that extension services focusing on the promotion of cash crop cultivation, mechanization of agriculture, organized marketing of agriculture produce and professionalization of agricultural sector have shown the tendency to undercut the productive roles of women. As an antidote to such anti-women practices both Mead and Lele suggest that agricultural planning should basically foster improvements in the production of food crops; their preservation and distribution rather than anything else. For the following reasons, we cannot extrapolate their themes to the case of Nepal:

1. As indicated in the preceding sections, food production has not only been the core of the agricultural development programmes in Nepal but also the central concern of national development planning.

Consequently, any argument that women's interest in agriculture extension is neglected due to inadequate attention provided to food production becomes not only irrelevant, but also a distortion of reality.

2. The Indonesian examples of how rice mills can displace women by competing with their activities in paddy husking is often cited. This argument is not relevant if we remember that in Nepal there are simply not enough rice mills to husk all the paddy that need to be husked. Because of this, our Terai region exports a large quantity of paddy even without husking and thereby foregoes substantial amount of income-and employment-generating opportunities to India. Table 2:6 and 2:7 indicate that there has been very little or no mechanization of Nepalese agriculture. In 1961, only 0.02 percent of agricultural households were found using machine power in their agricultural operations. Similarly, as shown in Table 2:6 capital investments in tools and implements amounted to only 1 percent of total investment per farm in 1968/69. Besides, it has been a permanent policy of the Nepalese planners to discourage mechanization of agriculture (NPC, HMG/N 1975: 46-49). As a matter of fact, it can be well argued by now that we should encourage the use of selected type of machinery in Nepalese farms. Such a policy is necessary not only to reduce the burden associated with agricultural operations and seasonal shortages of labour, but also to maximize output.

3. Table 2:8 also discredits any possible argument that extension services in Nepal by emphasizing male-oriented cash crops cause harm to women. As late as 1972/73, cash crops were grown only in 10 percent of the cropped area and accounted for less than 6 percent of total agricultural production in metric tons. Except for the meager amount of jute and tobacco produced, the so-called cash crops in the Nepalese context are actually food crops grown basically for home consumption. If one carefully observes and analyzes the production system of these agricultural products (including jute and tobacco) in Nepal, one

Table 2:6  
 PERCENT AGE OF HOUSEHOLDS, ACCORDING TO POWER USED  
 BY SIZE OF HOLDINGS

Size of Holding (In hacter)	Percentage of Households Using				
	Man- Power	Animal Power	Machine Power	Both Animal and Machine	Not Specified
0.0136 - 0.102	11.60	86.23	-	-	2.18
0.102 - 0.204	7.92	91.81	-	-	0.40
0.204 - 0.306	7.57	92.22	0.01	-	0.20
0.408 - 0.540	7.49	92.34	-	0.01	0.16
0.510 - 0.612	6.02	93.80	0.01	0.01	0.18
0.512 - 1.224	2.94	96.87	0.01	0.02	0.12
1.224 - 1.836	0.53	99.11	0.07	0.04	0.26
1.836 - 2.448	0.20	99.62	0.02	-	0.15
2.060 - 6.120	0.10	99.64	0.05	0.01	0.21
6.120 - 12.240	-	98.87	0.49	0.54	0.09
12.240 - 30.600	0.30	96.03	1.77	1.89	-
30.600 - 61.200	-	90.15	6.57	3.28	-
61.200 and Above	-	90.48	-	9.52	-
All Total	6.23	93.32	0.02	0.01	0.40

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, National Census of Agriculture,  
 Kathmandu, 1962.



will also realize that these crops are actually not male-oriented. Since these agricultural products require as much female labour as male labour, they cannot be branded exclusively as male-oriented or female-oriented cash crops. There is also no evidence to support the fact that agricultural extension programmes have concentrated disproportionately on cash-crop cultivation at the expense of food-grains. Although the growth rate of production targets fixed for cash-crops in Nepalese plans have always been greater than the growth rate of production targets fixed for food-grains, extension activities in Nepal have always been centered around fertilizer which in turn has been mainly applied to cereal grains and vegetable farming.

Table 2:7  
PATTERN OF INVESTMENT IN NEPALESE FARMS

	Selected Hill Districts	Selected Terai Districts
Land	62.0	74.0
Livestock	18.0	14.0
Farm Houses	19.0	11.0
Tools and Implements	1.0	1.0

Source: His Majesty's Government of Nepal, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Farm Management Study in the Selected Regions of Nepal 1968/69, Kathmandu, 1971, pp. 39.

Table 2:8  
 PRODUCTION AND AVERAGE ESTIMATES FOR MAJOR CROPS IN NEPAL  
 FOR THE 1972-73 CROP YEAR

Crops	Production in Thousand Metric Tons	Percentage of Cropped Area
<u>Foodgrains:</u>		
Paddy	2,010	52.0
Maize	822	20.0
Wheat	312	12.0
Millet	134	5.0
Barley	25	1.0
<u>Cash-Crops:</u>		
Sugarcane	245	0.6
Jute	55	2.0
Oilseed	60	5.0
Tobacco	7	0.4
Potatoes	294	2.0

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, His Majesty's Government of Nepal,  
 as Quoted by Albert R Hagen, op. cit., pp. 33.

4 Since most of the extension workers in Nepal are male, it is<sup>3:</sup> claimed that sex prejudices deter communication between women farmers and the extension agents. A corollary to this type of reasoning is that nothing short of changing the sex composition of extension workers will solve the problems of neglected women farmers. Even if we accept the assertion on its face value, the extension worker-farmer ratio fixed under extension programmes, plus the fact that it was required of the

extension workers to cover a specified geographical area, should have been significant deterrents for male extension workers to give vent to their male chauvinistic attitudes. At any rate, this is all that can be done administratively. So far as the need to increase the number of female extension worker is concerned, there can hardly be any disagreement.

5 The feminist argument that women are neglected by the Nepalese agricultural extension workers also becomes vapid if one analyzes the likely impact that can be produced by different components of the extension programmes. Field visits by JTs and their training are only a few of the several components that comprise the total package of the Nepalese extension programmes which, theoretically, can be exclusively targeted according to the sex status of the population. Other elements of the extension programmes such as various types of crop competition, method demonstration, result demonstration, holding of fairs and exhibitions etc. cannot by their very nature be exclusively targeted to either males or females. There exists equal probability of both males and females residing in a given locality where such demonstrations take place. There is also equal probability that both males and females will benefit from such activities.

6 Technical agricultural schools in Nepal, modelled after Euro-American practices, it is argued, tend to segregate scientific agriculture as a male field and scientific food knowledge as a female field. This type of segregation tends to devalue "nutrition", which traditionally has been a female field of study. Furthermore, it has also been argued by Mead that this type of segregation tends to reinforce existing differentiation between males and females with respect to job opportunities, income and status (Mead, 1976). Not much is known on the merits and demerits of specialization in a given field of study. However, given the generally low level of knowledge

displaced by many extension workers and agricultural technicians, which as already noted has almost become a folklore in Nepal, there seem to be obvious benefits from specialization.

7. It is sometime argued that large-scale organized marketing of agricultural produce tends to take away several food-related activities from local producers to national and international markets and thereby produce adverse consequences on women's welfare. In Nepal there are three semi-public organizations which are responsible for marketing of agricultural produce. Their operations, however, are confined either to export from surplus regions, or to selling of food-grains at subsidized rates to food deficit areas of the country. Besides, they were established specifically for the purpose of protecting the interests of consumers and producers against malpractices by profiteers and black-marketeers, on the one hand, and to hedge against international price fluctuations, on the other. Accordingly, while these organizations can be criticized on several counts for their bureaucratic bunglings and for not making adequate efforts to extend their activities to rural areas, they can hardly be criticized as agents responsible for undercutting traditional productive roles of women. Quite the contrary, the organizations protect the interests of women both as producers and consumers.

We are of the opinion that all future planning efforts for agricultural development in Nepal should be based on districtwise techno-economic survey and assessment of factor endowments and should follow a "sequential approach." By sequential approach we mean planning systematically the sequence of changes that any given development input will help promote agricultural growth. A "critical path method" may be used and activities may be planned so as to tackle "first things first." Therefore, if the benefits of development is to reach the rural poor masses, and if their development is to be viable in the long run,

the primary emphasis in rural development programmes has to be on the establishment of a few clear priorities based within the feasible boundary delineated by the findings of the techno-economic survey. Within this boundary local people can exercise their social choice, however limited it may be, and share the benefits of development in a measurable way. Under such an approach it would be administratively feasible to focus attention on the frequent need for broad-based development of the agricultural sector and yet be possible to concentrate on critical constraints that are unique and peculiar to a particular district. This will also help avoid the need to disperse limited resources over too many lines of activity.

#### Prospects for Future

Provided that the recently released Fundamental Objectives of the Sixth Plan (1980-85) (NPC, HMG/N, 1968) can be operationalized in terms of feasible programmes and projects, the overall direction of future development in Nepal is going to be more favourable for increase in women's economic roles and female status. Several aspects of the Fundamental Objectives that justify optimism are as follows:

(i) The striking feature of the Fundamental Objectives of the Sixth Plan is the modesty of GDP growth objectives (5 percent per annum) combined with pronounced emphasis on job creation (equivalent to 2.3 million man years) plus redirection of social services and productive inputs for the benefit of the poor. Topmost priority has been given to the development of agriculture sector followed by social, industrial and transport sectors. This is a major departure from the capital-intensive, growth-oriented, overhead and infrastructure themes of the preceding plans. Accordingly, we can expect not only greater absorption of female labour in industry and agriculture but also a

realignment of investment undertakings with the needs and requirements of women. The egalitarian thrust of the new strategy should create a congenial climate for adoption of the small family norm and raise the demand for family planning services. The emphasis on water supply (to at least 40 percent of the total population), rural health centers and village community health workers should reduce infant and child mortality and thereby weaken the rationale for parents producing more progeny. The priority given to the provision of elementary education for 85 to 90 percent of school-going children combined with special measures for raising female enrollment at all levels of the educational pyramid should help raise the status of women.

(ii) The participatory theme of the new development strategy emphasizes participation in making decisions that affect workers and citizens. Accordingly, all 75 districts are expected to come up with their own five year plans. Decentralization of planning combined with the redivision of the country in areas or sub-areas of influence should facilitate women's access to decision-making units. There is however, the lurking danger that increased opportunities for social mobility in the rural areas may lead to immurement of women. However, this may not happen, if the new development strategy is accompanied by search for "integrative" type of projects which can facilitate not only the establishment of linkages between the traditional and modern sectors but also lead to upgradation of technology in rural areas at low costs. To the extent that such projects are actually implemented, women's involvement in the production process will be more direct and perceptible. This will also help to eliminate the sharp distinction existing at present between women who are responsible for the production of simple use-values for the home and family, and men who are responsible for the production of commodities with exchange-values in the market.

(iii) Women from burgeois class will increasingly experience greater conflict in combining traditional and modern roles. Domestic servants will cost more and extended kin-networks will be one of the first to be destroyed with modernization in urban areas. To the extent that the feminist movement in Nepal insists on equal division of parental property between the sexes, kinship obligation will further decrease in intensity. Burgeois women will experience "double exploitation" of work outside the home combined with domestic responsibilities. Working women's "dual role" (intra and extra - mural chores) will also sharpen the class differences among women. This will be more than enough to cause polarization in the women's organization. However the "role conflict" of the working women's experience may also provide an alternative source of leverage for real change. Demand for "protective" legislation may be substituted for equal "cultural freedom" to contract work in the labour force. Women will be exposed to all the contradictions of a class stratified society, in addition to their own role conflict.

## Chapter Three

### MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT TECHNOLOGY AND PARTICIPATION

#### Development Strategies Related to Employment, Technology, Trade and Industries

All the past five plans have projected an increase in the labour force during the relevant time period but no plan set targets to provide additional employment for absorbing new entrants to the labour market.

In fact, the model draft of the Second Five Year Plan which was released in June 1960 was, as latter events showed, the first among the past plan documents, to provide a specific quantitative target for employment promotion. It was envisaged in the plan document that half a million new jobs would be created in the agricultural sector. (Pant 1962: 134).

With regard to policies and programmes, all the plans have emphasized the use of labour-intensive techniques of production against the background of high rates of population and labour force growth which have resulted in growing pressures on the labour market. There is an accompanying tendency to assume that the solution lies in raising the price of capital in relation to labour and thereby inducing more labour-intensive technological choices. However, most of the time such an assumption has proved wrong. There are many reasons for this. First, the technological alternatives assumed by planners do not exist in reality. Till now the National Planning Commission has not even been able to probe the validity of its assumption by local empirical data. Second, in the absence of local evidence on the labour absorptive capacity of different types of techniques, donor agencies have a field-holiday to impose their own mechanistic norms for most of the development projects. In fact, the heavy dependency on



foreign aid for carrying out development activities has been a major deterrent in identifying technological alternatives in the public sector. Third, Nepalese planners need to be made aware of the fact that, inspite of increase in labour force, the price of labour rises more rapidly than the price of capital inputs. The reason for rise in the price of labour is to be found in the widening gap between increased demand for food and smaller increments to output. This is tantamount to saying that money value of wages paid in kind goes up and correspondingly cash wages also rise. The high price of output provides an incentive for ploughing more capital in the production process, particularly when the price of capital inputs tends to grow at a slower rate than the price of labour (Rao 1974: 33-65). Of especial significance is the fact that, as between male and female labour, the latter happens to be displaced first in the process of ploughing back capital in the production process. Historical evidence indicates that in the process of labour displacement by capital, female labour tends to be displaced first by male labour, then by draught animals, then by introduction of biological and chemical technology and finally by mechanical technology. This type of adverse impact on employment opportunities in general, and that of females in particular, cannot be checked by negative measures alone. What is needed is positive policy measures directed towards increasing labour demand by way of reducing relative labour costs to employers.

Another element that has been common to all the five plans is the promotion of rural employment through intensification of agriculture and necessary infrastructure; as also the organization of rural works programmes designed to mobilize rural labour. Promotion of self-employment opportunities have also been a major policy concern in all the plans but worthwhile programmes and projects are conspicuous by their absence.

Nepalese planners have also laid considerable stress on conventional wisdom, inspired by the western experience, that offers industrialization as the solution to the problem of employment. In this regard the Third Plan (1965-70) observed that "employment opportunities outside of agriculture must expand, not only to stimulate economic growth but also to maintain existing income levels. One of the primary objective of the Third Plan ... is to transfer labour from agriculture to other sectors" (National Planning Council 1965: 48). However, as the expectation of rapid industrialization failed to materialize, attention has been shifted to policy measures such as extension of credit and modern farming techniques, and establishment of dispersed small and medium scale labour-intensive, capital-saving industry in the rural areas. The problems associated with urbanization are basically conceived as a problem of the primate cities and trading centres. However, in the absence of a prosperous agricultural sector, no rural industry has appeared as yet and the primacy of cities and trading centres is increasing instead of decreasing.

In addition to the creation of jobs in sheer numbers, the income dimension of employment and the reduction of social inequalities have also been incorporated as policy objectives in all the five plans. In this regard the recurrent theme has been land reform. The effect of land reform programmes implemented in a "phased" manner after 1964 has led to the emergence of an urban bourgeois class which has been capable of disentangling itself from the landed interest by transferring its wealth to the mercantile sector. Consequently, it has been able to make radical noises with the intension of securing a rural power base for itself. Since the urban bourgeois class has not yet been able to develop enough capability to confront the rural "kulaks" effectively, land reform has acquired the name of a reform which is never to be implemented. One serious consequence emanating from the radical noises of the urban bourgeois class has been the feeling of uncertainty

among the rural "kulaks." This has led to the postponment of much needed capital investment in the agricultural sector.

In recent years, replacement of foreign labourers by national labourers, particularly in the manufacturing and construction sectors, has been a major concern of the government. This has also been stated as one of the important objectives of a rather young Labour Department which is expected to arrange for necessary training programmes. In the absence of a well thought out training programme, on the one hand, and necessary facilities, on the other, no concrete result has been achieved in this regard.

One of the main difficulties in carrying development projects through has been shortage of trained technicians. In order to overcome this shortage two very important steps have been taken so far. First, more and more training facilities have been established. In addition, men and women have also been sent abroad for training. Their number is increasing every year. Second, a vocational bias has been introduced in the education system with the intention of solving the problem of educated unemployment. The results achieved so far in both these respects have been somewhat mixed. Foreign trained technicians have not been effectively utilized and the concept of vocational education is not yet acceptable to the majority of the population.

All five plans have emphasized the need for adopting a long-term perspective regarding the population problem. Recently, a high powered National Population Planning Council has also been established. However, as yet no long-term plan has been formulated. In the earlier plans, the problem was viewed as a problem emanating mainly from a persistently high birth rate and a rapidly declining death rate requiring vigorous family planning measures. In recent plans however the emphasis has shifted to overall population planning and integration of demographic variables in the development process. The accompanying

tendency to emphasize "beyond family planning measures" is also to be noted (e.g. reduction in the allowance for children for tax purpose).

An important element of population planning in all plans has been the problem of migration from the depressed regions of the Hills towards the relatively prosperous regions of the Terai where man-land ratio is comparatively low. This aspect of population planning is further discussed in the following section of this chapter.

#### Extent of Unemployment and Underemployment

Table 3:1 indicates that at the national level, 5.32 percent of the economically active male and 5.99 percent of the economically active female are unemployed. The percentage of underutilized working days in rural areas is 58 percent for male and 69 percent for females. (Table 3:2).

Table 3:1

RURAL AND URBAN UNEMPLOYED AS PERCENT  
OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE 1971  
(In percentage)

Model of Living	Male	Female	Both
Rural	5.47	5.68	5.57
Urban	4.52	10.20	5.98
National	5.32	5.99	5.62

Source: National Planning Commission, Employment, Income, Distribution and Consumption Pattern in Nepal (Kathmandu: 1977) p. 57, mimeographed.

As high as 19 percent of the economically active (20 percent in rural and 12 percent in the urban areas) males and females have two jobs--main and subsidiary (NPC, HMG/N 1977: 9). Of the total economically active females, 62.45 percent of them happen to perform household chores besides participation in some kind of main occupation (Ibid.: 52).

Table 3:2  
AVERAGE PER CAPITA UTILIZATION OF FAMILY LABOUR BY  
DEVELOPMENT REGIONS IN NEPAL AGRICULTURE YEAR 1977

Development Regions	Per Capita Working Days Annual Average		Utilization of Per Capita Working Days		Per Capita Unutilized Working Days			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total		Percentage	
					Male	Female	Male	Female
Eastern	312	312	133	89	179	223	57	71
Central	328	327	137	103	191	224	58	69
Western	302	305	148	96	154	209	57	68
Far Western	335	336	118	107	217	229	64	68
NEPAL	320	320	134	99	186	221	58	69

Source: National Planning Commission HMG/N, Employment, Income Distribution and Consumption Pattern in Nepal (Kathmandu: 1977) p. 19, mimeographed (in Nepali).

#### Urbanization and Migration

Movement of population from rural to urban areas is not a major problem in Nepal. However, inter-regional migration has always been a problem. A concise summary of the nature of migration process is embraced in the following quote:

The one way pattern of internal migration from the Hills to the Terai has always been in search of amenable land in the Terai rather than the urban areas. Urban settlements which obviously reflect differences in ways of life, standard of living, and higher educational attainment are not so far ahead of rural areas in many other aspects. The rural sector being highly illiterate has no surplus of educated or skilled labour to dispatch to the city, where certain technical qualifications are usually needed. The great variety of jobs in the city, better prospects for economic advancement, and the desire for social and economic independence are strong inducement for young educated or trained persons to leave the country-side, especially if land is short or fragmented and the population pressure is increasing rapidly. But in fact, these incentives are attracting only a negligible proportion of the population to migrate to the city. It attracts only those who have acquired certain standards of education or technical abilities. Finally, expansion in the secondary and tertiary sectors was comparatively too small to act as a stimuli for a discernable rural to urban migration (CBS, HMG/N 1977: 35-36).

A distinguishing feature of out-migration is its degree of male selectivity. "Nepal has for a long time experienced a continuous stream of out-migration on the male side. Migration starts at approximately age 15 and continues up to age 50 where a return back to the country at this age is probably only a recent occurrence" (Ibid.: 70).

Population redistribution, planned migration, resettlement schemes and regional development, all have been the recurrent theme in Nepalese plans. The establishment of a separate organization under the name of the Nepal Punarvas Company to supervise the resettlement tasks is indicative of the importance attached by Nepalese planners to resettlement schemes as a means to ameliorate the problem of migrants from the Hills to the Terai. Settlement schemes was a natural way to proceed when spare land was available in the Terai. Since the availability of spare land has declined over the years, planners'

attention has been shifted to development of the Hill areas. Experience gained from past resettlement programmes has shown that the costs relative to benefits of clearing, preparing and settling new land are usually high, and they compare very unfavourably with carefully selected intensification. Apart from cost consideration, land allocated for the poor has actually passed into the hands of the rich and inequalities prevalent on old lands has been replicated. Besides, landless peasants who migrated with the expectation of being settled in settlement areas but were unfortunate to get proper accommodation, have been forced under the circumstances to settle themselves in squatter settlements. This has led to the destruction of valuable forest. Squatter settlements have also given rise to problems of maintaining law and order in and around the settlement areas which has especially impinged on the welfare of women and children.

Programmes aimed at development of infrastructure in the Hills and the remote areas have also been ineffective in realizing the goals of regional development. There are several reasons for this. First, such a strategy cannot tackle the problems of poverty emanating from inter-class inequities. Second, it cannot provide viable solutions to the problems of the sick and the disabled whose welfare within a given household is the immediate concern of women. Third, costs associated with infrastructure development in the Hills and the remote areas are astonishingly high as compared to similar programmes located in other regions of the country. Fourth, the tiny frame of the average village or district in Nepal cannot accommodate the infrastructure, input, consumer-supply and the processing requirements of a modernizing agriculture, nor can it offer an expansion of jobs outside of agriculture. Last, but not the least, infrastructure development so far completed in the Hills and the remote areas have been poorly planned in the sense that they have either little or no

relevance to the requirements of commodity production in these areas. There has been virtual stagnation of commodity production in the Hills and the remote areas of the country inspite of the infrastructure development that has taken place so far.

### Policy Options

#### Population Policy

The fact that in Nepal high fertility rate deters women's participation in the labour force and thereby places limitations on their geographic and social mobility in various ways means that direct fertility reduction programmes must not be given a low priority in any reorientation of policies in the direction of raising the status and economic role of women. Our impatience with thus far inadequate response to direct fertility reduction programmes must not discourage us to the reality that although alternative approaches such as reducing infant mortality, improving women's status and income distribution constitute important policy objectives in themselves, it is much more difficult to argue that progress in these areas will either be easier to accomplish than progress in family planning or that it will have a strong or cost-effective impact in terms of fertility reductions. However, because of the duration of time required to bring about changes in the fertility level, such programmes must necessarily be a part of a long-term rather than a short-term development strategy.

#### Labour Transfer Scheme

One major option to provide increased employment to both men and women in a country like Nepal would be to promote greater mobility of labour. "If surplus labour cannot be transferred from rural to



urban areas, the solution lies in siphoning off surplus labour from one region to another within the same country." (Bose 1979: 19).

Implementation of such a programme requires a fundamental change in the system of labour recruitment practices as currently practiced in Nepal. Looked from the point of view of the society as a whole, labour recruitment through private contractors is an inefficient method of manpower utilization. Private contractors need to make every effort to minimize the cost of recruitment even though additional cost incurred in recruiting labour from surplus areas may have high pay-offs from the social point of view. In a situation like this establishment of labour banks could be very effective for utilizing surplus labour. As Bose (Ibid.: 20) would argue:

These agencies could recruit labour systematically from surplus areas and transfer it to deficit areas. It is well known that there is full employment during harvest time in rural areas; in fact in the green revolution areas there is a shortage during peak season. Schemes to generate such mobility of labour would obviate the need for mechanization of agriculture, which is going on in green revolution areas, even though there is surplus labour in the country as a whole... The cost of migration could be cut down by introducing free travel passes [or similar travel grants] and as far as possible migration could be confined to workers or group of family workers, excluding dependents. There could be short-term training programmes and orientation courses. Workers could be housed in self-help, low cost camps and not left to fend for themselves. A central labour bank could keep a continuous watch on the employment market and direct the flow of labour throughout the country. Distance need not deter any migrant under such a scheme. The familiar process of step-migration should be skipped and the maximum mobility of labour generated. In the matter of recruitment, preference should be given to landless workers in rural areas and marginal workers in urban areas... The question of regulation of wages and enforcing a minimum wage rate must also be tackled effectively.

In the context of Nepal, the different tiers of the Panchayats and various class organizations could act as subsidiaries of the central labour bank so far as collection of adequate information on supply of and demand for labour is concerned. Through them it may also be possible to extend some of the activities of the Labour Department which hitherto has been confined to urban areas only. Besides, provision of the labour laws may also be extended to rural areas whenever appropriate.

One unique advantage accruing to Nepal from labour transfer schemes would be in the form of replacement of Indian labourers working in Nepal whose volume, although unknown, is considered to be quite substantial. Accordingly, a properly organized labour transfer scheme will also avoid the need of a direct "diplomatic" confrontation with India which is entailed in the hitherto discussed proposal of not allowing Indians to work inside Nepal.

When we suggest that employment should be generated by encouraging increased temporary, seasonal mobility of labour as per Bose' reasoning we realize that readers may draw irate reactions. Comments may run along the line that such a scheme would be incompatible with women's child-care responsibilities, that the hardship entailed in long distance travel in a country like Nepal with rudimentary network of roads etc. will be too much for women to bear and also that customary practice has been to shield women from contact with men. Whether or not we are correct in anticipating this type of reaction, it takes us to the heart of the matter, namely the need to encourage spatial mobility of labour to facilitate increased participation of women in the labour force as well as the need to enhance social mobility of

women by way of promoting their geographical mobility. Expanding this theme a little bit further is important in order to drive home some of its implications as it relates to the economic role and status of women.

At the outset it may be noted that a labour transfer scheme could be made compatible with women's child-care responsibilities if adequate provisions are made for necessary facilities in and around the workplace. Hardship involved in long-distance travel could be minimized when such schemes are implemented in an organized manner under the guidance and supervision of agencies such as the Labour Department and the Panchayats. Furthermore, there is always the possibility of confining migration to those who are free of child-care responsibilities and are prepared to bear some of the hardship in long distance travel. The social stigma attached to female exposure to male contact may not be an issue at all for lower class women seeking wage employment. It may also be a non-issue if migration is organized in groups of family workers or groups of female workers. Finally, we may also note that, even if the idea of generating temporary, seasonal mobility of labour is considered of no direct relevance to the problem of female employment in Nepal, its indirect relevance cannot be belittled. When the supply of male labourers is greater than the demand, men may invade traditionally feminine fields of work. If this is true, seasonal migration, even if confined to male labourers only, could provide indirect benefits to female labourers by taking the pressure of unemployment off in those places from where such migration may originate.

Having discussed the relevance of a labour transfer scheme as one of the possible solutions to unemployment problems, we may also note some of its limitations. Such a programme would be relevant to cope with the unemployment problems of only those men and women who

are looking for some kind of wage employment, such as landless labourers. Such programmes would not be of direct relevance to those who are self-employed and are already overworked. In Nepal, most self-employed also happen to fall within the overworked category. For them employment is not the main issue. Since most of them are already overworked, they will not make use of additional work opportunities even if such opportunities are available. For these men and women, growth in income is the main issue and the solution lies in increasing their productivity by way of promoting access to credit facilities, new inputs and technology and other public facilities.

#### Rural Public Works Programmes

Rural public works programmes in a country like Nepal can be justified in terms of three important considerations. First, there exists very limited possibility of transferring labour permanently from the agricultural sector. Besides, past experience of most under-developed countries, including Nepal, shows that growth of employment in the industrial sector occurs at a much slower rate than the growth in their output. Accordingly, for the purpose of solving the unemployment problem in countries like Nepal industrialization per se would not be of much help.

Second, in the absence of industries as generators of employment, agriculture will have to be the residual employer. In this regard it has not been uncommon to initiate various types of rural development programmes with a view to modernize the agriculture sector. However, such programmes also tend to run into constraints in the supply of capital and, in general, they have not materially affected the unemployment situation.

Third, whatever may be the need for activities that are labour-intensive and have distributional impact on the low-end poor, employment generating programmes in countries like Nepal should not interfere with the efficient development of its progressive sectors. Consequently, major expansion of employment opportunities in trade and services either in the public or the private sector is extremely difficult.

Regarding the advantages of public works construction as an antipoverty initiative, one cannot do better than quote Lewis (Lewis 1972: 85-112) who observes:

(a) Construction is technologically fairly plastic; in low wage economies labour intensive models of construction tend to be relatively cost-effective.

(b) Accordingly, the share of labour costs and, more particularly, of unskilled labour costs in the total project costs can be high--which is to say, large fractions of antipoverty outlays can be directed to the low-end poor.

(c) Compared with other forms of additive employment, public construction is likely to have few adverse effects on the efficiency of the progressive sectors of the economy or on their competitive capacity in international markets.

(d) At the same time a major expansion of rural public works can, by placing additional demand on the rural labour market, be the most effective means in some countries of improving the bargaining position of agricultural labour and thereby of promoting the income redistribution that an antipoverty program requires.

(e) Public works programmes can also serve as a useful transition between agriculture and non-agricultural employment by giving large number of villagers their first acquaintance with non-agricultural operations and work discipline.

(f) As for its potential aggregative proportions, public construction is in principle variable and controllable. It can be undertaken on whatever scale a government wishes or can finance; and, subject to the lags in decision-making and implementation, it can be varied incrementally.

(g) Finally, the variety of projects with high social benefit - cost characteristics that are still not built is enormous.

One special feature of rural public works programme is its spatial characteristic. Being area specific, such programmes can be taken to those places where it is most needed. By avoiding the need to migrate in search of employment opportunities, public works programmes can be of special significance to females, especially in the remote areas of Nepal where the urgency to alleviate poverty is utmost. Besides, such programmes can also be tailored in accordance with the regional objectives of our plans in which checking the flow of migrants from the Hills to the Terai has been a major policy concern.

Having noted several salutary features of the rural public works programmes we may as well note some of the precautions that need to be taken while designing and implementing such programmes.

The Chinese experience indicates that rural public works programme should be specially geared to fulfill the needs of the rural family. Once the needs of the family are satisfied to a certain level, and only on that condition, can such programmes be transformed to take account broader social aims.

Indian experience indicates, that the ultimate objective of rural public works programmes as an antipoverty alleviation measure can be effective only if certain conditions are fulfilled. For example, wage, as against salary component in total expenditure for

all projects, needs to be high. Import requirements need to be drastically minimized by adopting local technology which can effectively use local resources and local labour in order to internalize the multiplier effects of such programmes. What has been said regarding international imports may equally apply to imports from other regions of the same country also. As far as possible, not more than one person should be employed from any one family, and preference should be given to persons least likely to find alternative employment. Projects must not be executed by private contractors, but are to be administered by local public agencies such as the Panchayats. A proper agency must be designated beforehand as the agency responsible for maintenance. Funds are to be released on the basis of strict scrutinization of progress and yet too much of centralization has to be avoided. Local planning capability, especially engineering capability, must be strengthened so that sufficient number of viable projects are made available for financing. Post-construction employment opportunities are also to be planned beforehand. For housing purposes a "camp" approach may be adopted so that other socially desirable activities such as education, family planning, training in crafts can also be undertaken during workers's spare time. Whenever the nature of work permits, piece work rates may be introduced which can speed up work and make labourers willing to work longer hours to finish jobs earlier. Piece work rate system can also tackle effectively the problem of wage discrimination against women, if there is any. Furthermore, workers may be paid partially in kind so that one of the objectives of nutrition programme is also realized.

We may as well note some of the limitations of rural public works programmes. Just like labour transfer schemes, such programmes cannot be of much relevance to those men and women who are self-employed and are over-worked. Its indirect relevance is, however, vast. As noted earlier, the main issue for the self-employed groups is growth in income by way of introducing new technology in their existing occupation.

Doubts have sometimes been expressed that rural public works programmes would not be of much relevance in helping the poor except under conditions of extremely far-reaching reforms. In this regard, it is said that those who labour to construct capital assets under rural public works programmes will capture most of the benefits in the form of wages only during the construction phase and subsequent annual maintenance. These people will not be the sole or major beneficiaries of the extra output stream yielded by investments during the utilization phase because they will not own the land which such investments complement.

While this is true, it is not a major issue in the particular context of Nepal. The proportion of landless labourers in Nepal is relatively small whereas that of small and marginal farmers is very high. There is a compulsion to consider small and marginal farmers themselves as the target group under any rural public works programmes. Moreover, the landless can be made to gain much more during the utilization phase by allocating high priority to irrigation under such programmes. Various studies have reported that irrigation at least doubtless the demand for labour per unit of land.

Four non-inflationary sources of financing public works programmes, as has been suggested by Lewis (1977: 85-112) are: (i) food aid, (ii) conventional taxes, (iii) tapping of financial sources below the national level and (iv) capital gains tax on land use. Whatever may be the method of financing, food supplies as "wage goods" is bound to be a major constraint for launching a bold public works programme. Accordingly, supplies of such goods have to be planned before any programmes are actually launched.



### Integrative Investment, Planning and Technology:

In Nepal the rapid growth of population of the past twenty or twenty five years has led to an excess supply of unskilled labourers. Since most of them cannot be absorbed in wage employment, the bulk of unskilled labourer is self-employed as small farmers, rural artisans, and members of the rapidly growing urban informal sector. For these self-employed groups, income growth as well as employment opportunities are limited. To a greater extent they are outside the organized market economy with which they have only weak links. Of these self-employed unskilled workers women are proportionately greater than men.

In a situation like this, if income generating activities of the self-employed in general, and that of women in particular, are to be increased in a meaningful way, planners need to consciously look and plan for "integrative" type of investments in which technological upgradation of the unorganized sector takes place at low costs. This could be made possible by planning traditional and household sector activities as ancillaries around a major project, preferably in the public sector.

So far as the scope for such "integrative" type of investment undertakings are concerned there need be in Nepal no shortage of cases where complementarities between dairying plants and cooperative milk production exist.

The concept of integrative investment and technology has several implications for investment planning. First, in the evaluation of a project, a planner need to look out for the relationship of the project to the objectives of the plan. Second, the technological upgradation question has to be resolved at the local level in relation to the felt needs and development potentialities of the unorganized

sector. Third, it is worth remembering that the pertinent issues in an "integrative" type of investment programme may have to do more for marketing and infrastructure support rather than to the technique of production process as such. Fourth, both external and internal pressures to impose mechanistic "cost" or "technological norms" are to be resisted. Accordingly, the "social efficiency" criteria adopted for project evaluation have to be carefully reformulated in terms of their relevance to the fundamental objectives of the development plans.

In the particular context of Nepal, "integrative" planning can be the single most effective planning instrument for ensuring that development is more inclusive and evenly spread not only between the sexes but also among different classes and regions. By its very nature, "integrative" investments can be specifically targeted to the requirements of the self-employed groups in which women happen to be heavily concentrated. Child-care responsibilities have particularly limited impact on women's employment as well as occupational mobility. "Integrative" investment undertakings by bringing income generating activities closer to homes will make child-care responsibilities of women compatible to women's employment. Above all, integrative type of investment undertakings will avoid the need to provide subsidy and other kinds of special efforts required to promote the marketability of products produced by the so-called 'women in development projects.'

#### Substitution of High Value Crops for Low Value Crops

Most economically active women in Nepal are self-employed farmers and artisans engaged in low income yielding activities. Their income could be substantially increased if high value crops could be substituted for the low value crops which they cultivate at present. This of course needs to be done in such a way that no adverse impact will occur on the

nutritional requirements of the population. Vegetable farming, dairying, poultry, piggery and the like could also be introduced in their farms. Such a proposal, however, presupposes that demand for such crops and animal products do exist in the local markets which may not always be true. Nevertheless, women farmers located in and around urban centres will immensely benefit if such a proposal could be implemented. Support needed in this regard will be mainly in the form of short-term credit from financial institutions

## Chapter Four

### EDUCATION

#### The Pre-Planning Period (1951-1955)

This period can be described as the beginning of the period of educational expansion and reconstruction. The impetus given to education towards the end of the Rana period, combined with the general freedom movement in the country, led to a surge of growth and expansion of educational institutions.

With the help of American aid, primary schools were expanded, a teacher training program was established, adult literacy classes were opened, and provision was made for the preparation and printing of textbooks. Colleges were established, both in the Kathmandu Valley and in the hinterlands, and a national university was organized. (Wood 1965: 11)

Accordingly, within a short span of three to four years, the number of primary and middle schools reached to 1,237, high schools to 83 and colleges to 83 (Wood and Knall 1962: 25). The consequent growth in school enrollment as well as budgetary allocation for education are presented in Table 4:1.

The greatest achievement of this period was however the establishment of a Ministry of Education which, among other things, appointed a Board of Education and also a 56 member National Education Planning Commission in 1953-54. The Education Planning Commission during a year of deliberation mapped out a long-range development programme of education for Nepal. Among others, the stated objectives of the plan included: "(a) universal, free, compulsory primary education by 1965, (b) free, multipurpose (vocational) secondary education available on the ratio of one school for every 10,000 population by 1975, (c) co-ordination of higher education through a national university by 1965,

Table 4:1

GROWTH IN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND BUDGETARY ALLOCATION FOR EDUCATION:  
1951, 1954 and 1961

Level of Educational Establishment	Age Group	Percentage of Population in Schools in 1951	Percentage of Population in Schools in 1954	Percentage of Population in Schools in 1961	Percentage Increase in Budgetary Allocation Over 1951	Percentage Increase in Budgetary Allocation Over 1954
Primary	6-10	0.90	5.60	15.80	162	748.24
Secondary	11-15	0.30	1.60	2.10	{ 420	{ 105.19
College	16-19	0.40	0.10	0.70	{	{
Total	-	0.10	0.90	2.20	321	195.79

Source: Hugh B. Wood and Bruno Kanal, 1962.

and (d) adult education for all who desire it by 1965" (Nepal National Education Planning Commission 1965: 80).

Unfortunately, no documentary evidence for this period are available to assess the relative impact of the growth of education on males and females separately. However, since every period of rapid expansion of education especially supported by the state, has accompanied a similar advancement of female education everywhere, it may be surmised that female education must have been affected much more favourably than that for males.

#### The First Plan Period (1956-1961)

The rapid expansion and reconstruction of the educational system observed during 1951-55 period continued in this period also. It can be seen from Table 4:1 that the percentage enrollment in all three levels of the educational establishments increased from 0.9 percent of school age population in 1954 to 2.2 percent in 1961. Of special significance in this regard is the growth in female education. Commenting on the massive growth of female education in all three levels of educational establishments during this period, Wood and Knall observed: "since 1951, women have moved rapidly toward a position of equal status to men" (Wood and Knall 1962: 34). The above average growth in female school enrollment observed during this period is presented in Table 4:2.

Table 4:2

#### GROWTH OF FEMALE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN NEPAL: 1954 & 1961

Education Establishment	Female Enrollment as Percentage of Total	
	In 1954	In 1961
Primary (1-5 Years)	4.1	37.0
Secondary (6-10 Years)	6.2	19.0
Higher (10 + Years)	4.8	15.0

Source: As per Table 4:1: 34-46.

The rapid expansion of education witnessed during this period was, however, not without fault. "Many schools were opened quickly, often without adequate planning, financing, or facilities. Nearly all of them charged tuition and catered to the more favoured socio-economic classes" (Wood 1965: 34). The resultant chaos prevailing in the educational system during this period and the consequent deterioration in the quality of education has been fully documented in the report of the Nepal National Educational Planning Commission of 1954-55 as well as the report of the 1962 UNESCO Mission to Nepal. Accordingly, both the Planning Commission and the UNESCO Mission called for massive, long-range, continuous efforts to bring about far reaching improvements in the educational programmes. Among others, common points of recommendations made by both the reports included: remodelling of the curriculum, improvement in the instruction methods of primary and secondary schools as well as of the colleges, reduction in the attrition rate of students, greater emphasis on professional and technical education in higher institutes of learning, consolidation of existing liberal arts and science colleges, raising of the standard of higher education, continued improvement of teacher's training programmes, development of an effective supervisory system of educational establishments, promotion of adult education, consolidation of the numerous technical training institutions, initiation of education research and channelizing future education-flow in terms of the manpower requirements of the country.

#### The Second and the Third Plan Period (1961-1970)

The education planning strategy within the second and the third plan periods were very much influenced by the Karachi Declaration of 1962/63 and the recommendations made by the Nepal National Education Planning Commission of 1954 and the UNESCO Mission to Nepal of 1962. In accordance with the Karachi Declaration, both plans aimed at providing

universal free primary education by 1980, whereas in accordance with the recommendations made by the Nepal National Education Planning Commission, and the UNESCO Mission to Nepal, special emphasis was laid on reduction of drop-out rates by way of improvement in the quality of teaching in all three levels of educational system. In addition, both the plans also emphasized the need for vocational education.

Data to evaluate the impact of educational development by sex during this period are available in the 1961 and 1971 censuses.

Comparing 1961 with 1971, Table 4:3 indicates that both sexes have benefitted from nation-wide programmes aiming at accelerating the development in education. Percentagewise, literacy among females increased even faster than among males.

Table 4:3

PROPORTION OF LITERATE POPULATION OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE IN 1961 AND 1971 BY SEX

Year	Total	Male	Female
1961	8.92	16.36	1.76
1971	14.82	24.76	3.66

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal, Kathmandu: 1977, p. 124.

In this regard, it may also be noted that "efforts to achieve greater equality of education are particularly reflected by the fact that literacy among females in all rural areas had advanced rapidly", between 1961 and 1971 (CBS 1977: 136).



In spite of the impressive improvement in the literacy status acquired during the 1961-1971 period, females were lagged far behind males, "While literacy proportion in the male age group 15-19 was five times higher than female literacy proportion in the same age-group, the opportunity for a female to acquire higher educational status diwindled with age and the difference became more pronounced at advanced ages" (CBS 1977: 125-128).

An important factor that deterred advancement of female education in this period was shortage of female teachers as is evidenced by the following quote:

While promotion of female enrollment amounted to 14 percent of total enrolled students at all levels, the percentage of female teachers did not exceed 4 percent. Moreover, it was extremely difficult for the authorities to find female teachers who were willing to work in remote areas. Although mixed education in the primary stage which is applied in Nepal is probably helping to some extent in solving the problem of teacher scarcity, still it is not completely accepted in all regions. A large section of the population would accordingly abstain from sending their girls to a mixed school (CBS 1977: 141).

#### The Fourth Plan Period (1971-75)

A separate National Education System Plan for five years was introduced in 1971 and was promptly integrated with the Fourth Five-Year Plan, even though one full year had elapsed since its introduction. Among others, the National Education System Plan aimed at harmonization of the diverse education sub-systems functioning in the country, introduction of substantial applied and practical bias in the curriculum of the educational system, decentralization of educational facilities to the countryside and ensuring accessibility to potential students.

students from disadvantaged strata and underdeveloped regions. Accordingly, a new educational system was created with the following objectives: (Ministry of Education 1971)

- (a) Primary education will be extended from class 1 to 3 and will aim at literacy.
- (b) Lower secondary education will extend from class 4 to 7 and will aim at character building.
- (c) Secondary education will extend from class 8 to 10, and its aim will be to produce skilled workers by imparting vocational training.
- (d) First level higher education will be the certificate level, and its aim will be to produce low-level technical manpower.
- (e) The second level of higher education will be the diploma level and its aim will be to produce middle level technical manpower.

In terms of enrollment rates, the National Education System Plan envisioned that of the total population in the age-group 6 to 8, 64 percent will be enrolled in primary schools, 50 percent of the primary school children in lower secondary schools and 40 percent of the secondary school children in higher secondary schools. By the end of the Fourth Plan period, the National Education System Plan was implemented in 51 out of 75 districts of Nepal.

#### The Fifth Five Year Plan (1975-1980)

The above mentioned objectives and targets set forth in the National Education System Plan have been fully incorporated in the Fifth Five-Year Plan with a view to extend it to the remaining 24 districts. In this regard, it may also be noted that special emphasis

is laid on increasing the percentage of female enrollment in primary schools. For this, the Fifth Plan repeating the exhortation made by the National Education System Plan explicitly calls for necessary co-operation from local government units and class organizations (including, Nepal Women's Organization). Furthermore, it has also been explicitly mentioned that special efforts will be made to appoint trained female teachers in the primary schools. Among others, construction of a girl's hostel in Kathmandu has also been planned for the benefit of those girls student who come for higher education from other districts. (NPC 1975: 462-492).

Table 4:4 and 4:5 provide data on current status of female enrollment in different levels of educational establishments. Over the years a steady increase in the percentage of female enrollment in primary and secondary schools is indicated in Table 4:4. This is certainly a cause of satisfaction. Equally satisfactory is the relatively high percentage of female enrollment in subjects such as science, law and medicine taught at higher institutes of learning. This is indicated in Table 4:5. Here it may also be noted that in Nepal science, law and medicine have traditionally been male dominated fields of study. The exceedingly low level of female enrollment in the Institute of Agriculture is, however, at variance with the manpower requirements of the country.

Table 4:4

FEMALE ENROLLMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT:  
1974-1977

Year	Primary	Lower Secondary	Higher Secondary
1974	17.29	16.34	17.29
1975	18.33	16.69	16.94
1976	20.08	17.70	16.93
1977	22.06	18.44	16.55

Source: Unpublished records of the Ministry of Education.

Table 4:5  
 PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE STUDENTS IN INSTITUTE OF  
 HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1977

Institutes	Percentage
Social Science and Humanities	31.8
Public Administration, Commerce and Business Administration	7.2
Science	15.7
Agriculture	0.2
Engineering	3.5
Forestry	0.0
Law	11.6
Sanskrit	1.0
Medicine	34.5

Source: Narsingh Narayan Singh, "Background of Female Education in Nepal and Future Prospects", Ayswarya, Kathmandu 1978: 22.

#### Separate "Women in Development" Projects

Since 1956 and especially after the International Women's Year of 1975, a series of "women in development" pilot projects have been initiated by different women's organizations in the country. Some of the important projects that are directly or indirectly related to the literacy status of the females are as follows:

(i) Women's Affairs Training Centre

This Centre supported by the Ford Foundation in the beginning was established in 1956 for the purpose of training women in home economics; extension as counterpart to agricultural extension workers, who happened to be mainly men at that time. Impetus to establish the centre

specifically came from the recognition that in rural Nepal women have a greater role to play than is presently realized. (Gurung 1978: 1).

At present, the centre provides training in the following fields: clothing, crafts, nutrition, mother and child care, extension methods, health and hygiene, hand and machine knitting, local government, home management, kitchen gardening, family planning and hoisery and carpet weaving. Till now 1,623 women are reported to have been trained by the centre in one or several types of the above mentioned subjects; the duration of which varied from two to twelve months. (Gurung 1978: 2-6).

(ii) Programmes and Projects of the Nepal Women's Organization, Central Advisory Committee

At least five different types of social welfare programmes have been initiated by the Nepal Women's Organization. They are Ratna literacy campaign; functional literacy programmes; skill development projects; legal aid service; and family planning programmes.

The Ratna literacy campaign, named after Her Majesty the Queen Mother is a continuation of the literacy programme of the Nepal Women's Organization which started as early as 1965. This programme, initially started in five districts only, has been extended now to 14 out of 75 districts of Nepal. (Neupane 1978: p 4). Activities initiated under this programme are, however, mainly confined in and around the district headquarters. While recruiting teachers for the programme, preference is given to women workers of the primary committee of the district level women's organization. Under this programme, there are provisions to distribute "handsome" prizes and rewards to individuals and organizations that can make special contribution to female literacy. Textbooks and educational material necessary for the programme are provided by the Adult Education Section of the Ministry of Education of HMG/N.

The Education Department of HMG/N started a functional literacy programme on an experimental basis in 8 districts beginning from the fiscal year 1977-78. The same programme is being further extended to 34 districts through the Nepal Women's Organization. (Neupane 1978:4). Nari Silpa Kala Kendra, a subsidiary organization of the Nepal's Women Organization, is also conducting training programmes in selected crafts in four different centres.

The Skill Development Project "is one of the priority projects undertaken by the Central Advisory Committee of the Nepal's Women Organization [since] the last five years." (Neupane 1978: 5). Supported technically and financially by the World Neighbours, the basic objective of this project is to provide vocational training to rural women so that they may be self-supporting.

The Legal Service Project first started in 1963 has altogether provided services to 3,065 "poor and needy women." (Neupane 1978: 6). The family planning project assisted by the Family Planning International Assistance is currently being conducted in eleven out of 75 districts, (Neupane 1978: 7) in Nepal and aims at providing family planning services to rural women.

### (iii) Mother's Club

The Mother's Club constituted during International Women's Year 1975 and conceived as the major operating wing of the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee has the following plans for the future: opening of nursery school in every neighbourhood, vocational training combined with material and financial support for women who need to supplement their family income, establishment of health posts in villages, female literacy programmes, and different cultural programmes, especially for the benefit of rural women. Currently, this Club is conducting two modest programmes; a day care centre for children of working mothers

and a sewing and knitting training programme for a small group of women. The activities of the Club under both the programmes are confined to Kathmandu district only and is mainly financed by budget transfer from concerned organizations.

(iv) Equality of Access of Women to Education Project

This programme started by the Ministry of Education of HMG/N in 1971, basically aims at primary school teacher's training for females from remote and backward areas. First started in Pokhara and subsequently extended to three other Centres in Dhankuta, Nepalgunj and Jumla, altogether 800 women have received different levels of training under this programme as of May 1978. Currently, hostel construction activities are going on in anticipation of future expansion of the programme.

(v) Programmes of the Women's Services Co-ordination Committee

This committee under the National Social Service Co-ordination Committee has a plan to initiate four different types of programmes in the fiscal year 1978-79 through its various subsidiary organizations at a total cost of Rs.266 thousands (Aryal 1978: 4-6). The planned programmes are: training in cutting and stitching for 25 women, training in agriculture for 25 women, training in weaving and bee-keeping for 40 women, and training in population control programme for 138 women (Aryal 1978).

(vi) Programmes of the Community Service Co-ordination Committee

Programmes currently being undertaken by different subsidiary social organizations are: annual award of merit scholarship to four girls through the Rotary Club of Kathmandu, running of literacy classes for the benefit of 100 women in the next two years by the Samaj Sudhar Club and, conducting of literacy classes for women of the depressed Danuar community in the Kabhre district. (Joshi 1978: 4).

### Relevance of Separate "Women in Development Project"

In Nepal, the need for separate "women in development" projects arises in a context where there already exists a reasonably strenuous, on-going development effort, already pressing on some of the more critical constraints of the system. Viewed against this background, separate projects for women can be justified if these projects are "additive" to on-going projects by way of being financed by extra resources, provide better intervention strategy to solve a given problem and are conceived in manners that promise significant improvement in their cost effectiveness.

Separate "women in development" projects described in the preceding section are not likely to fulfill these criteria. Most on-going projects are financed by inter-agency budget transfers. Consequently, they are competitive rather than complementary to projects already being included in the national development plans. At best they are mere pilot project tokenism that does not bear a semblance to the scale and magnitude of the problems that need to be solved. Besides, the nature of these projects are not at all different from that of similar other projects being conducted by operating ministries and departments of HMG/N. Neither do they provide a better alternative strategy to reach the target population. This has been reflected in the half-hearted support provided by the District Panchayats to these projects even though they are the main beneficiaries of such projects. (Gurung 1978: 7). Considerable doubts also exist regarding the intrinsic merit of such projects. For example, a recently conducted survey indicated that 55 percent of the women being interviewed were not interested in the training provided by the Women Affairs Training Centre, 72.5 percent felt that the training was useful only for running the household whereas another 17 percent said that it was useful for their personal benefit. (Pradhan 1978: 16).



The organizational structure through which separate projects for women are being planned and implemented is heavily dominated by generalist staff with little or no technical background to handle a specialized task. As such it involves heavy administrative over-heads whereas other similar and more capable organizational units of HMG/N are underworked.

#### Geographical Distribution of Educational Facilities

One of the deterrents to girl's education is said to be distance of school from home. "The fact that schooling beyond elementary school often requires students to travel long distances to and from school was pointed to as an often strong cause of high drop - out rates among girls" by the Seminar on Women in Development held in Mexico City in 1975 (Tinker and Bransen 1976: 162). Accordingly, it would certainly be of some interest to provide available data and information on the geographic distribution of educational facilities in Nepal.

As early as 1962, the UNESCO Mission to Nepal reported that considering the lack of specific efforts to maintain a balance, the geographic distribution of primary school measured in terms of percentage of school age population enrolled in primary schools around 1961 showed a fairly even distribution. (Wood and Knall 1962: 32-37). Although, Kathmandu Valley and the industrial and commercial areas of the country were found to lead the rest of the country, in terms of percentage of school enrollment, only three out of a total of thirty-five districts fell below the national average of 15.8 percent. (Ibid.) In contrast, the 1962 UNESCO Mission, observed considerable imbalances in the distribution of secondary schools and colleges. The national average of secondary school enrollment was 2.1 percent of secondary school-age children. (Ibid.) The percentage of enrollment in 11 out of the 35 districts was half of the national average, whereas in 5 districts it was as low as 0.8 percent. (Ibid.) As regards colleges,

10 out of the 29 liberal arts and science colleges were located in the Kathmandu Valley, 9 were located within a 50-mile radius in Eastern Nepal, and 8 in a similar area in Western Nepal. (Ibid.)

Commenting on the developments that occurred during the decade of 1961 to 1971, the Central Bureau of Statistics says: "Literacy rates of the 20-24 year old population which reflect educational conditions in the 60's, deviated in 1971 by 180 percent between Bagmati Zone and the least advanced zones of Karnali and Seti. Concerning the age-group, 15-19 years old people who have recently attended school, deviations between the most extreme zones - Gandaki 27.9 percent and Karnali 11.1 percent--have been reduced to 151 percent" (CBS 1977: 136-157). In this regard the Central Bureau of Statistics further comments that "efforts to achieve greater equality of education are particularly reflected by the fact that literacy among females in all rural areas have advanced rapidly." (Ibid.: 136).

A look at the census data indicates that some of the important factors that affect regional distribution of literacy rates in Nepal are regional variations in the standard of living, economic opportunities, fertility of the land and nearness to the Indian border. In this context it may also be noted that, between 1961 and 1971, the "enrollment rate in the age-group 20-24 which may be considered as representing enrollment in higher secondary, intermediate and university levels were remarkably consistent with the economic growth in each region and to a very less extent with the educational requirements needed to secure equitable educational advancement." (CBS 1977: 136). Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that inter-regional differences in female literacy rate closely follow inter-regional differences in the level of economic development.

## Rural-Urban Differences

In spite of significant reduction in the regional inequality of educational opportunities over time, both the 1961 and the 1971 censuses indicate a wide difference in proportion literate between urban and rural population. "In the urban areas [taking 16 major towns only] literacy rate was ten times higher than the corresponding rate in the rural areas in 1961. These differentials which seem to have persisted for a long-time more acutely before the 60's have to some extent been reduced in the inter-censal period." (CBS 1977: 129).

Data presented in Table 4:6 indicates that the rural-urban difference in literacy rate observed during 1961 and 1971 was not only more pronounced in the case of females than that of males, but also increased during the intercensal period. In 1961, female literacy rate in urban areas was less than seven times higher than that in rural areas. The corresponding difference in 1971 was more than ten times.

Table 4:6

PROPORTION OF LITERATE POPULATION OVER 10 YEARS  
OF AGE IN 1961 AND 1971 BY MODE OF LIVING

Year	Total	Male	Female
1961: Urban	39.95	57.49	7.72
Rural	7.72	14.61	1.14
1971: Urban	46.95	62.44	28.00
Rural	12.90	22.92	2.70

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal, Kathmandu 1977: p.128.

As with literacy rate, population attending school by urban area (major urban settlements only) indicate that "while enrollment rates were 170 percent higher in the male age-group (6-14) than in rural areas, it was distinctly higher for the same age-group among the females." (CBS 1977: 138). In spite of the extreme rural-urban difference in literacy rate and school enrollment, it must be noted that "however high the enrollment in the urban sector may be, the population residing in urban settlement counts only 3 percent of total population and has no substantive effect on the number of total persons enrolled." (CBS 1977: 143-144).

#### Future Prospects

Although in absolute terms women lag far behind men in education, in relative terms female education is spreading rapidly even in remote rural areas. In spite of the fact that the dropout rate for girls is higher than that for boys, the number of girls possessing high academic degrees is increasing very fast, especially in urban areas. Four important factors which have helped to spread female education in urban areas of Nepal are: (a) increased public expenditure on education which has helped to reduce the cost of education to parents, (b) concern of parents and reformers to improve the miserable plight of divorcees and widows, (c) desire of parents to bridge the gap between educated husband and his ignorant wife and (d) relaxation of the rule that girls should be married before reaching puberty.

In view of recent policy measures adopted by HMG/N, progressive reduction in regional discrepancies and rural urban differences in educational opportunities are to be expected. Decentralization of educational facilities has become a permanent feature of the educational policy of HMG/N. In the socio-economic context of Nepal, substantial reduction in male-female differences in the level of educational attainment can be expected with such a policy combined with increased

The greatest obstacle to women's education in Nepal appears to be parental attitude towards female education. The primary role of girl's is still considered to be marriage for which education is not perceived necessary. Even in urban areas, parental attitude towards girl's education is mostly conditioned by the need to secure an educated marriage partner. In this regard a survey research conducted by Shrestha on accessibility to educational opportunities in four remote districts of Nepal revealed that of the six reasons mentioned by parents for not desiring to have their children educated, girl's role in marriage ranked second in three districts and third in one district; the other reasons mentioned being lack of job opportunities, no previous custom of educating children, insufficient supporting members of households, distance to school and inadequate family income. (Shrestha 1976). Accordingly, the best intervention strategy that can be suggested to fight against such unfavourable parental attitude would be increased public expenditure on education which, by way of reduced cost to the family, can significantly promote female education in Nepal. However, even on this count there is not much to complain. Estimated education budget in 1976/77 was 110 times higher than that of 1952/53.

In spite of their education, however, females have not been able to break the "status trap" by successfully competing with their male counterparts in the job market because of the fact that marriage and caste considerations exert pressure to keep the level of female education attainment below that of male. The rationale for this is to be found in the twin social injunctions of a contemporary Hindu society as discussed by M. N. Srinivas (1978: 23) in his article on "The Changing Position of Indian Women", which with appropriate modifications remain valid in the context of the Nepalese women also. These injunctions are:

(1) a girl ought not to be more highly educated than her husband and (2) that she should marry within her jati. The level of education which a girl receives is therefore directly related to the general level of male education in that particular jati. This is one, but only one, of the reasons for the high drop-out rate among girls. Parents want their daughters to get only so much education as will give them the utmost advantage in the marriage market. Sometimes this means that girls have to be educated enough to have a job as young men from the middle classes increasingly prefer to marry such girls. The cost of urban living has made them realize that two incomes are better than one, and in the big cities it is not an unfamiliar sight to see a young man drop his pillion-riding wife at her bank or office before he drives to his own. But this occurs generally among the urban middle classes drawn from the higher caste.

As further pointed out by Srinivas the second requirement that marriage has to occur within the jati continues to be a strict one in Nepal, as in India, although in both the countries this requirement needs to be hedged with certain qualifications. Irrespective of the nature of qualification to be made, however, the fact remains that:

as a girl gets more and more educated, her connubial circle narrows as there is an implicit rule which is only rarely broken that the boy ought to be at least as highly educated as she is. Even here, a male doctor prefers to marry a female doctor, a male academic his female counterpart, and a male... official, a female... official. This section of.... society is miniscule in size but its life style is envied and admired by others. (Srinivas 1978: 24).

The facts embraced in the preceding quotes point to the roots of the problem as to why women in the Indian subcontinent cannot reach to higher levels of management positions vis-a-vis their male counterparts.

## Chapter Five

### HEALTH, NUTRITION AND FAMILY PLANNING

Historically, the development of health services in Nepal can be broadly divided into four different periods as follows:

#### Pre-1950 Period

Accounts of health services during this period have justifiably pointed out the inadequacies of services provided to the population. A concise summary of the sad state of affairs in this regard is indicated in the following quote:

Prior to 1950, there were few hospitals with few beds in Nepal. All the hospitals, including the Bir Hospital, were ill-equipped and ill-maintained. There was no speciality of any kind. There were few Nepali doctors. Most of the doctors, specially in the Terai hospitals, were Indians. People used to consider it below their dignity to go to the hospitals for treatment. There was no public health programme of any kind. (Joshi 1977: 1).

#### 1950 to 1956 Period

The most important event of this period was the establishment of the Bureau of Insect Borne Disease Control in 1954 which later came to be known as the Department of Health. With its establishment public health measures were introduced for the first time in Nepal. Initially, the activity of this Bureau was confined to malaria eradication. Later on, programmes relating to smallpox eradication, tuberculosis and leprosy control were also undertaken.

Except for the establishment of the Bureau of Insect Borne Disease Control, nothing important was achieved during this period. Taking stock of health facilities and general health situation of the country, the First Five Year Plan reported as follows:

At the eve of the initiation of Nepal's First Five Year Plan, there were 600 hospital beds for 8.4 million people scattered within an area of 54 thousand square miles. Half of the available hospital beds were located in Kathmandu. There were 50 medical doctors. Accordingly, there used to be 1 doctor for every 170 thousand population. Government used to spend nearly Rs.1.1 million on health facilities located outside Kathmandu Valley. On this basis the per capita government expenditure on health services provided to population outside Kathmandu Valley worked out to be Rs.0.09. Two-third of the country was infested with malaria. Vital statistics were not available. It was realized that life expectancy was very short. Mortality rate among children and pregnant women was very high. Intestinal disease, filaria, tuberculosis and diabetes were common diseases (HMG 1956: 75).

#### 1956 to 1975 Period

During this period four different national development plans were undertaken. Policy measures in operational terms were mainly directed towards improvement and expansion of existing hospitals, establishment of new hospitals, training of doctors and nurses under different aid programmes and reorganization of health services.

The most important achievements of this period were increase in life expectancy at birth, control and eradication of malaria and smallpox and consequent reduction in crude death rate from 27.0 per thousand in 1953/54-61 period to 21.4 per thousand in 1961-71 period.

Other achievements of this period were basically in the field of modernization, renovation and expansion of hospital facilities. Specifically, hospitals of Kathmandu, Biratnagar, Birgunj, Butwal, Nepalgunj, Pokhara, Janakpur and Rajbiraj were modernized; new hospitals were established in Bharatpur and Hetauda; specialised



departments were introduced in important hospitals; rererral system was developed and existing hospitals were categorized into zonal and district hospitals for better supervision, control and management of health services.

Table 5:1

ESTIMATED BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN NEPAL  
DURING 1953-61 TO 1961-71 BY SEX

	Total	Male	Female
<u>Birth Rate</u>			
Estimation by stable population 1953 and 1961 Censuses	0.0420	0.0432	0.0408
Estimation by stable population 1961 and 1971 Censuses	0.0413	0.0420	0.0406
<u>Death Rate</u>			
Estimation by stable population 1953 and 1961 Censuses	0.0270	0.0280	0.0248
Estimation by stable population 1961 and 1971 Censuses	0.0214	0.0213	0.0226
<u>Expectation of Life at Birth in Years</u>			
During 1953-61	-	35.15	37.41
During 1961-71	-	37.04	39.90

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal, HMG/N, Kathmandu 1971: pp. 94-96

In spite of significant improvement registered during this period, the general health situation of the country was far from satisfactory. The birth and death rates presented in Table 5:1 were among the highest prevalent in low income countries. Most hospital facilities were located in few urban centres. Vast majority of the rural population had no access to health facilities of any kind. For every 31,500 population there was 1 doctor, 0.54 nurse, 0.33 health assistant 1.10 auxiliary nurse midwives and 1.12 auxiliary health workers. (NPC 1975: 77). Only 5.84 percent of the total population had access to piped water; accessibility varied from as much as 90 percent of the population in urban areas to a mere 3.25 percent of the population in the rural areas (Rai 1977).

#### The Fifth Plan Period (1975-80)

In this phase, the health policy underwent a fundamental change, emphasis shifted from the expansion and improvement of hospital facilities to the provision of "minimal health services to maximum number of people. This shift of emphasis was motivated basically by three considerations; (a) need for conformity of the Nepalese health policy with the joint WHO/UNICEF policy on Primary Health Care as adopted by the U.N. system around 1973; (b) cost effectiveness of existing hospitals, and (c) the promises held by the model of health service delivery system experimented in the Integrated Health Service Pilot Projects (1972-75) of Bara and Kaski Districts.

The Executive Board of the World Health Organization in 1973, after reviewing the world public health services had opined that the coverage of established conventional health services in terms of availability, accessibility, acceptability, effective contact and impact had remained very limited to the greatest majority of the rural population of the developing world. It further stated that in many countries health

services were not keeping pace with the changing population either in quality or in quantity. As a remedial step, the concept of primary health care was developed. This concept had at its core community involvement and participation and emphasised that health care should be tailored according to the life patterns of the served communities to meet their ever changing needs, utilizing their untapped resources within the frame of overall socio-economic development.

The observation made by the World Health Organization fitted well with the Nepalese experience as well as its changed developmental philosophy. The cumulative experience gained during this period indicated that hospitals allocated 95 percent of their budget to curative aspects of health care system and yet catered to the needs of only 5 percent of the population located mainly in urban areas. (Joshi 1977: 2). Besides, it was also realized that future expansion of hospitals required not only huge expenditure on construction and equipment but also long time-periods for training of doctors and nurses. In contrast, the Integrated Health Service Pilot Projects collectively sponsored by HMG/N, U.S./AID and WHO in Bara and Kaski districts reported that health delivery system experimented in the pilot projects was found to be more effective in terms of providing services to larger proportion of population at lower cost than conventional health services. (Thapa, Dixit, and Smith 1977). No wonder that HMG/N decided to duplicate this model on a nation-wide basis under the name of Integrated Community Health Programme.

When fully developed, the Integrated Community Health Care Programme is expected to provide to the entire population on a regular home visiting basis "a minimal health service package" considered most appropriate under the existing epidemiologic and demographic situations dominated by high fertility and mortality rates. The type of services to be provided are: (a) family planning, (b) immunization, (c) nutritional surveillance and education, (d) antinatal, post-natal and delivery services, (e) health education, (f) diagnosis and treatment of common diseases, (g) first aid and emergency treatment, (h) water

supply and sanitation, (i) vector control and referral services. (Thapa, Dixit and Smith 1977: 6). In this context it has also been emphasized that minimal service does not mean the least we can get away with but the most we can get for the limited resources.

The Integrated Community Health Programme incorporates most of the elements and strategies suggested by the "Primary Health Care" concept as propounded by the WHO. Health service is thus to cover a maximum number of people dispersed over a wider geographical area, especially in the rural areas and the method of approach of health workers as well as type of services provided have to be compatible with local customs and habits and community involvement is to be sought in planning, implementing and supervision of health services. (Ibid.: 2-6).

For the realization of the fundamental objectives of the health sector as assumed under the headings of coverage, accessibility, acceptability, effective control and impact, the new strategies adopted are: mobile health posts instead of hospitals, training and employment of paramedicals instead of full fledged doctors and nurses, emphasis on preventive aspect of health care system as against curative aspect and formation of Health Committees at village level for channelizing popular support, concern, interest or grivances regarding the delivery of health services.

The most peripheral administrative unit for the delivery of health services under the Integrated Community Health Programme is the Health Post. The areas to be covered by the Health Post are called Veks. Each Health Post is to be responsible for 4 to 6 Veks. Each Vek covers the area of one and a half panchayats with a population 3,000 to 4,000.

At the district level there will be one District Health Office headed by a senior government medical doctor. This office will be fully integrated with the district administrative structure as provided by the District Administrative Plan of 1975. The District Health Office is to provide necessary technical and administrative support to the Health Post.

The frontline health worker under the Integrated Community Health Programme is the Junior Auxiliary Health Worker who is to be locally recruited as far as possible for necessary training on the basis of the recommendation provided by the Village Panchayat. Priority is to be given to those who have some experience in health field. The minimum educational qualification prescribed for eligibility to the Auxiliary Health Worker's training is eighth grade of high school. Recently, this eligibility criteria has been relaxed in favour of local residence. After selection, the Auxiliary Health Worker is provided a seven week long training in health services. The course contents are: (a) need and importance of family planning practices, (b) basic knowledge regarding contraceptive techniques, (d) rehydration, (e) nutrition education, (f) environmental sanitation and (g) immunization. Three out of seven weeks are spent in "field visits" during which the trainees are expected to introduce themselves to local leaders and influentials, make arrangements for future residence, establish rapport with local population, collect necessary information regarding village life in general and health and sanitation in particular, and prepare a general report on the health and sanitation problem of the area suggesting a broad strategy for change with due consideration to local customs and habits. (Manandhar 1977).

Under the Integrated Community Health Programme the Junior Auxiliary Health Worker is expected to visit each household twice a year in the Mountains and six times a year in Mahabharat and Terai regions. The Junior Auxiliary Health Worker is to be supervised every month either by the Health Assistant or the Senior Auxiliary Health Worker. The latter two in turn are supervised by the Health Inspector. The District Medical Officer is to look after referral cases and activity, take part in vasectomy and tubectomy operations. As the seniormost medical officer of the district, he is also responsible for the general supervision of the health workers under his jurisdiction.

Under the Fifth Plan, priority has been accorded to expanded programme of immunization against BCG, DPT and Polio. Measles vaccination is also to be undertaken on a limited scale. Tuberculosis and leprosy control activities are to be expanded. Family Planning and Maternal and Child Health Programme is to be expanded further. In accordance with recent findings malaria eradication activities as such are to be de-emphasized whereas activities designed for bio-environmental intervention programme is to be intensified.

#### Perspective Health Plan 1975/76 - 1989/80

Nepal by now has a long-term perspective health plan for 15 years. The main objective of the long-term plan is the development and extension of rural health service delivery centers. In this respect, the plan is mainly guided by the concept of "minimal health service" package and mobile health worker as discussed in the previous sections. Initially, the plan visualized the establishment of a network of health posts. Recently, the concept of health posts has been replaced by the concept of mobile health worker or Junior Auxiliary Health Worker. The reason

for the slight change in emphasis is the survey finding that the effective service area of the health post is limited to a three miles radius. (Joshi 1977: 4).

Other important objectives of the perspective plan are: (a) reduction in the growth of population, (b) establishment of at least one 15 bed hospital in each district by the end of the Sixth Plan Period, (c) integration of all vertical health projects under the Integrated Community Health Programme by the end of the Sixth Plan Period, (d) assessment of the effectiveness of Ayurvedic medicines, (e) training of health workers, (f) integration of mission and private hospitals with the national health service by the end of the Seventh Plan period, (g) encouragement to popular participation in the management of health services, through the formation of management boards, (h) promotion of health education, nutrition and environment sanitation, (i) domestic production of medicines and finally (j) introduction of payment system in health centres.

#### Future Problems and Prospects

Future expansion of health facilities in Nepal is basically constrained by two factors; trained personnel and finance. Although the organizational and staffing pattern evolving under the Integrated Community Health Programme holds considerable potential for the reduction of the discrepancies between need for health service and resource availability, it cannot be expected to go very far towards balancing them.

Shortage of health workers has already slowed down the expansion of health facilities as visualized under the Integrated Community Health Programme. As high as 53.85 percent of the sanctioned posts for the programmes as of March 1977 remained vacant. (Thapa 1977: 22). This clearly indicates the need to accord high priority to the expansion of training facilities for paramedicals. Funds are not

available for procuring drugs and equipments. (Thapa, Dixit and Smith 1977: 21). As late as 1976/77, full integration of health services could be achieved only in 6 out of 75 districts of Nepal. (Thapa 1977: 21). The estimated turnover rate of trained paramedicals has varied from 15 to 20 percent. (Pahari 1977). Such a high turnover rate is indicative of the fact that the current pay-scale as well as career ladder opportunities for the paramedicals is not sufficiently attractive. Besides, management is also a problem. Procedural arrangements regarding the provision of travel and daily allowances are not compatible with the requirements of mobile health facilities. This has adversely affected door-to-door delivery of "minimal health service" package as visualized under the Integrated Community Health Programme. (Thapa, Dixit and Smith 1977: 21).

The "minimal health service" package currently provided to the population is less than that promised under the Integrated Community Health Programme. The quality of health service is below the standard prescribed even under the "minimal health service package." The usefulness and quality of services provided through the Junior Auxiliary Health Worker is seriously limited by the type of supervision provided by senior medical doctor. Although the need for defining the tasks of paramedicals is much emphasized, it is doubtful whether all paramedicals currently employed confine themselves to the tasks allocated to them.

Local participation in health management at present is fictitious rather than real. The involvement of the Pradhan Pancha in the affairs of the health post is just a formality (Proceedings of Workshop on Primary Health Care, 1977). Consequently, mobilization of local resources for the development of health sector is also below expectation.



The cost-effectiveness of the Integrated Community Health Programme seems to be more presumed than proved. The average cost of Rs. 5.60 per person arrived at by Jahpa is based on very doubtful data and information.

The scale and dimension of institutional interface, inter-sector and interagency coordination considered essential for the successful implementation of the Integrated Community Health Programme is very cumbersome and complicated. If past experience is any guide in this respect, the complex nature of coordination pattern needs to be drastically simplified for efficient implementation of the programme.

#### Dimension and Magnitude of Nutrition Problem

Although Nepal's state of malnutrition has not been systematically studied or measured yet, several micro-level studies conducted in the past have pointed out the gravity of the problem.

A recent nation-wide survey conducted by the National Planning Commission revealed that as much as 40.26 percent of the agricultural population has income below subsistence level. (National Planning Commission 1977). Similarly, the Ministry of Finance, based on regional aggregates of cereal and potato production has estimated that whereas in the Terai region availability of these two commodities can sustain a family at normal subsistence level for 425 days, in the Hills and the Terai regions, their availability can sustain a family only for 153 and 176 days respectively. (Ministry of Finance 1978: 1). Based on these rough estimates, the Ministry of Finance concluded that:

Rural poverty is [thus] a major problem. This has found its expression in hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, premature death, and inadequate housing which are all rampant and which form the common destiny shared by the majority of the rural people. (Ibid.: 4).

The inference of malnutrition embraced in the preceeding quote is also supported by another survey recently conducted by the UNICEF. (Shrestha 1977: 16-23). Some of the highlights of the survey are as follows:

- (a) Infant mortality for children under six years of age is 20 percent of live births.
- (b) The death rate of children between 1 to 4 years of age is 13.9 percent.
- (c) Children who survive in spite of malnutrition suffer from physical and mental retardation and have lower resistance to disease.
- (d) As much as 95.5 percent of children between the age of 6 to 23 months suffer from nutritional anaemia.
- (e) As much as 25.9 percent of children between 24 to 72 months suffer from hemoglobin.
- (f) More than 90 percent of Hill people suffer from goitre which is mainly due to lack of iodine in salt and drinking water.
- (g) As much as 3.8 percent of children between the age of 6 to 72 months suffer from wasting and stunting diseases which is primarily due to deficiency of protein and calorie intake.
- (h) Other common diseases found in children are marasmus, kwashiorkor and measles. As much as 50 percent of children under 5 years of age suffer from measeles.

#### Breast-Feeding of Children

In recent times, increasing evidence has been produced regarding the trend away from breast feeding of children in developing countries and its relation to infant deaths, malnutrition, cost to the family and the nation. (Berg 1973: 89-106). Fourtunately, this undersirable aspect of "modernization" does not appear to be a major problem in Nepal. According to a recent survey over 80 percent of women breast-fed for 24 months or more in the last closed birth interval, although

interpretation of the survey results is somewhat made difficult on account of the need to exclude the proportion of women whose breast-feeding had to be terminated in the first 24 months for involuntary reasons. (Ministry of Health, HMG/N 1977: 61-62). Nevertheless, the survey concluded that:

There is no evidence that the popularity of prolonged breast-feeding is declining among younger women in Nepal. The proportion breast-feeding for 24 months or more are lower for women in Hills. There is also a substantial divergence in prolonged breast-feeding between women with some education and those with none, and a similar but less pronounced divergence according to the husband's education. In both cases, the educated group has a lower proportion who breast-fed for 24 months or more.

#### Government Policy

A review of plan documents indicate that there already exists sufficient policy awareness regarding the problem of malnutrition. Foreexample, all the five plans express concern regarding nutrition and health need of children and pregnant mothers in one way or other. However, most programmes undertaken so far are mainly confined to nutrition education and radio broadcasts on the importance of breast-feeding of children. At present there are at least 10 different agencies which are involved in the problem of nutrition. They are as follows:

Panchayat Training Institute: This institute conducts seminars for Panchayat and Village level workers which includes nutrition as an agenda for discussion.

Women's Training Institute: This institute like the Panchayat Training Institute conducts classes and seminars on nutrition especially for women.

Home and Panchayat Ministry: In areas covered by Small Area Development Programme of the Ministry the Women's Training Institute conducts seminars and leads discussion groups interested in problems of nutrition.

Ministry of Agriculture: This ministry conducts several programmes which are directly or indirectly related to the problem of nutrition. Besides being responsible for increasing the quantity and quality of food available for human consumption and export, it is also responsible for training people for leadership in village affairs, providing incentives to progressive farmers and conducting several types of demonstration and exhibitions on the nutritional value of food-stuffs.

Ministry of Health: Under the Integrated Community Health Programme, nutrition education is one of the items included in "the minimal health service package."

Maternity and Child Health Center: This center under the Ministry of Health provides different types of information on nutrition.

Ministry of Education: Subjects on nutrition are included in text-books and educational materials prepared by the Ministry for standard 1 to 10 and also for adult literacy classes.

Children's Organization: This organization supervises modest nutrition distribution programmes received mainly under aid programmes.

Women's Services Co-ordinating Sub-Committee: This sub-committee under the Social Service Co-ordination Committee seeks to spread knowledge regarding balanced diet and nutrition.

Food Laboratory of HMG/N.: As the name implies, this laboratory is responsible for conducting experiments on different aspects of the nutritional content of food-stuffs.

#### Future Problems and Prospects

The three dimensions of the nutrition problem in Nepal in order of importance are: (a) inadequate food intake, (b) protein deficiency and (c) malabsorption of nutrients as a result of a condition or illness, whether genetic or environmental in origin.

Permanent solution to the problem of inadequate food intake lies in seeking answers to the technological problem of increasing agricultural production among small farmers located in the Mountain and the Hill regions of Nepal. Alternatively, the purchasing power of low-end poverty groups can be increased through public works programmes of the type discussed elsewhere in this study so that increased production in the Terai is available to the malnourished in the Mountain and the Hill regions,

Recent evidences have indicated that in diets where calories are adequate protein also tends to be adequate too, except in areas where people subsist largely on starchy roots, tubers and bananas. Consequently, protein deficiency as such is a secondary problem. Nevertheless, high incidence of nutrient - specific disorders found in Nepal warrants undertaking of programmes directed towards food fortification with vitamins and minerals, blending cereals and legumes or developing new formulated food for mass distribution within the limits imposed by financial considerations.

High incidence of gastro-intestinal disorders and infectious disease in Nepal must be responsible for considerable malabsorption of food intake. The principal cause of gastro-intestinal and diarrheal illness

in Nepal is unprotected drinking water. Consequently, adequate provisions for safe drinking water, aquaduct and sewage must accompany currently undertaken rural development programmes.

Goiter is quite endemic in Nepal and is associated with iodine deficiency in salt and drinking water.

A significant proportion of food produced in Nepal is said to be lost through spoilage. Consequently, improved methods of food storage and preservation can significantly increase rural food intake as well as provide greater marketable surplus.

The technology involved in improved food storage and preservation need not be complicated. The use of raised cribs, protected by rat baffles, can frequently protect stored grain from rodent attack (Lele, Uma 1975).

#### Family Planning in Historical Perspective

Although the official family planning programme was started only in 1965, family planning services were offered in Nepal as early as 1958. Between 1958 and 1965, two different organizations were established for the purpose of delivering family planning services. They were the Family Planning Association of Nepal and the Maternal and Child Section of the Department of Health. The services provided by both these organizations were however confined to population in an around Kathmandu Valley and a few urban centres.

By late 1968, a semi-autonomous body called the Nepal Family Planning and Maternal Child Health Board was established under the chairmanship of the Health Minister. Under this Board, a Family Planning and Maternal and Child Health Care Project has been created which is responsible for the delivery of necessary services to the entire population of the Kingdom.

From the beginning of the programme, the Family Planning and MCH (Maternal and Child Health) centres have utilized a "cafeteria approach" of offering services. Oral contraceptive pills and condoms are available free through all the centres, and in certain areas they can be obtained from registered shops at 50 paisa (US \$0.04) per cycle of pills and 50 paisa per dozen condoms. Centres that have medical doctors offer vasectomy, tubectomy and IUD insertion services; vasectomy and laparoscopy sterilization services are offered through mobile camps in different parts of the country. IUD insertion services have also been recently provided by trained nurses. (Ministry of Health 1977: 8).

Over the years the goals of the Family Planning and Maternal and Child Health Project have also attained greater level of specificity so as to be more useful for planning purposes. For example, the Fourth Five-Year Plan simply stated that the goal of the Project "is to bring about a balance of the various resources and population growth to improve the quality of human life." (NPC, HMG/N 1970: 249). In contrast, the Fifth Five Year Plan stated that in addition to bringing about an equilibrium between resources and population growth, the project will make an attempt to reduce crude birth rate from 40 to 38 per 1,000 population and to reduce the infant mortality rate from an estimated level of 200 to 150 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. (NPC 1975: 506).

#### Impact of Family Planning Services

A recently conducted nation-wide sample survey revealed that inspite of the fact that the family planning programme was started almost ten years ago, "knowledge of contraceptive methods among ever-married women is considerably lower than would be expected." (Ministry of Health, HMG/N. 1977: 77). The same survey further revealed that "only 21 percent of ever-married women indicated that they had heard of at least one efficient method of contraception (i.e. pills, IUD, condom and

sterilization) and the method most frequently mentioned was male sterilization followed by female sterilization and the pill." Only 6 percent of the women "knew where to go for advice and supplies and, only 5 percent of the total sample reported knowledge of induced abortion, although the survey recognized that considerable under reporting might have occurred due to embarrassment."

Ever use of contraceptive methods of ever-married women is extremely low at less than 4 percent, while the proportion of currently married, non-pregnant, fecund women currently using is slightly under 3 percent. Among these women the most popular methods were the pill and sterilization. (Ministry of Health, HMG 1977: 77-78).

#### Demographic Factors Affecting Modernity of Women's Role in Nepal

Although the precise way in which women's status is connected to demographic process is not well understood, several scholars have observed a strong association between the desire for a large family and the traditionalism of women's roles. In Nepal, "the mean total number of children wanted by all currently married women... is 4.0 and varies directly with age and number of living children, reaching a mean of over four children for women 30 years and older and a mean over five children for women with 6 or more living children. With the exception of childless women, Terai women consistently have the highest mean desired family size throughout, for living children groups followed by Hill and Mountain women, respectively." (Ministry of Health, HMG/N 1977: 77).

Patriarchal attitudes expressed in terms of parent's preference for son is also considered one variable affecting modernity in women's roles. In Nepal, according to a recently conducted survey "almost 100 percent of all women with no sons indicate that they want a son. Moreover, 97 percent of women with one son and one daughter also indicate a preference



for the next child to be a son and almost three quarters of women with three living children, two of whom are sons, indicate a preference for a son. (Ibid.)

#### Health, Nutrition and Family Planning Programmes and Their Impact on Women

Programmes of the first four plans were mainly influenced by two considerations; improvement and expansion of hospital facilities and training of medical doctors. In view of the acute shortage of hospital beds and medical doctors, this was not a bad policy. However, this policy was formulated without any assessment of the epidemiologic and demographic situation of the country. As a result, important immediate opportunities for undertaking programmes with high payoffs in terms of lives saved and disability prevented per rupees spent could not get the kind of priority they deserved. One unintended consequence emanating from such a policy was that programmes could not be geared to health problems which affected females more than males.

The Integrated Community Health Programme, an integral part of the current Fifth Five-Year Plan, is expected to continue in the future in an attempt to eliminate some of the anomalies mentioned above in our health programmes. While attempting to eliminate the existing anomalies in the health programmes, it also seeks to confer several types of special benefits to females. The nature of the special benefits that can be expected to accrue to females from the programme may be discussed briefly as follows:

(a) Under the Integrated Community Health Programme a holistic approach to health, nutrition and family planning is evolving which is especially geared to combat maternal and infant mortality; malnutrition, especially in the weaning age and the reproductive period; fetal and pre-natal wastage; and debilitating morbidity in mothers and children.

In this context it may also be noted that the current female mortality rate is higher than that of male at all ages except at birth.

(b) It has been claimed that "for women to have equality in freedom, health, and occupation it is imperative that they have fewer children. Health, nutrition, mortality, fertility, and economic development are inexorably linked." (Tinker and Bramsen 1976: 168). The conceptual framework underlying the Integrated Community Health Programme specifically recognizes the complex nature of inter-relationships embraced in this quote and seeks to gear future health programmes accordingly.

(c) One of the consequences of increased emphasis laid on family planning, maternal and infant health under the community health programme has been the widening of the scope of the employability of females as health workers. The personnel system as visualized by the programme specifically recognizes that females will be more effective in delivering the most important components of the "minimal health service package" than males. Accordingly, the need for allocating more seats to females in training programmes has been rightly emphasized. Interestingly enough, the key positions in the different committees under the high powered National Social Services Coordination Committee has also been captured by females.

Successful implementation of health, nutrition and family planning programmes as visualized under the Integrated Community Health Programme is, however, beset with several problems. The nature of the important problems may be discussed briefly as follows:

The multisectoral nature of a planned approach to health, nutrition and family planning necessarily has implications for an unified approach in planning of activities customarily divided between several governmental and quasi-governmental agencies. Recently, HMG/N has responded to this need with the establishment of the National Social Service Co-ordination

Committee. However, the committee till now, has not been able to formulate specific intervention strategies appropriate for introducing fundamental change in the scale, scope and nature of efforts required for improving health, nutrition and family planning status of the country. The technical and administrative capability of the committee to cope effectively with the demands of intersectoral health, nutrition and family planning activities can be questioned on several counts. Its staff are mostly generalists. It does not have a separate budget. The modus operandi of influencing the priorities of different agencies involved in health, nutrition and family planning has not been worked out as yet. Mechanism for translating national policies into specific local programmes is lacking. Similarly, mechanism to make local programme elements consistent with overall national objectives do not exist. The financial and manpower implications of expanded health nutrition and family planning activities have not been fully worked out. Specific techniques to orient sectoral policies related to health, nutrition and family planning activities is also lacking.

In view of the magnitude of the problem to be solved, it would be futile to seek solution to health, nutrition and family planning problems outside the normal planning and implementation process. What is needed is not co-ordination committees, but establishment of the linkages between economic, demographic and social sectors at three levels, namely the level of the national plan, the regional plan and the project plan. Planning techniques and practices currently in vogue in Nepal are not geared to such an integrative approach.

## Chapter: 6

### ISSUES RELATING TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION - MAKING PROCESS

#### Introduction

Besides prohibiting discrimination in the general application of laws, government and public appointment and ensuring equal voting rights for both the sexes, the 1962 constitution of the kingdom of Nepal, which has been working since then, also treats women as a special class in matters relating to political participation. The constitution provides for a national Women's Organization as one of the seven class organizations to represent the interests of women in national politics.

Besides the Nepal Women's Organization, there exist in Nepal at least four other organizations which exclusively represent the interests of women. They are Women's Services Co-ordination Committee (established in February 1976), Mother's Club, Business and Professional Women's Club and Socio-Cultural Center for Women. Of these four organizations, the first two are established under the provisions of legal enactments and are somewhat active, whereas the latter two are organized on less informal basis and are basically dormant. In addition, there are two ongoing special projects for women organized on national level, namely, Equal Access to Education for Women under the Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs Training Center under the Ministry of Home and Panchayats.

Since the organizational structure, programmes and activities of these organizations have been fully described in several documents by now, the need for further description under these heads has not been considered essential for the present purpose. However in the following sections we want to dwell upon the public policy issues raised by various women's organizations with a view to assess the implications of

these issues for integrating women in development against the socio-economic background of the Nepalese society.

#### Political Issue

The political issue centers around the question of women's access to high office. Related to this issue is the question of the appropriateness of segregating women's groups instead of integrating them with full rights and authority into each sector of national life and into each pressure group that exist therein.

The controversies surrounding both these issues is rooted in the historical antecedents of institutional channels created for representing women in national politics. A concise summary of these antecedents is embraced in the following quote:

With the fall of the Rana regime in 1951 the interim Government enacted the Civil Rights in 1956. Prior to this there were no franchise rights for both men and women although this had been provided by the then Rana regime for the powerless Town Panchayat election in 1948. His Late Majesty King Mahendra promulgated the New Civil Code in 1963, thereby abolishing discrimination based on caste in the country. This was a landmark in advancing the cause of equal rights for women. Under the partyless Panchayat System of the country, class organizations were formed with a view to ensure mass participation in national development. Further in order to mobilize women to actively participate in the development of the country, provision was made for the allocation of three seats to women in the National Panchayat which is the highest legislative body of the country. (Rana 1977: 53).

Nearly 13 years after the date of their establishment, all class organizations, including Women's Organization were abolished at the national level. Accordingly, constitutional provision for reserved

seats for women in the National Panchayat was also withdrawn. This retrogressive step was justified on ground of ensuring uniformity in the election procedure for representation in the National Panchayat. A more relevant cause was, however, the general dissatisfaction emanating from the working of the class organizations themselves.

Under the Partyless Panchayat System class organizations were designed to promote class interest, to communicate accurately to the people the policies and programmes of the government and to channelise constructively the organized skill and energies of various classes and professions towards national development.... However, in practice the organizations were unable to live up to the sacred trust, and broadly speaking, they merely served as an easy pathway to the highest legislature to some self-seeking individuals or vested interest. The functioning of the organizations were really depressing. In some areas, the Primary Committees had no existence at all except at the election time. This was against the avowed aim of developing leadership at the grass root level, and it could in no sense function as a medium for mass mobilization in development works. (Pant 1976: 19).

In spite of the dissatisfaction emanating from the working of the Class Organizations -

His Majesty King Birendra amended the constitution in 1975 for the second time with a provision to integrate women at all levels of the Panchayat activities so that women could play a more active role in the process of national construction. With this new arrangement, it was made compulsory to have women representatives in the Village, Town and District Panchayats... Accordingly, it was estimated that a minimum number of 2,423 women would be participating in different levels of Panchayat. (Rana 1977: 53-54).

On the significance of the compulsory representation of women in different panchayats Rana comments as follows:

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Under the Panchayat System, class organizations, one of which was that of women, were designed to promote class interest and to mobilize them politically to serve the cause of national development by developing local leadership at the grass-root level. Thus their compulsory representation in the Village, Town and District Panchayat ensured their participation in nation-building, and for the growth of their political leadership at various levels. (Rana 1977: 53).

However, the provision for compulsory representation of women in Village, Town and District Panchayats was not in conformity with the need of ensuring uniformity of election procedure for representation at various levels of the Panchayat System which, over the years, became one of the crucial issues for the political system. Consequently, after nearly three years, the constitutional provision for compulsory representation of women in Village, Town and District Panchayat was also withdrawn.

Several inferences can be derived from the historical antecedents described in the preceding paragraph. The important ones are as follows:

First, the whole structure of the class organizations, including that of the Nepal Women's Organization, has been a perennial source of contradiction in the Panchayat polity. Whereas the Panchayat System is conceived as a partyless system, the class organizations have been conceived as alternatives for political parties. Now can a system function if its constituent elements are antithetical to its fundamental character? The incoherent developments that has characterized the representation of the Nepal Women's Organization in the different tiers of the Panchayat System is a manifestation of this inherent contradiction in our body polity.

Second, we should always keep in mind that sex status cannot provide the ideological basis for solidarity groupings. Various social affiliations patterned along class lines, cross-cut sexual cleavage.

Women's interests in their totality are not different from that of men. Even variables such as food production and technology: urban living, migration and employment; education and communication; and health, nutrition and family planning - the four "factors and needs" considered by the 1975 Seminar on Women in Development as of special concern to women are in fact not so special in the sense of providing a firm basis for interest aggregation. A concern about these four aspects of development cut across all aspects of social and economic life and is, necessarily, a concern about men as well. Accordingly, the ideological basis of the Women's Organization cannot attain the same stature as that of political parties and the trade unions. The failure of Women's Organization in Nepal to provide a clear definition of women's role in development is reflective of such ideological vacuum. The statement of their goals expressed in such phrases as "raising the consciousness of women" and "making them self-reliant" etc.; are more verbosity of words without any substance or meaning. Consequently, they fail to arouse interests that are common, sufficiently strong and long lasting to justify mass involvement.

Third, we should also bear in mind that prevalent socio-economic conditions are more determining as factors in inequality than the state of women's rights itself. "The condition of poverty hinders the development of both sexes equally, but its impact is felt more strongly by women, the young and the elderly." (Figueroa 1976: 46). As rightly pointed out by Germain, "The immediate issue is not 'women life' or necessary women's 'rights' for most poor women in most poor countries. Rather the issue is how to enable women (and men) to be more productive in the full-range of their current tasks in order to increase their resource base and reduce their poverty." (Germain 1977: 46). Viewed in this context the issues raised by various women organizations have very little relevance to the larger society they presume to address.

Their emphasis on changing family laws confounds rather than illuminates the issues to the majority of the Nepalese women. Moreover, when viewed against their past performance, their demand for reserved seats in the different tiers of the Panchayat System is sufficient to reinforce the sense of "political cynicism" that pervades the whole political atmosphere in this country.

#### Legal Issues

The guiding principle of Nepalese law of inheritance is "religious efficacy" or capacity to offer oblations to the names of ancestors and thereby conduce their spiritual benefit. Accordingly, Nepalese law prescribes that on the death of the parent property will be equally divided among sons and not among daughters, as daughters are considered less efficacious religiously to conduce the spiritual benefit of their patrilineal kinamen vis-a-vis the sons. Recently, the sixth amendment to the National Code passed during the International Women Year of 1975 allowed daughter an equal share with son in patrilineal property if she remains unmarried after the age of 35. Presently, a certain section of the Nepal Women's Organizations is arguing that daughters should be allowed to inherit as sons irrespective of their age and marriage.

Although apparently justifiable on legal ground, the claim for equal share in parental property, especially landed property, has wide socio-economic ramifications for the Nepalese society which unless properly understood could lead to hasty legislation that may destroy the very basis of a happy and peaceful family life.

First, allowing daughters to have equal share in real estate, especially agricultural land, will further lead to excessive fragmentation of land holdings and thereby aggravate the disadvantages of small

size of holdings from the point of view of agricultural development. In this context, it also deserves mentioning that in Nepal cultivated holdings per agricultural households consisting of 5.26 persons in 1961, averaged 2.83 acre whereas the number of fragments per agricultural household averaged 6.8 parcels. (Central Bureau of Statistics 1962). Even without looking at more recent data, it can be safely argued that because of population pressure; the size of holding over time must have been diminished with corresponding increase in the number of fragments. In such a situation, the problem of excessive land fragmentation will exceed the tolerable limit, as the number of parcels will theoretically double if daughters are allowed to have an equal share in agricultural land. Here, we should also note the specific disadvantages associated with fragmentation of land holdings. It has four different aspects; diminution in the size of a holding, scattering of a holding into widely separated plots, wastage of valuable land for boundary demarcation purpose, and the diminution in the size of any plot comprised in a holding to such an extent that it is unprofitable to cultivate it. What has been said in the case of land holdings also applies with respect to residential houses. At the top of all these, the original value of a residential building can be seriously depleted if too many partition is made. Dividing non-movable property is not as simple as dividing movable property.

Second, allowing daughters to have an equal share in real estate will also aggravate the problem of agricultural credit. Till now, the conservative banking practices followed by the Nepalese bankers, multiple ownership rights existing over a single piece of real estate and the legal provisions of the Lands Act of 1964, have been the three principal reasons for an inadequate flow of credit to agricultural sector. If daughters are to be allowed to have an equal share as sons in real estate, it will further accentuate the problem of inadequate flow of credit to the agricultural sector to the extent such legal provision leads to multiplicity of ownership rights in a given piece

of real estate which need to be pledged as a collateral for securing credit. In this context it is also interesting to note the data presented in Table 6:1. The shift in the money-lenders' order of preference for various type of securities after the passage of the Lands Act of 1964 can be observed from this table. Although this shift in money lenders' order of preference may be desirable in a different context, it is certainly a matter of grave concern from the point of view of adequate supply of credit to the agricultural sector. Data presented in Table 6:1 also discredits the assertion made by some women activists that because the females are not allowed to inherit landed property, they also cannot secure adequate credit for growth-oriented activities. Table 6:1 shows that although before 1964, as much as 85.59 percent of household who borrowed pledged land as security, the proportion of such borrowers fell drastically to 18.0 percent in 1971. Since then, this proportion might have been further reduced on account of the increasing tendency shown by His Majesty's Government to tamper with land ownership rights. Said differently, landed property is no longer an attractive collateral for securing credit.

Table 6:1

EFFECT OF LANDS ACT OF 1964 ON THE NATURE  
OF COLLATERAL OFFERED BY BORROWER  
(Figures in percentage)

Type of Collateral Pledged by the Households	Before Lands Act of 1964	After Lands Act of 1964 (in 1971)
Household who offered gold, silver or ornaments	6.9	75.2
Households who offered land	28.6	18.0
Household who got loan against standing crop	2.8	1.4
Household who got loan on goodwill	4.7	5.4

Source: M.A. Zaman, Evaluation of Land Reform in Nepal, Ministry of Land Remorm, HMG, Nepal. Kathmandu: 1971: 32.

Third, if daughters are allowed to have an equal share in parental property as sons, justice demands that they should also be made liable to share the social obligations of her natal home on an equal basis. Under the prevailing customs in Nepal, sons who inherit parental property also inherit myriad social obligations. Examples of such obligations are: looking after the welfare of parents, brothers and sisters, incurring expenditure for different types of ceremonies, paying ancestral debts, managing and maintaining parental property and doing everything that needs to be done to uphold family name and honour throughout the life time of an individual. In contrast, both legally and socially, daughters are not expected to discharge any of these obligations. All her marriage expense is borne by her paterlineal kinsmen. Besides, she reserves the right to visit her natal home<sup>1</sup> even after her marriage which in turn entitles her customarily to several types of net pecuniary benefits every time she makes such visits. Accordingly, any legislative enactment, which allows females an equal share in parental property without corresponding division of the liabilities arising out of social obligations is bound to be a source of discord and conflicts between brothers and sisters.

Most of the time, the magnitude of financial benefits according to the males from inheriting parental property is exaggerated. If all the costs incurred and the benefits received during the life time of an individual are properly accounted, the disadvantages emanating from the discharge of family obligations may even outweigh the pecuniary advantages of inheriting parental property. It is not uncommon among Nepalese males to bequeath their share in parental property to other family members with the intention of avoiding certain family obligations, even though he cannot completely dissociate from them during his life time.

Fifth, the adverse consequences of allowing daughters to have an equal share in parental property will particularly impinge on the welfare of the young, the old and the disabled members of the family. Legal provision prescribing equal division of parental property among sons and daughters without corresponding division of family obligations will act as a disincentive for sons and their wives to look after the welfare of the weakest members of the family. On the other hand, daughters, even if they wish, will not be able to contribute to the welfare of her patrilineal kinsmen either because they will be physically separated from natal home after their marriage or because their contribution will be socially unacceptable to their kinsmen. Prevailing social customs ordain: "Let you not drink even water at the expense of your daughters and sisterns."

Sixth, allowing daughters to have an equal share with sons in parental property will also hasten the process of the disintegration of the joint family system and thereby will deter the growth of domestic entrepreneurship also. Till now it is customary for the male coparceners to live together along with their family and conduct joint family venture at least during the life time of their father. If daughters are to be included among the coparceners, they can be abetted to force partition by their husbands and in-laws in which case family business is bound to disintegrate also.

Seventh, the physical distance between natal home and husband's home will also deter female's participation in agricultural operations as well as management of farms inherited from parents. Consequently, females will require either to sell their share, rent it or manage it through a paid manager. In either case, the consequence would be at

variance with the ultimate desired goal of owner operated farms as visualised under the Land Reform Programmes.

Finally, legal provisions allowing females to inherit parental property will also defeat the ultimate objectives of the Social Ceremonies Reform Act of 1976. It will encourage prospective husbands to seek their marriage partner from rich families with the intention of inheriting property. Patrilineal kins will require to provide not only the customary marriage expense for the bride, but also a share for her in the coparcenary property. Consequently, marriage of girls from poor families will be made all the more difficult.

A second variant of the legal issue raised by various women's organization in Nepal concerns with polygamous and polyandrous practices. In this context it is pointed out that an act of polygamous marriage, if not reported within 35 days of its actual occurrence, is recognized as legally valid whereas an act of polyandry as practised by certain communities in the northern regions is not recognized under the Nepalese law. Accordingly, it has been indirectly hinted that let polyandry also be legally recognized if it is not reported within 35 days.

This is another instance of how the women's organizations in Nepal are trying to make a mountain out of a mole-hill. Let it be remembered that the incidence of polygamy in Nepal has never been as high as in some Muslim countries to attain the stature of a major public issue. The social stigma attached to polygamy by Hindu religion and custom has been quite effective to limit the incidence of this social evil within a fraction of the total population. In fact, most of the incidence of polygamy are to be found among those men whose wife could not give birth to children of desired sex and who because of customary



practice could not divorce her. This of course should not be interpreted as an attempt to condone polygamy. However, what needs to be remembered is that two 'wrongs' cannot make one 'right.' If polygamy is practised by male it need to be discouraged by all means. However, no stretch of imagination will justify polygamy to be vindicated by legal recognition of polyandry. In this context it should also be noted that the sixth amendment to the National Code has by now extended the date of registering complaints against polygamous practices to three months from the date of one's knowledge of the occurrence of polygamy.

Finally, it has also been argued by the women's organizations that Nepalese law prescribe different marital behavioral standards for men and women which is currently being enforced by economic sanctions that do not apply to men. As the argument goes, men have rights over parental property by virtue of the biological fact of birth whereas women's rights to property entirely depends upon the social fact of marriage. Consequently, it is argued that whereas women's security is dependent on their adherence to strict social norms of proper marital behaviour, men are not required to observe such behavioural standards.

The nature of the difference regarding the origin of the rights over parental property as argued by women's organizations is basically a matter of interpretation devoid of any significance. For example, even before 1975, a daughter could inherit parental property if she remained unmarried till the age of 35. To that extent her right to inherit parental property originated in the biological fact of birth as much as that of her brother. In the event of her marriage, however, she is disqualified to inherit parental property, but then she is compensated by the customary practice of providing her various types of dowry. Besides, as explained earlier, she is also not expected to discharge the myriad social obligation of her natal home. This by itself is a privilege of great economic significance. More important than this however is the assumption of inequities in marital behavioural standards

as prescribed by the Nepalese legal system. Standards of equisities and inequities are based on shared norms. Accordingly, the validity of any assertion that lables existing marital behavioural standard as inequitious should also be able to prove that the desired marital behaviour standards of the Nepalese women deviates significantly from the existing standards.

Impact of Recent Legislative Enactments Concerning  
Parental Property, Marriage, Divorce, Adultry, Bigamy  
and Working Conditions

How irrelevant the so called legal issues are for the majority of the Nepalese women, would also be apparent from an assessment of the impact of recent legislative enactments concerning parental property, marriage, divorce, adultery, bigamy and working conditions.

The sixth amendment of the National Code in 1975 introduced at least 11 different changes in our personal laws. They are as follows:

Daughters have been granted equal share with the son in parental property, if she remains unmarried after the age of 35. Before 1975, she was entitled to only half of what her brother used to get individually. When evaluated against the census data pertaining to marriage pattern and the conjugal distribution of population, this particular piece of legislation is almost meaningless. In Nepal, about 90 percent of males and 98 percent of females are married before reaching the age of 30. (Central Bureau of Statistics 1977: 106). Even for the remaining 2 percent of the females who potentially could remain unmarried after the age of 35, the practical usefulness of this particular piece of legislation is quite doubtful. At least, it simply formallises what used to be widely practised any way. Even before the introduction of such legislation, the responsibility for the overall welfare of a female who decided

to remain unmarried used to be borne by the kinsmen of her natal home irrespective of the adequacy of the inherited parental property to undertake such responsibilities. Now, her kinsmen, if they choose, can simply provide her a share in the parental property and wash their hands from the responsibility to look after her welfare in subsequent years.

Before the sixth amendment to the National Code the order of succession was determined as follows: husband, wife, son, grandson and the undivided descendants in the collateral line living together in a joint family. The sixth amendment modified this order of succession by recognizing the right of succession to property by a daughter before descendants in the collateral line.

This particular piece of legislation also is meaningless for most of the practical purpose. In order of succession, a daughter is placed after the grandson but before other collateral descendants, so that she succeeds to parental property only in the event of three line of succession covering three generation being held in abeyance. What is surprising in this context is the fact that even before the sixth amendment was enacted, there were enough legal provision in the Nepalese legal system to grant precedence to a daughter in order of succession, in case it was so desired, through the testator's will. The very fact that in only a few cases such right was exercised is a testimony to the fact that our traditional line of succession was in accordance with the prevailing norms of social behaviour.

The sixth amendment also granted a wife the right to force partition if she is married for 15 years, or if she has attained the age of 30. Divorce laws were also made more liberal. A divorced woman has been granted the right to claim up to five years of maintenance from

former husband as alimony. Regarding the right to accept or reject the custody of the children under five years of age, the right of a wife precedes that of her husband. Formerly, it used to be the opposite. Besides, the husband is made responsible for meeting all the maintenance cost of the children. Terms of penalty for polygamy has also been enhanced and is made punishable, both by imprisonment and fines. In addition, the time for registering complaint against polygamy has been extended from 35 days to three months from the date of one's knowledge of polygamy. Similarly, the cuckold is debarred to claim compensation for being wronged. Formerly, a cuckolded husband was allowed to claim compensation from the women's new husband "and in certain circumstances from her natal family." (Caplan 1975: 244).

Finally, mention should also be made of the Factory and Factory Workers Act of 1959. Under this Act, employers are not allowed to make women work after 6 p.m. A comprehensive range of social security benefits have been provided for period of sickness and accidents. In addition, legal provisions for maternity benefits, dearness allowances, and crochets for children under 6 years of age of working mothers have also been made.

The problem with these kinds of legislative enactments is that they have either little or no relevance to the actual problems of the majority of the Nepalese women or, in some case, even go contrary to their own interest. For example, when viewed against the background of industrial development in Nepal and the problem of employment generation, almost all the provisions of the Factory and Factory Workers Act concerning women is bound to out-price her in the labour market. Second, amendments in our personal laws are basically inspired by western feminist ideology that have underisable implications for marital stability. By deemphasising

traditional marital behaviour standards in the name of sexual equality, these legislative enactments could lead to high incidence of broken homes, problems of illegitimate children, breakdown of joint family system and erosion of traditional value and social norms. It needs also to be emphasized that anthropologists have long recognized the fact that in all societies including that of Nepal, female's action more than that of male, plays an important role in determining the degree of marital stability or instability. (Jones and Jones 1976: 169-84).

#### Issues Relating to Sex Discrimination

Sex discrimination is another favourite topic of the Nepalese Women's Organizations. Here, their target of attack is not an act of commission but an act of omission. Since Nepalese law does not explicitly prohibit payment of different wage rates for the same kind of work, this act of omission on the part of the Nepalese law maker is cited as an example of the prevalence of sex discrimination in Nepal. Some would go even further and argue that irrespective of what the law allows and does not allow, sex discrimination prevails in the form of concentration of women in low paid jobs.

What is the relevance of this type of argument for the majority of the Nepalese women? Practically none. Demand for equal pay is irrelevant if there are no jobs to attend to, just as demand for equal right to education would be meaningless if there are too few schools or too little time to attend them. This of course is not to argue that demand for equal pay is unjust or undesirable. Such demands certainly would be of major significance for the realization of the goals of social justice if such discrimination does in fact exist. However, the matter of the fact is that women in Nepal hardly face sex discrimination. Duberman's and Azumi's research findings on sexism

reveals that for Nepalese women other statuses such as occupation, are more salient than sex status as such. (Duberman and Koya 1975).

In the public sector of the Nepalese economy, wage rates are determined on the basis of 'rank and seniority.' Sex status does not enter into the picture. The fact that there is a concentration of women in low paid jobs is more reflective of their education and training status rather than the prevalence of sex discrimination.

In the organized private sector, there is considerable scope for practising sex discrimination. However, legislation on minimum wages for industrial workers and labour categorisation standards prescribed by the Labour Department is a major deterrent in this regard. More important than this is the fact that only a fraction of total female labour force is engaged in this sector. Besides, the sector itself is too small. Accordingly, even if one assumes that sex discrimination is practised in this sectors, the proportion of females affected by sex discrimination must be very low.

Most of the women in Nepal work as family labourer ~~is~~ owner operated farms in the unorganized agricultural sector. For them the very question of sex discrimination on account of wage rates is redundant. Sex discrimination becomes a major issue only for those who work as hired labourers. On similar count the issue also becomes irrelevant for women who work on labour exchange basis.

## Issues Relating to Household Authority

For simplicity of exposition in this regard, we need to make a distinction between power and authority derived from ownership of coparcenary property and power and authority derived from management of such property. A Nepalese husband is the owner of the coparcenary property whereas a wife is the manager of such property. As the owner of the household property, the husband assumes a prominent position in matters related to the ultimate disposal of the property. As a manager of the household property, however, the wife assumes prominence in matters related to the ultimate use of the property. Needless to say that if one simply looks at the ownership position of the husband without at the same time looking at the managerial position of the wife, a grossly distorted picture of wife's authority and power in household affairs is bound to emerge. As a manager of the household property and household affairs, a Nepalese wife exercises as much power and authority in the household as her husband. In some cases, her power and authority may even exceed that of her husband. For example, in child care and practical discipline, in everything concerned with the kitchen and the food supply, in timing of sales of the harvest and purchasing of clothing and household equipment, and in cash expenditure for wages, labour expenses, and social celebrations, women come to make most of the daily decisions. In fact, a Nepalese wife controls all family finances, and although she gives her husband formal deference and consults with him on major matters (just as the husband does on his part); it is usually she who is dominant in matters related to household affairs. As a matter of fact, the husband and wife power relationship in a Nepalese household is analogous to that of a shareholder and a manager in a modern corporation. If the husband is the shareholder in the household corporation, the wife is the manager of that corporation.

Within the patrilineal kinsgroup power and authority and the associated pattern of deference (as against obeisance) in the Nepalese households varies with respect to the life cycle of the family members in terms of their contribution to the family income. At least three groups with three different levels of power and authority can be distinguished. One group consists of dependents with no decision making power. Included in this group would be all the unproductive members such as the old men, old women and children. They are either too old or too young to work. Although they might have some land and income base, they cannot support themselves. They need the support of the adults. Accordingly, they are to be loved and cared for. Besides, due respect and obeisance must be paid to the old men and women. They must be given formal deference and must be consulted on major matters. However, the ultimate decision-making power rests not on them but on adults. Another group would consist of unmarried males and females who as workers supplement to the income of the family. As productive members of the household, their consent and approval on major household affairs are necessary. But as juniors who just have been initiated in the productive activities, they are not the ultimate decision-makers. The third group would consist of all adult males and females who are the major contributors to the family income. It is they who hold the ultimate decision-making powers in household affairs. At any point in time an individual will be a member of one of these three groups and his or her power and authority vis-a-vis that of others will be determined by his or her own position in the cycle of productive life.

As regards matters of respect and obeisance the pattern of relationship is quite simple. The pattern is set in terms of seniority irrespective of sex status. All juniors are expected to pay respect and pay obeisance to the seniors. Accordingly, a younger brother bows before and touches



the feet of his elder brother's wife. Daughters however do not touch the feet of their parents and brothers; they simply bow. However, between themselves, the manner of paying respect and obeisance is exactly the same as between male juniors and male seniors.

Some times it is claimed that women's involvement in the institution of the patriline is peripheral and they become never fully identified ritually or emotionally in either of the patrilineages simply because they are excluded from participating in certain ceremonies or rituals. Needless to say that it is not true.

Take for example, "kirya basne" funeral rites and 'sraddha' (offering of oblation to the ancestors) ceremonies; two core ceremonies and rituals of the Nepalese. To the foreigners these are exclusively male affairs. In reality, however, they are not so. Both 'kirya basne' and 'sraddha' ceremonies are performed for the spiritual benefits of both the males and the females. In 'sraddha,' although the 'pinda' (rice ball) is offered by the male to the deceased relatives, it is the females who cook the rice for making the 'pinda.' Both males and females worship the 'pinda.' It is females who purify the house and the place of worship in such occasions. It is they who decide what needs to be cooked and who needs to be invited to partake in the feast that follows the 'sraddha' ceremony. Besides, it is daughters, their husband and children who are entitled to 'daksina' in the form of pecuniary benefits from such ceremonies. Male members of the patriline as 'karta' are debarred from receiving such pecuniary benefits. The observation made so far applies in the case of 'kirya basne' ceremony also with appropriate modifications.

Let us take two other core ceremonies; 'Dewali' or worship of the lineage god and 'Durga Puja' or 'Dasain.' In spite of the fact that the lineage gods of more than half of the Nepalese families are females

and the very name 'Durga' represents incarnation of 'Sakti' (a female form), some foreigners find it proper to consider these ceremonies as exclusively male affairs. To the natives, however, they are not so. On the contrary, females become more prominent on both the occasions. Most of the time it is the females who directly or indirectly decide as to how much need to be spent in observing these ceremonies. More than their male counterparts, it is they who are emotionally involved in such occasions and it is they who buy most of the household requirements for such occasions.

At this point one may ask: why bother about ceremonies and rituals? The answer is: foreign social anthropologists are using Nepalese ceremonies and rituals to prove that women in Nepal are confined to "domestic domain" with no control over "public and social domain." Our contention is that in Nepalese rural society "domestic" activities reach far and wide into the social system and consequently women come to possess control over the 'social' domain also. The instrumentalities of such control are of course women's control over family finance.

In the context of what has been said in the preceding paragraphs, it is also interesting to note the following observations made by Caplan about women of Belaspur, an administrative centre in the far western hills of Nepal:

Of special significance... is the fact that when they reach their mature years, women are not infrequently called upon to organize the activities of a household, supervise its resident personnel, take whatever decisions are required and in general manage its day-to-day affairs, (i.e.) assume the role of household heads ..... It is only because these women are fully capable of assuming the tasks of management that their households can spare its adult men to the bureaucracy ..... One third of the households in the Belaspur sample were run by women during their husband's or sons'

absences, and a not dissimilar proportion obtains in the case of outsiders working in the Belaspur district administration. (Caplan 1975: 73-74).

After making a penetrating analysis of the supervisory role of mature women in general and of widows in particular, Caplan concludes:

There has been very little written on the significance of this category of women in South Asian economies, although many of these economies are, in fact heavily dependent on some form of migrant labour. In the literature on the joint households, for example, widows are generally regarded as ('supplements' or 'accretions' to the basic nuclear or joint unit, which terms tend to convey the impression, perhaps unintended, that these women are, in fact, peripheral. Thus, from a position of subordination to her husband in a joint unit, she is transferred, after his death (by the anthropologist) to a similar position in a nuclear group in which the focus is her son; her true role indeed, the very nature of the resulting domestic group, may be completely overlooked. (Ibid.: 77).

Another issue concerns with the extent of differentiation in sex roles which has been grossly exaggerated. The fact of the matter is that in subsistence economies like that of Nepal, there is multiplicity of roles for both the sexes. Subsistence economies are not characterized by the same type of dichotomy between male and female roles as modern economies are. Consequently, it is not only women who happen to do back-breaking or otherwise unattractive work; the fate of their male counterparts is also exactly the same. In rich households all unattractive works are done through paid servants. In poor households, however, such works are done by all the family members. For them work becomes a matter of survival. Accordingly, for most of the Nepalese, the very question as to who does what type of work is redundant. Besides, in the context of rural Nepal what needs to be remembered is that the question as to who does what type of work is decided on a number of considerations,

of which sex is only one; others being age, membership in the kinship groups, residence in a local area and the need arising out of a particular situation. Accordingly, it is not only women who cook; men also cook when their women are in menstruation period. If women weave cloth, mats and brew beer, men make baskets, looms, fishnets, and stools. Similarly, it is not only women who collect firewood; men and young children also do collect it. Even if one assumes that firewood collection is a women's job, it is usually men who split it.

#### Planning Issues

As elsewhere, it is also argued by Nepalese Women's Organizations that, national accounting system in Nepal is basically an accounting system for cash transactions only. In subsistence economies like that of Nepal, however, a large part of the national income originates in the non-monetized sector in which women's contribution is said to be quite substantial. From this the inference derived is that a system of national accounts which fails to evaluate the contribution of subsistence economic activity also fails to evaluate women's contribution in the national economy and thereby women's interests in plans and programmes are ignored.

Although it may sound strange, it is a fact that of all the statistics that has the least to do with the Nepalese plans is the national accounting system. Even if gross domestic products are calculated by the National Planning Commission, it has never been the basis of plan formulation. There are several reasons for this; the simple but the most important ones being non-availability of estimates on time and the unreliability of the past estimates.

In spite of several shortcomings (emanating mainly from the defects of the reporting system), however, the Nepalese system of GDP estimation

by industrial origin follows the U.N. practice. Although there are no separate estimate for subsistence production, the methods of estimation for almost all the sectors include an explicit enumeration of non-marketed output. For example, the value added in agricultural crops sub-sector is derived by subtracting the value of material inputs and operational costs from the gross yield of agricultural crops and the gross yield is obtained by multiplying the area under major crops by the average yield of that crop. (Ministry of Economic Planning, HMG/N 1965). Accordingly, given the fact that "production boundary" has been correctly delimited, gross domestic product estimation in Nepal is not a sexist issue unless of course one subscribes to the notion that parameters such as land area, gross yield and price index themselves are sexist issue. To prove that women's activities are not included in estimating gross domestic product, one need to prove that the delimitation of production boundary is itself incorrect.

It is also asserted by various women's organizations that since Nepalese censuses underestimate the actual economic activity rate of female population, women's interests in employment related plans and programmes are also ignored. Factors cited as responsible for underestimation of female activity rate are as follows:

1. The classificatory scheme of the census excludes a significant number of women engaged in household economy from economically active category. Given the subsistence nature of the Nepalese economy, female household activities cannot be classified as economically unproductive.
2. On socio-cultural grounds, men as household heads tend to give incorrect information about women's participation in the labour force.
3. Anthropological studies contradict the census reported activity rate for women.

4. The decline in female participation rate in the labour force from 59.4 percent in 1961 to 35.1 percent in 1971 is inconsistent with observed trends in demographic factors.

Although the usefulness of labour force statistics of the census is extremely limited, women's organizations in Nepal, in order to project a favourable image for themselves, have highly exaggerated the deficiencies of Nepalese censuses. The following facts invalidate most of their allegations.

1. In Nepal significant number of both men and women are engaged in subsistence economic activities. Besides, sex roles are highly interchangeable. Consequently, the chances of both men and women being excluded from the census classification of "economically active" population are about equal.

2. Only in the social context of the Terai region of Nepal there is ground to believe that men tend to give incorrect information regarding women's participation in the labour force. In the social context of the rest of Nepal, there are no ground whatsoever for believing that such an allegation would hold true. Above all, the allegation made has no sound empirical basis.

3. Localized and descriptive anthropological studies are extremely deficient to contradict census findings.

4. The decline in female labour force participation observed during 1961 and 1971 is explained by the following two facts. First, the definition of labour force used in 1971 was much more stricter than the one used in 1961. Second, there occurred a sharp rise in school enrollment of female in 1971 as compared to 1961. In 1961 only 3,550 female in ages above 15 years were reported as students while in 1971 this number increased to 21,836.

More astonishing than the allegation of underestimation of female activity rate is the inference drawn from it. As discussed in Chapter 2, past plans were not at all concerned with employment targeting. Besides, just like national income statistics, labour force statistics has also been of least consequence in the formulation of plans and programmes. Consequently, the very question of ignoring women's interest in employment related plans and programmes by way of under-estimation of female activity rate is redundant.

In this regard it also needs to be noted that in Nepal, like elsewhere, one of the primary concerns of development in future will be how to promote wage employment and market related activities of the population. This objective of development is not in conformity with the pressure exerted by women's organizations to include household activities in the census definition of economic activity. The usefulness of labour force statistics that classify household activities as economically productive will be severely limited in planning wage employment and market related activities of the general population.

Census figures indicate several interesting features of female participation in the labour force. Some of them are as follows:

(i) Children's share in the labour force is quite significant. The combined rate for both sexes (below age 14) accounted for 50.5 percent. For males it is 59.2 percent, whereas for females it is 40.1 percent. Altogether children comprise 13.5 percent of the total labour force in Nepal. From this it can be inferred that with the gradual introduction of free and primary education through the length and breadth of the country, labour force participation of adults, particularly that of females, is bound to increase with a corresponding increase in their work load.

(ii) Female participation rates in urban areas is substantially lower than in rural areas. This difference is mainly due to greater affluence of urban areas as compared to rural areas.

(iii) There occurs a sharp decline in married women's activities after 20 years of age, which explicitly reflects the influence of high fertility in shaping the trend of their economic activity. Moreover, the decline in the activity rates of married women is more sharp than the decline in the activity rates of single, divorced and widowed women. This is indicative of the dependence of married women on their husbands, which is voluntary. Such a tendency also explains to a greater extent why women tend to have less visible control over social and political domains as compared to men.

(iv) Female participation rates do not differ substantially from one age-group to the other in the child-bearing age of women. This suggests that all child bearing women fall into a single category so far as work is concerned.

(v) Female participation rate rises up to 46.2 percent in the age-group 15-19 and declines gradually with age. As against this, the contribution of males in the employable age (15-60) to the labour force follows the universal pattern and is characterized by high proportion rates for all ages, where the participation rate reaches its maximum at age 35-39 and continues to show a broad peak up to age 60.

(vi) Participation rate of females is more sensitive to affluence than male participation rate. This is indicated by the fact that participation rate among females is markedly lower in high income pockets such as in Kathmandu and the Terai than in the Hills.



(vii) The rise or decline in women's participation rate in the labour force is closely associated with the deficiency or excess in the number of male workers. Specifically, female participation rate is high in those Hilly regions from where men tend to migrate to other regions as well as to foreign countries.

The facts and figures presented above are also indicative of the hypothesis that Nepalese females tend to participate in the labour force only when there is an "absolute" necessity to do so. A slight increase in affluence or availability of male workers would lead to their withdrawal from the labour force.

Here, it should also be noted that development efforts in Nepal has not as yet gained sufficient momentum to cause significant shift in societal complexity and hence on sexual division of labour. Said differently, certain pre-requisites that are necessary for the emergence of sexual differentiation are themselves conspicuous by their absence. As much as 85.92 percent of the economically active population are own account workers. (Central Bureau of Statistics 1977: 188). Only 10 percent of cultivated land is under cash crops. Capital investment in tools and implements amounts to only 1 percent of total investment on farms. (Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1971 G/N 1971). After every 4,318 hectares of land there are only 1 agricultural graduate, 1.35 junior technicians and 1.85 junior technical assistants. (National Planning Commission, HMG/N 1975: 77). Institutional credit covers only 20.9 percent of borrowers. (Nepal Rastra Bank 1972). The scenario depicted in these and similar other statistics does not lend credence to the publicity given to the fact that development efforts have tended to favour men at the expense of women. In fact, development has neither exclusively favoured men nor exclusively women; it has only favoured a handful of elites. Consequently, it is absurd to make a distinction on sex line without any reference to the class structure.

Planning in Nepal so far has been basically planning for capital investment projects. In view of the poor state of infrastructural development in the country, this certainly has not been a bad strategy. In fact, even now it can be well argued that the critical minimum investment efforts necessary for development of basic economic and social overheads have not been adequate. Development entails movement of people as well as movement of material goods. Therefore, investment in roads becomes necessary. Experience in Nepal as well as elsewhere also indicates that whenever per capita availability of capital goods increases, productivity also increases. This also agrees well with our past development strategy centered around investment in capital projects. Such investment becomes absolutely necessary for laying the foundation for future development.

However, our investments in capital projects were devoid of explicit intertemporal analysis between rate of growth of output and rate of growth of consumption. Consequently, investments came to be regarded as an end in itself, when, in fact, it should have been regarded as a means to increase rate of growth of consumption. This had the unfortunate effect of ignoring the importance of concentrating on creation of use-value instead of laying undue emphasis on the creation of exchange-value. This in turn led to unintended consequences of neglecting those sphere of activities in which women were heavily concentrated. Specifically speaking, failure to make an explicit intertemporal analysis between investment and consumption led to the following type of problems from the point of view of women's involvement in development activities.

First, heavy emphasis on capital construction without due regard to its impact on the consumption requirements of the population within a given time dimension led to imbalance between economic and social components of development plans. Consequently, directly productive

projects with short gestation period such as, minor irrigation, distribution of improved seed and fertilizer; as well as social projects such as those related to health nutrition and family planning which affect women more than men, did not receive as much emphasis as they should have received.

Second, the technical requirements of capital investment projects severely limited the scope of popular participation in plan formulation and execution. In the context of Nepal, the composition of past investment, even in agriculture and social sector were such that they were heavily biased in favour of capital components such as construction of buildings and purchases of equipments. This type of investment pattern, given the socio-economic background of the Nepalese people in general and that of women in particular, was not suited for their involvement in planning procedures. The whole thing became a technical affair.

Third, the huge financial requirements of capital investment projects on the one hand and limited capacity of the government to mobilize sufficient domestic resources on the other, led to ever increasing dependence on foreign aid. Dependence on foreign aid also restricted the scope for the application of whatever indigeneous technology and resources were available. Such a situation was hardly conducive for mass involvement in development efforts, especially that of women.

Fourth, our planners as yet have not been able to develop meaningful criterias for project selection and investment. Such criterias are absolutely necessary if a balance between economic and social components of development planning is to be maintained in order to facilitate women's involvement in development process.

Fifth, planning in Nepal till now has been basically planning for the public sector. Practically no consideration has been given to the planning of the unorganized private sector. Since the majority of the Nepalese women are engaged in this sector our planners in future should be particularly serious to develop meaningful intervention strategy for the development of this sector.

If we are really serious about institutionalizing the broader interests of women in development process, what we should really do at the national level is not to grant a few concessions and dispensation to women in the form of special treatment and reserved seats for empty positions. What we should really do is to structure the network of development efforts around the idea of "social justice through growth" and a built-in-mechanism for reducing possible conflict between employment creation and income growth. For this "we need a model of development in which both consumption and investment expenditures are so planned as to yield the highest possible social rate of return. In other words, we need to have both investment and consumption planning as instrumentalities for making income accrue directly to as great a section of the poor as possible and thus provide a more equitable economic opportunities." (Vichit-Vadakan and Ramana 1978: 4).

Such an investment-cum-consumption planning should recognize the predominant role of employment generation as a means to guarantee "basic needs" of the population. "Basic needs" include two elements: First it include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption such as adequate food, shelter and clothing and certain essential community services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health and education facilities.

A basic-needs oriented policy also implies the participation of the people in making the decisions which effect them. Participation interacts with the two elements of a basic needs strategy. For example, education and good health will facilitate participation, and participations in turn will strengthen the claim for the material basic needs.

In all countries, employment enters into a basic-needs strategy both as a means and as an end. Employment yields an output, and it gives a person the recognition of being engaged in something worth his while. ...

The fulfilment of basic-needs targets in the poorer countries of the world certainly cannot be achieved by a redistribution of goods currently produced. Not only must the structure of production change, but the total amount produced must also rise over time. For this reason, it should be stressed that a rapid rate of economic growth is an essential part of a basic-need strategy. (International Labour Organization 1976: 32-33).

The implication of a basic needs strategy as outlined above will have several implications for women's welfare.

First, by allocating resources to the provision of basic minimum requirements of a family for providing consumption, a basic need strategy will facilitate incorporation of women's interests directly into development plans to the extent such interests are tied with household affairs.

Second, redirecting investment efforts to the production of goods and services entering into the definition of basic needs will also help to check the under-cutting of the so called 'traditional' but 'productive' roles of women due to pressure exerted by the adoption of modern technology.

Third, in a basic needs approach to development planning, the line of distinction between investment and other expenditure categories in relation to the development of the social sector becomes blurred.

Accordingly, it will beckon to the planners that "while investment is necessary for development, judicious development expenditures on health, education, nutrition, etc. do yield returns out of all proportions to the size of such expenditures." (Vichit-Vadakan and Ramana 1978: 4). A logical corollary of thus viewing rates of return on investment will also help to blur the distinction between labour expended on creating use-value and labour expended on creating exchange-value. Blurring of such distinction will help to restore equality between the status of the male and the female.

Fourth, by recognising the predominant role of employment generation both as means and an end in development process, a basic need strategy will widen the scope of employment for females in sphere of activities in which they possess special skill and aptitude.

Fifth, "the aggregate frame of the development plan will be more likely to distinguish between the per capita income growth of two or more different income groups of people and weight the income growth rates of these groups according to a system which gives greater weight to growth rates of income which might accrue to the low end income groups." (Ibid.: 7). Such a frame of development plan will be specially effective to redress the problems of poor women.

Sixth, basic-need strategy will entail relatively greater emphasis to the bottom-up approach, in formulation and implementation of development plans and, hence, will also provide greater opportunities for women's involvement in plan execution. By localizing development efforts in a small area, it will also minimize women's need to migrate to different places in search of employment opportunities.

Finally, under basic-needs approach greater emphasis will be placed on the use of local resources and specialization in the production of foods which are produced by indigenous techniques. Such an emphasis will be of special importance for integrating women in development activities.

At this point it would not be out of place to outline a plan of action for a basic need approach to development planning. Following Vichit-Vadkan and Ramana. (Ibid.: 6-7) we opine that such a plan of action be based on the following considerations:

First, sectoral targets, plans and programs should be formulated on the basis of their employment impact.

Second, for resource allocation purpose, sectors and projects should be ranked on the basis of their likely contribution to employment generation.

Third, in sectors and projects where there is no direct correspondence between employment and output generation, planners should rank the vector of consumption in such a way that greater weight is assigned to those commodities and services which enter the consumption basket of the lower income groups.

Fourth, we should make sure that wage rate stays within the limits of the marginal productivity of labour.

(i) The conventional approach requires relaxation of the norms and standards of the selection process. Consequently, it breeds inefficiencies in the functioning of the political system. What we are talking about is leadership position in social and political domain. Attributes necessary to be a leader are simply not distributed in terms of the numerical strength of the two sexes. Men and women who assume leadership positions in contemporary society do so on the basis of their contribution, especially in some crucial movements in the history of their nations. The proportionality argument advocated by a few elite women does not assign any weight to the contributions made by the two sexes. It only considers their numerical strength.

(ii) Provisions of "reserved" seats for women in various branches of government may solve the problem of the participation of elite women; it cannot solve the problem of non-participation of the apathetic, ordinary women lacking in the feeling of political efficacy. Promotion of the feeling of political efficacy in ordinary women calls for an institutional arrangement that comes very close to the paradigm of direct participation. Placing more and more women candidates in different branches of government through institutional arrangement of women's organization will have little or no effect on the role of the individual women vis-a-vis the national government. The choice of an ordinary woman would still be confined to a choice between competing women leaders or representatives. Her influence over the outcome of the election would be infinitely small. Unless the size of national political units is drastically reduced that piece of reality is not going to change. Accordingly, it hardly matters to her whether the candidate in whose favour she is going to cast her vote is a male or female.

(iii) Given the facts of existing political order, participation of elite women is not a sufficient condition for the protection of women's interest in general. Elite women are easily co-opted by male-



dominated political system. Jeane Kirpatrick's study of U.S. Women Legislators indicates that "more often than not, these legislators support or embody the dominant ideology, suggesting either that there is a bias in the selection process (those women who participate are satisfied with the status quo), or that women who attain even middle-level political posts have to conform to male standards" (Buvinic 1976: 15). There is every reason to believe that this should also be true in Nepal.

(iv) Arguments for special benefits, privilege and immunities for women in order to promote their participation in political life have been self-defeating most of the time in most countries. Very often such arguments have produced the wrong effects for the right cause. Describing the Latin American situation in this regard Figuero (Figuero 1976: 53), writes:

From the outset, efforts in this field have mistakenly tried to measure with a single yardstick the function of the two sexes, which are complementary but not identical. This has aroused rivalry between the sexes that goes against the very nature of their vital functions, which are those of preserving mankind and improving the quality of life for the whole society.

(v) While pressing demands for special privilege, elite women tend to grossly misinterpret the true meaning of sexual equality in ways that place the blame for societal problems on men even when the inactivity of women in social and political domain is not the fault of men.

The prototype of all division of labour may, with confidence, be identified as nature's sexual differentiation of reproductive tasks. Yet many voices are now suggesting that the abolition of the legal and customary discrimination against women, which in varying degrees is a fact of life in practically all societies, should lead to a new state of affairs where men and

women in principle have identical responsibilities and privileges. The need for women to continue to bear society's children is grudgingly accepted for the time being. The implicit and arbitrary interpretation of equality as sameness is not discussed. (Olin 1976: 106-107).

(vi) Explaining the self-defeating nature of the argument based on the notion of identical responsibilities and privileges Olin observes (Ibid.: 107) as follows:

If men and women are different - a seemingly irrefutable fact - it cannot be beneficial, either tactically or substantively, for women to insist on necessarily having the very same rights and duties as men in a world where the rules have been made by men. With this approach, the women's movement is bound to lose, as it has in large measures done until now. The prospects for equality become much more promising if it can be argued that women have something to offer that is needed but missing in the present male-dominated management of our affairs. The issue at stake is, in other words, above all one of management and social organization rather than the relatively arbitrary assignment of technical tasks among men and women.

(vii) A necessary corollary of the conventional approach to promoting equality between the sexes in social and political domains has been the prescription of separate women's organizations as the proper institutional channel to exercise political weight on the national political system. Such prescription is in direct confrontation with the fact that mature political systems are not responsive to pressure groups generally and certainly would not be responsive to the views of groups made up of women only. Even more puzzling is the self-confession of the very same advocates of separate women's organizations that women often lack knowledge of the legal procedures involved in forming organization, or are not sufficiently trained in business or administrative skills or become bogged down by inter-personal or inter-organizational rivalries.

(viii) Politically-oriented women's organizations can never be free of legitimacy crisis in a political system in which similar other organizations are not allowed to operate. To disguise their ulterior political motive these organizations direct their efforts towards changing the distribution of power between husband and wife even when the existing pattern of power distribution has its origin in the class structure of the society. In any case, power is a zero sum game; one cannot increase the power of a wife without decreasing the power of the husband, even if such an alternation is possible. No wonder then that women's organizations are the source of dysfunctional conflicts. Moreover, sex differences vis-a-vis class differences can never be the focal point of interest aggregation. Class differences will cross-cut sexual cleavages. Consequently, women's organizations fail to legitimize themselves by expounding common interests that are sufficiently strong and long-lasting to justify involvement.

(ix) Having failed to legitimize themselves, women's organizations would opt to enhance their effectiveness by demanding separate provisions for women in development projects of dubious merit to ensure their survival. If governments yield to such demands the inefficiencies and distortion in resource allocation mechanism emanating from the bifurcation of national plans and budgets would be at the cost of the general tax payers.

#### Popular Participation and the Planning Process

Although Nepalese planners have not explicitly recognized women as a target group for planning purpose, they have always recognized the importance of popular participation as one of the preconditions for successful development efforts. The degree of emphasis might have varied, and there might also have occurred slight changes in the nuance of the planners' commitment to popular participation, but throughout there have been an ever increasing concern for the involvement of the masses in planning and implementation of development projects.

The first plan recognized that "to be successful [planning] efforts must be rooted in the real wants and aspirations of the people and must enlist their full and active support." (Government of Nepal 1956: 1). Accordingly, it sought to provide scope for popular participation in planning through the Gram Vikas Projects, educational programmes and the like. Besides, it even went to the extent of exhorting civil servants to change their attitudes towards farmers and villagers. However, the mere fact that participation is still being discussed as one of the means for successful development efforts means that there are certain institutional and procedural issues that must be resolved before further commitment to popular participation is made. Furthermore, since the nature, content as well as basic procedural question related to women's participation in development cannot be significantly different from that of men, it behoves us that we should first address such general issues and questions before we address the much narrower issues related to women's participation as such. The nature of these general issues are as follows:

First, national planners in Nepal, as elsewhere in the world, have been confronted by the difficult question of how to reconcile the need to broaden participation and the need to find a coherent development strategy which is politically feasible, economically sound and can be implemented administratively. In the past, planners responded to this challenge by creating a series of ad hoc committees consisting of local leaders as well as government officials, both to enlist popular support and to effect necessary interagency coordination. With some modification this is still being continued. However, because of time involved in consultation, wide differences in the rank and status of the committee members, their orientation, technical qualification and knowledge of administrative procedures, the committee system proved to be dysfunctional for attaining the time bound targets of development projects.

Second, issues pertaining to popular participation in general and women's participation in particular are in fact the manifestation of the ongoing national debate over the relative merit of political representation on the basis of election as against that of cooption. Unless this debate is closed, issues relating to popular participation in planning process are bound to be submerged by the larger issue pertaining to political representation as such.

Third, the increased role of elective bodies in planning and implementation of development programmes in the past has always led to the allocation of far too high a proportion of the development expenditure to provision of social services under the premise that provision for such services is basis to enlisting popular participation in development. Past experience however has shown that development of the social sector cannot be self-sustaining and viable without a commensurate effort at resource mobilization. Yet, scope for resource mobilization at the local level is severely limited because of the poor resource base of the local panchayats.

Fourth, in Nepal incidence of low productivity and income is not concentrated in a few regions or divided according to sex status; rather it is widespread. This means that potential target groups are large relative to resources and, in particular, to the trained man-power and institutional capability available to local panchayats for planning and implementing development programmes. Consequently, in the context of Nepal, the concept of target group itself has been somewhat a difficult concept to deal with in planning and executing development programmes.

Finally, there is the general issue of how to make the bureaucratic machinery more responsive to the needs and aspiration of the masses. Between 1952 and 1975, several structural changes were made to transform

the district administration from a law enforcing agency to a development agency, responsible for all the major development activities, including institutional development. However, a viable solution in this regard has not yet emerged, although the quest is still continuing. Various administrative reforms being undertaken so far has led to deconcentration of administration in which the center of administrative authority is being marginally shifted from Kathmandu to the representative of line ministries in the districts. But such administrative reforms have not led to meaningful decentralization of power to local panchayats and their electorates in matters related to identification of needs and formulation of programme contents. Since citizen involvement in planning and decision-making is fundamentally related to decentralization of power, the issues related to the decentralization of the political system need to be resolved first before we talk of achieving mass participation in general and women's participation in particular.

Finally, there also exists the issue of how to reconcile the technical and financial requirements of capital investment projects with the need for mass participation. In the Nepalese case, this has been unusually a complex issue, more particularly in the context of heavy dependence on foreign aid.

The cumulative effect of the five unresolved issues discussed in the preceding paragraphs was that contrary to the planners' intention. "the past efforts [for enlisting popular participation] were concentrated only on the implementation aspect and they proved not so successful inasmuch as the people could not decide for themselves." (Singh 1980: 5-6)

The past failures have not however diminished the planners' enthusiasm for enlisting popular participation in the development process. Since 1974, new experiments in devising institutional structure and processes for enlisting popular participation have received a new momentum. Three important aspects of these experiments that are directly relevant for involving women in decision-making process are as follows:

First, they intend to change the context of political decision-making by concentrating all planning efforts on requirements of food production, small-scale technology, nutrition, education, health and family planning - "factors and needs" identified as of special importance to women's integration in development.

Second, the institutional structure and processes envisioned for institutionalizing popular participation in the planning process come very close to the paradigm of direct participation so that ordinary individual has the opportunity directly to participate in decision-making.

Third, the contemplated institutional structure and process are also likely to enable the individual better to appreciate the connection between the public and the private sphere so that he or she is better able to assess the impact of decision taken by national representatives on his or her own life and immediate surroundings.

The salient features of some of the important experiments made for enlisting popular participation are as follows:

#### The Panchayat Sector

After the introduction in the Third Plan Period (1965-70), the importance of this sector has been assuming increasing importance in successive plans. Resources allocated to this sector in the Sixth Plan (1980-85) is 8.07 percent of the total plan outlay. Programmes included

in the Panchayat sector relate to "fulfilling numerous needs of daily life of the common people. such as roads, bridges, culverts, irrigational canals drinking water, health posts, school buildings [etc , capable of being implemented] on the basis of local leadership, experience, skill, knowledge, people's participation and resources " (National Planning Commission, HMG/N 1979: 3)

#### The District Administration Plan

District Administration Plan, 1974 which became effective on July 1, 1975 "has been reformed and strengthened in recent years." (Singh 1980: 6). This plan is expected to provide an organizational link between local political organizations and local administration which was absent prior to 1975.

To this end, all the development offices at the District level are kept under the direct control of the Chief District Officer (CDO) assisted by a Panchayat Development Officer (PDO). Under the District Administration Plan arrangements for forming various District Level Co-ordination Committees have been made to help project preparation as well as implementation. In essence the Panchayat process of development to be assisted and coordinated through the District Administration Plan, is a major instrument in policy formulation and plan implementation towards the achievement of the objectives of the district development plan. (Ibid.: 6).

#### Integrated Rural Development Projects

As part of the strategy for rural development enunciated in January 1978, integrated development projects "will not only provide facilities and assistance in increasing agricultural production but will also infuse among the people a sense of participation by involving themselves directly in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of local development projects, and in the decision-making process." (National Planning Commission, HMG/N 1978: 32). Local Panchayats and Sajha programme are the principal instruments for institutionalizing popular participation in such projects. "Presently four integrated rural development programmes are under different stages of implementation." (Singh 1980: 4).



### The Private Sector

The development of this sector received only scant attention in the past five plans. This is evidenced by the fact that past plans provided "only partial picture of development scene as they embodied only the public sector allocation of investment programme." (Singh 1980. 6). While this is true even in the Sixth Plan (1980-85), the importance of this sector has been somewhat enhanced in recent years because of greater emphasis placed for its promotion. In view of the self-employed status of the majority of the Nepalese women, greater importance attached to this sector has certainly been a step in the right direction.

### Decentralized Institutions and Planning Procedure

Existing "planning apparatus in Nepal is geared to five practical expression to the concept of decentralization." (Singh 1980: 4). The National Development Council which is at the apex of the central planning organization is chaired by His Majesty the King and consists of members -

representing different section of national life ... It has the power to issue guidelines on the fundamental objectives and policies of the plans; to give directives in order to make sure that national development plans adequately reflect the aspirations as also the felt needs of the people; to review and evaluate development programmes and finally to facilitate for the speedy implementation of development plans and programmes. ... The guiding principles of the country's constitution and the Royal Directives of His Majesty the King as Chairman of the National Development Council are the source of policy guidelines for the formulation of development objectives and policies. (Ibid.: 4-6).

Chaired by the Prime-Minister, the National Planning Commission is composed of technocrats working under the general guidelines provided by the National Development Council "Its works relates to taking policy measures, plan formulation, implementation as well as progress review and evaluation." (Ibid.: 5).

The Planning Cells of different ministries and departments "work under the technical guidance and direction of the NPC. The functions and responsibilities of the Cells are: to determine objectives and policies of concerned Ministry in line with national priority and resource availability, to prepare annual plans, to review progress of the projects, to obtain periodical progress reports of all projects and to analyse them and to submit report to the NPC." (Ibid.: 5).

The establishment of Regional Planning Offices at four different development centers has been motivated by the "desire to facilitate the formulation of national plans in accordance with the people's aspirations." (Ibid.: 5). The functions and responsibilities of these offices are:

(i) to collect people's needs and report to the National Planning Commission, (ii) to provide technical advice and assistance to the Regional and District Officers to design development programmes, (iii) to recommend to Remote Area and Local Development Department programmes to be carried out under government grants-in-aid, (iv) to visit project sites and to review and evaluate progress, (v) to remove bottlenecks hindering implementation and progress of development projects, (vi) to aid and advise concerned officers in the maintenance and supervision of completed projects, (vii) to carry out economic and feasibility studies and submit them to the NPC, (viii) to establish and up-date regional review rooms and progress reports, (ix) to conduct seminar workshop relating to planning and implementation, and (x) to control and coordinate the different development activities in line with Plan objectives and priorities. (Ibid.: 5).

### Basic Needs Approach

The Basic Needs Approach incorporated in the Sixth Plan (1980-85) envisions that planning efforts will be geared to the fulfillment of the requirements of nutrition, housing, clothing, health, education and employment of the masses. Concern for mass involvement in planning and implementation of development plans and projects is its distinctive feature. There is every reason to believe that this approach will be continued in subsequent plans also.

If the institutional structures and planning processes discussed in the preceding paragraphs are fully operationalised and put into practice, women in Nepal will have very little to complain about participation being unavailable to them. Nevertheless, given the technical nature of the task of plan formulation and execution, ambivalence of political leaders regarding the relative merit of centralization and decentralization and the nature and character of the bureaucratic system, the question arises as to whether future attempts to promote mass participation in development activities should place less emphasis on structural changes within the national and district administration and more on the procedural questions related to programme planning and implementation. By procedural we mean process of consultation with rural residents, identification of local needs and constraints, application of appropriate technical and institutional criteria, and a feed-back mechanism to assess progress and to remove obstacles in the way of programme objectives. Alternatively, a budgetary practice analogous to fixed ceiling budgeting in which the overall distribution of resources is made above and decision about how to spend the resources is made below, could also be recommended.

## Chapter Seven

# THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT ON THE ROLE AND STATUS OF NEPALESE WOMEN

### Introduction

There has been a long-term stability in the position of women in Nepalese society inspite of twenty-two years of experiments in development planning. However, the pattern is changing slowly and insistent demands for further change are being heard. Consequently, there is need to consider the reasons for the stability in women's position and for the current discontent.

### Reasons for Long-Term Stability

Several reasons for the long-term stability in the position of the Nepalese women may be offered as follows:

#### Structural Stagnation of the Economy

In spite of completion of five development plans, there has been a virtual stagnation of the economy in terms of agriculture sector share in gross domestic product. As much as 65 percent of the gross domestic product originate in agriculture sector and this proportion has remained more or less the same throughout the twenty-two years of planning, beginning from 1956. Structural stagnation over a long period of time has restricted opportunities for occupational and social mobility for the population as a whole. Consequently, there has been a long-term stagnation in the structure of the labour force as well. Since 1952/54 itself, the proportion of the work force engaged in agriculture has remained constant around 94 percent, whereas the absolute number of persons engaged in agriculture has increased. Sectoral shifts occurring within the non-agricultural sector at the margin has not been encouraging either. The gains made by the service sector has been at the expense

of production-related sectors. Like elsewhere in the world, the expansion of the service sector has facilitated absorption of female labour in spite of abundant male labour supply.

#### The Closed and Isolated Nature of Economic and Social Organizations

As high as 83 percent of the population live in localities with a population less than 5,000. The population dispersion is in fact more outstanding than this.

In the Terai area, houses are notably clustered, while in the midlands and mountains, the population outside towns is scattered over a very vast area. Even in the same village some wards may occupy a considerably big area where one would find houses remotely scattered over the ward boundaries. (CBS, HMG/N 1977: 37).

Dispersion of population in small localities over a very wide and rugged areas has led to the creation of a vast, self-contained subsistence rural sector which is still a conspicuous feature of the Nepalese economy.

Physical barriers prevent transfer of foods and services from one part of the country to the other, whereas the well-knit families, clans or communities make each village or group of villages a separate economic unit dependent upon itself for all its requirements. Such a high degree of self-reliance and closed nature of the economy requires villagers to produce locally whatever they can to meet their few simple needs and hence prevents the diffusion of whatever social, economic and technological changes have been introduced elsewhere in the country. (Shrestha 1966: 50).

#### High Fertility Rate

Nepales evidence confirms Olin's thesis (Olin 1976: 105) that the physiology and the attendant requisite of human reproduction tend "to tie women in the private home and make men more-or-less exclusive actors on the public stage." Although the average number of children per woman is

relatively low, "female activity rates vary greatly according to marital status. The sharp decline in married women's activities after age 20 explicitly reflects the influence of high fertility in shaping the trend of their economic activity." (CBS, HMG/N 1977: 556).

High fertility restricts women's geographic mobility and hence their social mobility through employment. Since employment opportunities tend to be unevenly distributed among geographic regions, women's inability to move from place to place independently of their families would imply potential loss for increasing income as well as opportunities to change roles. Indeed, children are heavy baggage to carry up the social ladder.

Furthermore, sex-role stereotypes or consensus beliefs about the differing characteristics of men and women are directly related to the differences in the degree of their spatial mobility. One reason as to why the perception of men and women are shaped differently is because of the fact that "women live much more of their lives in their own neighbourhoods; even if they are employed outside their homes their places of work tend to be quite close to their homes while men travel much farther afield." (Papanek 1976: 55).

#### Abundance of Male Labour Supply

In Nepal, the regional differences in women's activity rates is closely associated with the deficiency or excess in the number of male workers. In the process of outmigration, the Hilly regions have been continuously losing male labourers. This shortage is compensated by increased economic activity rates of females in these regions. The relatively low activity rate in the Terai and in urban areas is mainly due to the accessibility of male workers and relative affluence of people in these regions.

There are also some indications that break-up of family life in Nepal is closely associated with male selective character of outmigration. "Nepal has for a long time experienced a continuous stream of out-migration on the male side. Migration starts approximately at age 15 and continues up to age 50 where a return back to the country at, this age is probably a recent occurrence." (CBS, HMG/N 1977: 70). This suggests that outmigration in Nepal must have some direct implications for family break-ups and overburdening of women in those places from where out-migration of males is taking place.

#### Low Prestige Attached to Wage Employment

It is a widely accepted social norm in Nepal that working for wages is a mark of low status. Although this is true for both male and female, the female, in particular, find high status inconsistent not only with wage labour but also with extra-mural movement. At the upper social hierarchy, a girl is basically trained to be a wife and daughter-in-law, and success or failure in both the roles gets reflected to the credit or discredit of her parents.

The objection to wage-employment remains even at the second level of the social hierarchy but is circumvented by resorting to labour exchange. Thus female members of two small landowning class may work on each other's land during peak agricultural seasons. Here it may also be noted that among the middle and lower levels of social hierarchy a girl is trained to be acquisitive.

As development provides opportunities for increased social mobility through employment for the lower strata of the social hierarchy, their women too tend to be withdrawn from wage employment. The possession of secular elements of high status has to be legitimized by resorting to

"Sanskritization." "Sanskritization" refers to the process in which a mobile class or caste increasingly tends to assert its newly acquired status by imitating the rituals of the higher class or caste:

["Sanskritization"] alters the life style of those who have "arrived" and in particular, it has radical effects on the lives of women. It immures them and changes the character of the husband-wife relationship... Sanskritization leads to heightened sensitivity to ideas of purity and pollution, and to the performance of elaborate ritual, life cycle, calendrical and others. (Srinivas 1978: 16-17).

#### The Imperative to Keep Assets in Family's Possession

The dominant mode of production in Nepal is subsistence activity based on jointly owned assets by the coparceners of Hindu family. The assets owned by the family is vital for economic, political and social consideration and its importance is projected into the ritual and mystical dimension. As soon as the partition of jointly owned assets take place, the joint family system also tends to break-up.

Since the dominant mode of production is subsistence activity based on jointly owned familial assets, a son is absolutely needed to carry on the subsistence activity of the family. The practical aspect of having a son is that he helps to keep assets in family's possession; a function which cannot be fulfilled by daughters due to the imperatives of marriage. This, however, does not mean that parents discriminate against daughters. As Keotiwali, a middle-aged mother in Central India told Jacobson, so also a Nepalese mother would say: "We love our daughters and sons the same... We bear the burden of both for nine months, and there is no difference in the birth pangs. Sadly our daughters must leave us to become part of another family. But then, our sons bring home someone else's daughters to carry on our lineage and care for our aging." (Jacobson 1977: 282).



Division of Labour Between the Sexes

There is a clear and self-understood division of labour between the sexes in rural as well as urban areas. Activities to be performed both inside and outside the household are seen as supportive of each other and since the dominant mode of production is familial, each and every individual must either get married or work as a member of one's own natal family. The institution of marriage is the instrument through which society is able to maintain a harmonious and inter-dependent relationship between the sexes.

For women, intra-mural work is primary and extra-mural work is always secondary and an addition. For men, on the other hand, intra-mural work is always an addition. Since subsistence activities are simple in nature, men and women are capable of interchanging their roles according to circumstances with little or no extra effort--unless of course the role in question is genetically determined. The clear and self-understood division of labour between the sexes and the interchangeability of their roles ensures that neither of the sexes are excessively overburdened except in unusual circumstances. Lacking alternative employment, both men and women tend to divide up such work and income as there is. At lower levels of the social hierarchy, both men and women are overworked. However, in a purely statistical sense, men's work tend to be evenly distributed throughout the year as compared to that of women. Accordingly, during peak agricultural seasons women tend to be overworked as compared to men since they are called upon to perform both intra-and extra-mural activities. At higher levels of the social hierarchy, on the other hand, women tend to be underworked whereas men tend to be overworked. This is basically due to the immurement of women which characterizes the top level.

In spite of structural stagnation of the national economy over a long period of time, certain better endowed regions such as the Bagmati, the Narayani and the Kosi zones have experienced substantial transformation over the last twenty-two years or so because of concentration of development activities in these regions made possible by foreign aid. However, vertical inequities in asset ownership in these areas have meant that benefits of development in these regions have accrued to a narrow segment of the population. The fact that agricultural products fetch higher prices has meant prosperity for big landowners; whereas provisions of infrastructure facilities in the cities have meant high urban rents for property owners. Besides, increased volume of imports made possible by foreign aid has also caused substantial increase in merchantile profit.

One of the consequence of limited prosperity in localized area has been widening of the differences between the classes. This has impinged on sex differentiation among upper levels of the social hierarchy.

#### Reasons for Current Change and Discontent

Several reasons for current change and discontent among Nepalese women may be offered as follows:

##### Impact of Fertility Control Measures

Despite the virtual absence of family planning and the prevalence of early marriage in the country as a whole, fertility control measures initiated after 1958 have made significant impact among urban dwellers accounting for approximately 4 percent of the population. A very large proportion of the relatively affluent educated urban groups practice contraception. Total fertility rate between 1961 and 1971 was estimated to be 5.09 in rural settlements and 4.72 in urban settlements. (CBS, HMG/N 1977: 116). There is every reason to believe that since then this

difference must have widened over the years. The New Law of the Land of 1962 has restricted age at marriage to 14 years of age for female and 18 years of age for male and by now has further raised them to 16 and 18 years respectively. There are substantial differences in the proportion of ever-married women between urban and rural areas, probably because literacy rates in urban settlements are much higher than literacy rates in rural areas, and also because female labour in rural area is no less important than male labour. A close comparison between proportion ever married in 1961 and 1971 has shown that a change in marital pattern has started to take place at lower age-groups for both males and females. Decrease of 3 percent and 2 percent of ever married males and females at 15 years and over has been observed between 1961 and 1971 respectively. Reduction in mortality and morbidity rates in urban areas have also exercised positive influence on the reduction of fertility rates. The cumulative effect of all the above mentioned facts has been that women's role as mothers have come to occupy a relatively smaller part of their adult lives. Therefore, women in urban centers typically find themselves only partly occupied by the kind of tasks that have been their lot through the ages. Over the years, the number of such women is increasing. They want to work outside the home as well. However, because of high rate of growth of population, abundant supply of male labour, long-term stagnation of the economy, the nature of investment undertakings and the type of technologies being used in development process, the employment situation in the country is deteriorating. Moreover, appropriate types of part-time job or occupation are also not available. In a situation like this it is quite natural for urban women to be discontent with the on-going development process.

#### Spread of Female Education

Increased public expenditure on education over time has led to rapid improvement in the education status of women even in remote areas.

In spite of this however, women as a group have not been able to reach higher level of management position vis-a-vis their male counterparts because of the fact that marriage and caste considerations exert pressure to keep the level of female education attainment below that of male. This has led to false notion of sex discrimination among certain section of the educated women.

More important that the intimate link that exists between female education, marriage, and caste membership is the fact that secondary work socialization of women in affluent class, conditions them for their use as secondary workers, while their primary training in domestic economy conditions them for reproductive functions they fulfill even in the public sphere. Majority of them tend to have ambivalent attitude towards work opportunities. Their socialization at home negates the positive effect education has towards attitude to work. This has led to another false notion of "higher level participation being denied" for them.

#### Availability of Servants and Wide Kin-Networks

A third reason for female discontent with on-going process of development in Nepal is to be found in the availability of domestic servants and the readily available help from their natal home in times of emergency. The relative ease with which women from affluent class can draw upon the help from these two sources have enabled them to successfully resolve the conflict arising from their desire to combine intra-mural and extra-mural chores. The following observation made by Srinivas on how Indian women have been able to resolve the conflict in combining traditional and modern roles is equally relevant to the case of the Nepalese women:

The relative ease with which... women have entered the profession and captured political power is an impressive fact of modern world, though it is only a tiny urban minority largely hailing from the upper castes which has been the principal beneficiary of the new gains. Quite part from the fact that ... men have not opposed feminine emancipation, two little noticed facts seem to be part of this process. Educated...

women are able to hold demanding jobs, and be housewives and mothers at the same time thanks to the availability of servants, and to their ability to draw upon their wide kin-networks for help in crisis. Thus a pregnant girl may go to her natal home for her confinement, or if that is difficult, her mother or a married sister might visit her and be with her till she is able to resume her normal life. It may surprise many to know that it is becoming common for [migrant] wives in the United States, Canada and Britain to get their mother or sisters to visit them during their confinement. (Srinivas 1978: 27-28).

However, Srinivas also warns these women when he says that "the crunch may come when, as it is already happening in some cities, servants are no available, and a more remote possibility, when kinship networks become smaller and kinship obligations decrease in intensity." (Ibid.: 28).

There is another problem. When women are employed in low paying jobs, "it has to be remembered that their children are also most likely to suffer the greatest actual physical deprivation in the absence of the mother. There are no readily available substitutes for breast milk in countries where heat, disease, poor sanitation, and ignorance combine with the very high price of powdered milk to lead to a decline in infant health." (Papanek 1976: 62).

#### The Constitutional Provision for a National Women's Organization

A fourth reason for female's discontent with the on-going development process in Nepal is to be found in the constitutional provision for a national women's organization as one of the seven class organizations to represent interests of women in national politics. The Nepal Women's Organization has utterly failed to create demand for its services not only among the majority of the Nepalese population but also among the members of its own constituency. It has even failed to prove its usefulness to the very same political system for whose "maintenance" it was created in the first place. Accordingly, a certain section of its leadership whose goal is personal mobility and a bourgeois life-style,

has found it politically expedient to ferment discontent among a small section of women in urban areas. The Nepal Women's Organization has recently been pre-occupied with sexual differentiation, which has found ample support from the Western feminist movement. Several inconsistencies to be noted in its propaganda are as follow:

(i) The limits on free association prescribed by society apply not only to women but also to men. The practical aspect of it is that it permits enforced togetherness to operate without too much friction so that either of the sexes are not very apt to change partners.

(ii) Men inherit parental property along with myraid obligations towards parents, the family and the wide kin-networks in which they live. Women do not inherit parental property except in unusual circumstances but they are also not subject to the worries and extra responsibilities which inheritance of parental property entails. However, excluded from inheritance rights, women are more than fully compensated through the system of dowry, marriage expense and privileges of various types of pecuniary benefits when they visit their natal families in normal as well as abnormal circumstances. The practical aspects of excluding women from inheriting parental property are that they allow assets to be kept in the family possession, check fragmentation of landholdings, prevent disintegration of joint family system, preserve the intensity of kinship obligations, facilitate agricultural operations as well as other enterprises to take place as a familial activity, ensure adequate care of the young, the old and the disabled by adult members of the family, and preserve the delicate balance existing between men and material resources in a subsistence economy.

(iii) Additional privileges for men outside the home correspond to additional privileges for women inside the home. Women's control over the social and political domain is ensured through the meticulous observance of purity-pollution rules and the periodical performance of

rituals. "A considerable part of the ritual has direct reference to the pursuit of secular ends, and to that extent, the performance of ritual only indicates practicality." (Srinivas 1978: 17). Through management control of their husband's inherited property and ownership of assets brought from natal families, women gain a significant amount of financial independence. For women belonging to lower levels of social hierarchy, the main source of financial independence is the indispensibility of female labour in agricultural operations especially in peak agricultural seasons.

(iv) The sacred literature of Sanskritic Hinduism provides sanctions for contrary norms and usages. Thus:

while total subordination of the wife to her husband [is] one aspect of Sanskritic Hinduism, the religious and moral partnership of the conjugal pair is another aspect. The husband [is] religiously incomplete without his wife, and most important rituals require their joint participation. The wife is referred to as a half-body (Ardhangi), and she [gets] as a matter of right, half the religious merit which the husband earn [s] by this piety and devotion. Shiva [is] represented in one of his forms as ardhanarishwora, half-man and half-woman. (Srinivas 1978: 20).

By making insistent demands for discrimination in favour of elite women, the Nepal Women's Organization is very likely to destroy the "merit system" in the national administration. Its' unreasonable demand for special 'women in development' projects has already caused the bifurcation of the national plan and national budget. Special privilege and immunities granted to women in the political sphere has not only introduced anomalies in the election procedure, but also instability in the organizational structure of the "class organizations."

The control exercised by the so called women leaders over voluntary and social organizations is stifling. Their interference in the execution of projects and programmes related to health, education, nutrition and

family planning is unwarranted. Their attempt to enter the teaching and research faculty of the university from back doors is disturbing. By imposing the so-called "protective" legislation on industry, the Nepal Women's Organizations has restricted women's opportunities to work and employers' motivation to hire women. The cumulative effect of all these actions has been that ordinary women, especially in urban areas, cannot enter the job market with the same competitive advantage as their male counterparts.

Given the importance of intra-mural work in subsistence mode of production, the notion of under-utilization of female labour in Nepal is a misnomer. When "effective energy" required to maintain a given level of subsistence requirements is in short supply, women cannot remain idle. From this it also follows that the concept of "double exploitation"--of work outside the home combined with domestic responsibilities, is also not applicable to the majority of women in Nepal. Inter-changeability of skills and need to work for survival in a subsistence economy ensures clear and minute rules governing the division of labour between the sexes in both intra-and extra-mural activities, irrespective of whether such activities pertain to agriculture or non-agriculture. Therefore, it is only women of the bourgeois class that are under-utilized. Similarly, it is only women of bourgeois class that are subject to "double exploitation." Amongst women of this class a smaller percentage choose to work, and may do so more easily through the employment of domestic servants to perform their tasks in the household. Women from petit - bourgeois family represent of course another transitional type, whose goal is personal mobility and bourgeois life - style. Less abundant resources lead them to greater exploitation of their own domestic labour and/or that of their fewer domestic servants. The Nepal Women's Organization represents the interests of only these two types of women.



## Chapter 8:

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study took up the following fundamental issue of concern to integrating women in development: To what extent women's participation in agriculture, industry, trade and science is reflected in Nepal's plans and programmes? What has been the impact of past development efforts on sexual equality? What do the prevailing social and economic characteristics of Nepalese women as a group imply for future plans and the planning process?

At the very outset of this study it was noted that since Nepalese plans are neutral as regards the sex status of the population, women are not recognized as a separate target group. In spite of this, inferences drawn from the content analysis of the plans and their comparison with the "factors and needs" identified as of special importance to women's integration in development held in Mexico City in 1975 indicated the following two facts of great significance:

First, even though it has been an unconscious action, women's participation in agriculture, industry, trade and science is adequately reflected in Nepal's plans and programmes.

Second, the overall impact of past plan on women's welfare has not been significantly different from that on men's welfare.

In this context it was noted that by consistently structuring almost all programmes and projects to facilitate the oversiding objective of rural development, Nepalese plans have not taken measures which are counter-productive of women's needs and interest. Almost all the issues pertaining to Nepalese development process that arose within 1956-80 were as relevant to women as they were for men.

In spite of the completion of five development plans, there has occurred a virtual stagnation of the economy both in terms of agriculture sector share in employment and output. This has restricted opportunities for occupational mobility for the population as a whole. Both population and employment structure call for improvements as a pre-requisite towards greater gainful employment opportunities for men as well as women. Increased public expenditure on education in successive plans has benefited both the sexes. In this regard, it was specifically noted that in spite of existing absolute differences, achievements made in successive plans with respect to female education were much more impressive than achievements made with respect to male education. Although no firm conclusion can be reached on the basis of poorly recorded vital statistics, programmes related to health services has improved expectation of life at birth for both the sexes. As regards participation in the planning process, opportunities available for both ordinary men and women were severely limited to the implementation aspect only. Three important factors that constrained mass involvement in the entire planning process were: the imperative to invest in economic infrastructure (b) heavy dependence of foreign aid, and (c) the technical and financial requirements of capital investment projects.

Analysis of planning constraints indicated that the limited effectiveness of development programmes to bring about socio-economic transformation of the Nepalese society cannot be attributed to the failure of targeting them to women but to a combination of factors that thwarted programme implementation and also to the very low stage of development that had occurred prior to 1956.

Analysis of planning strategy indicated that planning in Nepal so far has been basically planning for capital investment projects in the public sector devoid of explicit intertemporal analysis between the rate of

growth of output and the rate of growth of consumption. This led to serious imbalance in the allocation of resources to investment and consumption components of the plans. The incidence of indirect and unintended adverse consequences emanating from this imbalance, although not divided according to sex status, were, however, more severe in the case of women than in the case of men, more particularly in the context of the prevalent socio-economic characteristics of Nepalese women as a group. Among these adverse consequences, the following are of fundamental concern to the integration of women in development:

1. Directly productive projects with short gestation period such as minor irrigation, distribution of improved seeds and fertilizer; as well as social projects such as those related to health, nutrition and family planning, which affect women more than men, did not receive as much emphasis as they should have received.
2. Since marriage and caste considerations exert pressure to keep the level of female education attainment below that of male, opportunities for participation in the technical task of planning capital investment projects were more restricted for women than for men.
3. Initial differences in the educational status of the sexes and their capacity to move to far distant places, prevalence of high fertility rate, low prestige attached by society to wage employment of female were some of the socio-cultural factors which combined to restrict employment opportunities for women more than for men. Besides, successive plans gave only scant attention to problems of employment generation.
4. Since women more than men are concentrated in the unorganised private sector, the fact that practically no consideration was given to the development of this sector in the successive plans also meant that proportionately more women than men were left out in the development process.

5. To the extent that Nepalese men migrated for employment in construction activities in far distant places, women in village were called upon to perform both intramural and extra-mural chores. Consequently, they were over-burdened.

This study also conducted a content analysis of contemplated plans and programmes. Three important findings that deserve special mentioning are as follows:

1. The approach of contemplated plans and programmes are drastically different from the capital intensive, growth oriented, overhead and infrastructure approach of the preceding plans and programmes. The sectoral allocation of resources over priority for development has changed significantly. Adopting a Basic Needs approach, the Sixth Plan (1980-85) has accorded topmost priority to the development of agriculture sector followed by social, industrial and transport sectors.

2. The participatory theme of the new development strategy emphasizes participation in making decisions that affect workers and citizen. For enlisting popular participation in the entire planning process, greater emphasis has been laid on the development of the panchayat sector, unorganised private sector, local development activities, regional planning and integrated rural development projects.

3. Above all, institutional structure, apparatus and procedures related to planning have all been modified to give practical meaning to the concept of decentralization, certain aspect of which has already been set into motion.

The contemplated changes in future development process, although not motivated by any specific concern for women, are nevertheless likely to confer several types of special benefits to them by way of eliminating some of the serious anomalies of past development strategy with the immedite

requirements of the population as a whole. The nature of special benefits that are likely to accrue to female are as follows:

1. Under the Integrated Community Health Programme a holistic approach to health, nutrition and family planning has been adopted which is especially geared to combat maternal and infant mortality; malnutrition, especially in the weaning age and the reproductive period; fetal and pre-natal wastage; and debilitating morbidity in mothers and children.

2. Increased emphasis laid on family planning, maternal and infant health is likely to widen the scope of the employability of female as health workers as well as their involvement in planning of health services.

3. On the basis of contemplated changes in the sectoral allocation of resources over priority of development, we can expect not only greater absorption of female labour in industry and agriculture but also a realignment of investment undertakings with the immediate needs and requirements of women.

4. Redirecting investment efforts to the production of goods and services that are essential to fulfill the basic needs of the population is also likely to check the under-cutting of the so-called 'traditional' but 'productive' roles of women due to pressure exerted by the adoption of modern technology.

5. Adoption of Basic Needs approach in contemplated plans and programmes is also likely to blur the distinction between labour expended on creating use-value and labour expended in creating exchange-value and thereby restore equality in the status of the sexes.

6. The egalitarian thrust of the new development strategy can be expected to create a congenial climate for adoption of the small family norm and thereby help raise the status of women as a group.

7. The priority given to the provision of elementary education combined with special measures for raising female enrollment at all levels of the educational pyramid should also help raise the status of women.

8. On the basis of the fact that institutions, apparatus and procedures related to planning and development have all been modified to give practical meaning to the concept of decentralization that comes very close to the paradigm of direct participation, one can expect greater involvement of women in the entire planning process.

This study also investigated whether there is a need to bring about methodological, institutional and procedural changes in plan formulation and implementation in realizing the new objective of sexual equality. Four significant facts that emerged out of the investigation were as follows:

1. A concern about food production and technology; urban living, migration and employment; education and communication; and health nutrition and family planning - the "four factors and needs" considered as of special importance to women in development cut across all aspect of social and economic life.

2. The nature, content as well as basic institutional and procedural question related to women's participation in development are not significantly different from that of men.

3. Resolution of the issues related to women's participation in social and political domain is contingent upon the resolution of the much wider issues pertaining to decentralization of political power and planning procedures.

4. Poor statistical recordings of women's contribution to the national economy is a manifestation of poor statistical recordings of the national economy as a whole. Strangely enough, statistics has played the least important roles in shaping the nature, direction and contents of past plans and programmes.

Since these and other facts continuously reasserted to indicate that women's interests are significantly tied with the interests of the general population as a whole, this study did not find any meaningful reason to consider women as a separate target group. In this regard, this study emphasizes that a unified approach to planning based on the concept of Basic Needs is not only the best means of directly incorporating the interests of women in development but also the only viable solution to reconcile the need to broaden women's participation in planning and the need to find a coherent development strategy that is politically feasible, economically sound and can be implemented administratively.

As possible means of further reducing the existing absolute difference between the sexes, which hitherto have been measured purely in statistical terms, several suggestions were offered to confer special benefits to women that fitted well not only with a unified approach to planning based on the concept of Basic Needs but also with the changed development philosophy of national leaders and planners. These included:

1. Possible methods of operationalizing the concept of Basic Needs so that a judicious balance between capital and consumption components can be effected in the investment pattern of future plans and programmes.

2. A seasonal labour transfer scheme which attempts to coordinate labour supply and demand in various parts of the country by temporarily moving unemployed landless men and women to areas of labour shortage and providing them necessary training as well as adequate housing and other basic social services.

3. A "sequential" approach to planning which emphasizes systematic planning of the sequence of changes that any given development input will help promote growth so that opportunities of incorporating the felt needs of women are enhanced.

4. An intensified family planning programme to check high fertility rate that deters women's geographical mobility as well as participation in various facts of socio-economic life.

5. Introduction of 'piece wage' system wherever feasible and desirable so that practical expression can be given to the idea of "equal pay for equal work."

6. An intensified rural public work programme that is geared to fulfil the needs of family life in the beginning and can also be subsequently transformed to take account broader social aims.



7. A project selection approach based on the concept of "integrative investment that leads to upgradation of the unorganized sector, so that self-employed women workers can benefit from the introduction of exogenous technological changes and capital investment programmes.

8. A programme for substituting high value crops for low value crops so that income of women farmers can be raised more substantially than the requirements of additional inputs and physical labour that need to be expended on farms.

The last chapter of this study moved to identify the reasons as to why there has been a long-term stability in the status of Nepalese women in spite of twenty-two years of experiments in development planning. In this regard, the following factors were identified as constraints to significant change in women's position in Nepalese society:

1. General economic stagnation which has severely restricted opportunities for occupational mobility for the population as a whole;
2. High fertility rate which results in perpetuation of sex role differentiation and retards women's social and spatial mobility;
3. Low prestige attached to wage labour of female;
4. The imperative to keep assets in the possession of the coparceners of a joint Hindu family which tends to consolidate the superior position of males;
5. The preponderance of self-sufficient, widely diffused village economies that tends to dilute the possible socio-economic gains from the impact of exogenous technological change;
6. Abundance of male labour supply which leads to invasion of traditionally feminine fields;

Appendix: 29

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EVER-MARRIED WOMEN, ACCORDING  
TO CURRENT MARITAL STATUS BY YEARS SINCE FIRST MARRIAGE  
AND AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Current Marital Status

	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Total
<u>Total Years Since First Marriage</u>					
< 5 Yrs.	98.6	.5	.9	.0	1,098
5 - 9 Yrs.	97.2	1.0	1.8	.0	1,153
10- 14 Yrs.	97.8	1.5	.9	.0	1,050
15- 19 Yrs.	92.8	4.8	2.4	.0	878
20- 24 Yrs.	87.7	10.5	1.8	.0	783
25- 29 Yrs.	84.0	13.8	2.2	.0	543
30 + Yrs.	71.7	26.4	1.8	.0	435
TOTAL	92.6	5.8	1.6	.0	5,940
<u>Married Before 20 Years Since First Marriage</u>					
< 5 Yrs.	93.9	.3	.8	.0	906
5 - 9 Yrs.	97.1	.9	2.0	.0	1,001
10 -14 Yrs.	97.8	1.2	1.0	.0	929
15 -19 Yrs.	93.3	4.4	2.3	.0	775
20 -24 Yrs.	88.0	10.3	1.7	.0	691
25 -29 Yrs.	83.9	13.9	2.2	.0	510
30 + Yrs.	71.7	26.4	1.8	.0	435
TOTAL	92.4	6.0	1.6	.0	5,247

Contd....

Regarding the validity of the issues raised by the various women's organizations and their leaders, this study came to the following conclusion:

1. Issues relating to sexual differentiation and household authority have their ideological underpinnings in the Western feminist movement. This has not only led to a gross misrepresentation of the role and position of women in Nepalese society but also to a gross misinterpretation of the pattern of relationship between the sexes as visualised by sacred literature of Sanskritic Hinduism.

2. The demand for "special women in development projects" is not only wasteful and redundant, but also tends to be dysfunctional. They place uncalled for burdens on the already fragile organizational and financial resources of the public sector. Existing projects of this type are mere pilot-project tokenism that do not bear a semblance to the scale and magnitude of the problems that need to be solved.

3. Their demand for creating special privileges in the political and administrative sphere is a manifestation of their failure to legitimize themselves in the changing political and administrative environment that is heading towards higher stage of modernity, secularism and merit basis of recruitment.

4. Issues pertaining to special provision for women in the entire socio-political domain are bound to be submerged by the national issue of how to bring the low-end poverty group in the mainstream of socio-political life.

5. Women's Organizations in Nepal are the sources of dysfunctional conflict in social life. They tend to grossly misinterpret the true meaning of sexual equality in ways that place the blame for societal problems on men even when the inactivity of women in social and political

domain is not the fault of men. That their nation of higher level participation is "unavailable" is basically due to their low existing demand for participation in the work place. As yet, they have not been able to compile even a list of well qualified women whose name can be forwarded to the national executive for appointments in higher level management position.

## STATISTICAL APPENDIXES

### Appendix: 1

#### ESTIMATED POPULATION GROWTH RATES FOR THE PERIOD 1910 - 1986

Period	Annual Rate of Growth in %
1910/11 - 1961	1.40
1952/54 - 1961	1.60
1961 - 1966	1.78
1966 - 1971	1.81
1971 - 1976	2.16
1976 - 1981	2.18
1981 - 1986	2.30

Source: Various publications of the National Planning Commission, HMG/  
Nepal.

### Appendix: 2

#### SINGULATED AGE AT MARRIAGE

Year	Male	Female
1961	20.4	15.7
1971	20.9	16.8

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal. Kathmandu: 1977.

Appendix: 3

## DEPENDENCY RATIO FOR THE PERIOD 1952/54 - 1971

Period	Ratio
1952/54	111.84
1961	118.56
1971	175.27

Source: National Planning Commission, HMG/N, Fifth Plan - 1975-80.  
Kathmandu: 1975. (In Nepali).

Appendix: 4ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION  
FOR THE PERIOD 1952/54 - 1971

Period	Percentage of Total Population	Percentage of Total Labour Force
1952/54	47.28	76.81
1961	45.75	76.09
1971	36.32	61.00

Source: As per Appendix: 3.

Appendix: 5

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO EVER-MARRIED  
AND CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN AT THE TIME OF THE  
1971 AND THE NATIONAL FERTILITY SURVEY-BY AGE  
AT THAT TIME

Age	Ever Married		Currently Married
	NFS	1971 Census	NFS
15-19	0.3	0.3	0.3
20-24	1.4	1.1	1.4
25-29	2.9	2.2	2.9
30-34	4.1	3.1	4.2
35-39	5.1	3.7	5.2
40-44	5.5	4.0	5.7
45-49	5.7	4.0	6.1

Source: Nepal Fertility Survey 1976.

Appendix: 6

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN AND STILL ALIVE

Current Age	Ever Born	Still Alive
15-19	0.3	0.3
20-24	1.4	1.1
25-29	2.9	2.3
30-34	4.1	3.1
35-39	5.1	3.7
40-44	5.5	3.8
45-49	5.7	4.0
All	3.3	2.4

Source: Nepal Fertility Survey 1976.

Appendix: 7CRUDE DEATH RATE  
(Per 1000 Population)

Sources	Year	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Tuladhar, Gubaju and Stoeckel, 1977	1952/54	-	-	30-37
	1961	-	-	22-27
	1971	-	-	22
DSS, 1976	<u>1974/75</u>			
	Urban	8.7	9.4	9.0
	Rural	18.9	20.7	19.8
	Total	18.6	20.4	19.5
	<u>1976</u>			
	Urban	8.2	9.7	8.9
Rural	21.9	23.2	22.6	
Total	21.5	22.8	22.2	

Appendix: 8LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH  
(In years)

Source	Year	Male	Female
Tuladhar, Gubaju and Stoeckel, 1977	1952/54	25.6	25.7
	1961/71	42.9	38.9
DSS, 1976	1974/75	46.0	42.5
	1976	43.4	41.1



Appendix: 9

INFANT MORTALITY RATE (I.M.R.)  
(Per 1000 live births)

Sources	Year	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Tuladhar, Gubaju and Stoeckel, 1977	1952/54	260	250	-
	1961	200	186	-
DSS, 1976	1971	-	-	172
	<u>1974/75</u>			
	Urban	55.2	59.2	57.1
	Rural	143.9	124.9	134.8
	Total	141.2	123.0	132.5
	<u>1976</u>			
	Urban	55.3	50.2	52.8
	Rural	130.7	140.6	136.1
Total	128.4	137.9	133.6	
Nepal Fertility Survey	1976	-	-	152

Appendix: 10ADJUSTED AGE-SPECIFIC DEATH RATES 1976  
(Per 1000 live births)

Age	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	55.3	50.2	130.7	140.6
1 - 4	11.9	25.4	33.2	37.6
5 - 14	3.9	2.3	5.2	6.2
15 - 24	2.8	3.1	6.1	6.1
25 - 34	2.3	2.4	7.5	11.0
35 - 44	7.7	2.2	8.0	15.7
45 - 54	6.4	9.9	21.3	17.0
55 - 64	30.5	9.7	45.6	49.3
65 - 74	70.2	36.8	76.5	77.7
75 & Over	152.1	120.0	194.1	140.3
Total	8.2	9.7	21.9	23.2

Source: Demographic Sample Survey 1976.

Appendix: 11LIFE EXPECTANCY AT SELECTED AGES 1976  
(In years)

Age	Male	Female
0	43.4	41.1
1	48.7	46.7
5	51.2	49.8
15	43.7	42.6
25	36.2	35.0
35	28.6	28.4
45	20.6	22.1
55	14.2	15.2
65	9.6	11.7
75 & Over	5.2	7.2

Source: Demographic Sample Survey 1976.

Appendix: 12MARITAL AGE-SPECIFIC AND MARITAL TOTAL FERTILITY RATES -  
BY REGION OF RESIDENCE

Current Age	Regions of Residence		
	Hills & Mountains	Terai	Nepal (Total)
15-19	.126	.149	.138
20-24	.315	.296	.306
25-29	.316	.312	.314
30-34	.276	.245	.261
35-39	.233	.216	.226
40-44	.106	.075	.093
45-49	.036	.030	.033
Marital Total Fertility Rate	7.0	6.6	6.8

Source: As per Appendix: 5.

Appendix: 13

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES 10 YEARS OF AGE  
AND OVER BY AGE-GROUP, 1971 CENSUS

Age-Group	Total	Male	Female
10-14	50.5	59.2	40.1
15-19	61.6	75.7	46.2
20-24	63.5	89.8	39.2
25-29	65.3	95.1	36.2
30-34	63.7	96.6	33.9
35-39	66.9	97.4	34.0
40-44	64.7	97.2	32.9
45-49	66.7	96.8	32.5
50-54	62.9	94.0	30.5
55-59	60.0	93.3	27.7
60-64	39.7	64.1	17.9
65+	25.1	40.5	10.4

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

Appendix: 14LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE 10 YEARS OF AGE  
AND OVER BY MODE OF LIVING

Census	Mode of	Participation Rates for Both Sexes	Participation Rate for Male Only	Participation Rate for Female Only
1971	Both	59.3	82.9	35.1
	Urban	42.3	66.8	12.3
	Rural	60.1	83.7	36.0
1961	Both	76.1	94.1	59.4
	Urban	55.5	79.5	27.8
	Rural	76.9	94.8	60.5

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

Appendix: 15ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS BY SEX, DEVELOPMENT REGIONS  
AND ZONES, 1971 CENSUS

Development Regions and Zones	Male	Female
NEPAL	82.9	35.1
EASTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION	82.7	28.5
Mechi	82.7	35.4
Kosi	86.6	22.9
Sagarmatha	83.4	29.2
CENTRAL DEVELOPMENT REGION	84.0	28.6
Janakpur	86.6	23.3
Bagmati	81.2	42.2
Narayani	84.9	15.6
WESTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION	80.0	52.6
Gandaki	77.7	54.2
Lumbini	81.8	44.2
Dhaulagiri	80.0	58.8
FAR WESTERN DEVELOPMENT REGION	84.6	36.9
Rapti	85.2	40.5
Karnali	88.6	50.7
Bheri	84.1	16.5
Seti	85.4	43.1
Mahakali	80.7	43.1

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

Appendix: 16

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS<sup>1</sup> BY SEX AND GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS 1961 CENSUS  
(In percentage)

Geographic Regions	Male	Female
Eastern Hills	93.7	66.0
Western Hills	93.6	69.0
Far Western Hills	94.6	73.2
Kathmandu	83.9	46.9
Hills Region	93.1	67.6
Eastern Inner Terai	95.9	79.5
Central Inner Terai	94.9	72.0
Western Inner Terai	95.3	67.2
Eastern Terai	95.6	38.4
Western Terai	96.9	48.1
Far Western Terai	96.4	48.3
Terai Region	95.8	40.7

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

<sup>1</sup>Refers to 15 years of age and over.

Appendix: 17

ECONOMIC STATUS OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS  
 IN 1961 AND 1971 CENSUSES  
 (In percentage)

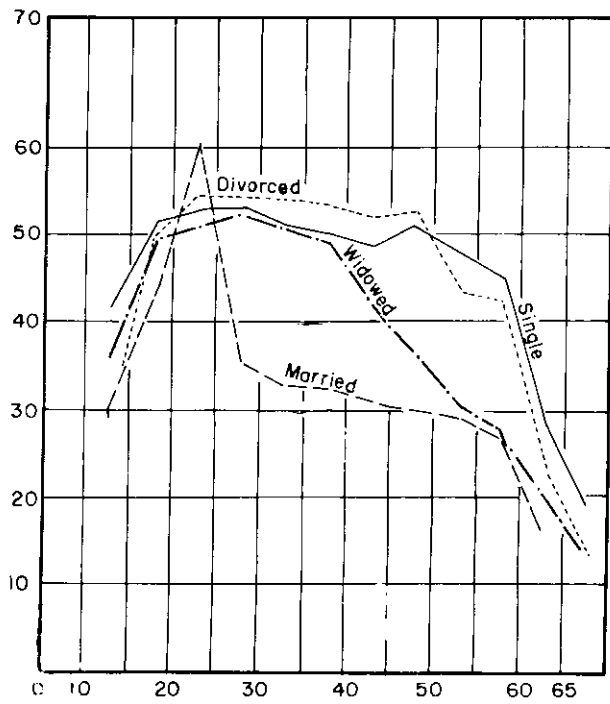
Economic Status	1961			1971		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Employers	0.92	0.40	0.71	0.55	0.21	0.45
Own Account Worker	75.65	77.34	76.33	84.66	88.98	85.92
Employees	20.15	10.36	16.19	11.69	3.65	9.34
Family Workers	2.80	11.35	6.26	3.10	7.16	4.29
Not Stated	0.48	0.55	0.51	x	x	x

Source: As per Appendix: 2.



Appendix : 18

Female Activity Rates  
Specific for Marital Status and Age Nepal  
1971



Source: As per Appendix : 2

Appendix: 19

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BETWEEN AGRICULTURAL  
AND NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTORS BY SEX, 1961 AND 1971  
(In percent)

Census Year	Male		Female	
	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural
1961	91.74	8.26	96.87	3.13
1971	92.81	7.19	98.17	1.83

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal. Kathmandu 1977.

Appendix: 20

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AMONG NON-  
AGRICULTURE SECTORS BY SEX, 1961 AND 1971  
(In percent)

Sectors	Male		Female	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Manufacturing	28.00	18.38	39.51	25.06
Electricity, Gas and Water	0.55	0.64	0.54	0.10
Construction	2.53	1.97	0.45	0.54
Commerce	18.26	22.56	15.70	30.22
Transport	6.18	3.77	6.05	1.21
Finance and Business	34.09	1.35	17.65	0.52
Personal and Community Service	-	51.33	-	42.36
Activities not Adequately Described	10.40	-	20.10	-

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

Appendix: 21

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY SEX AND BRANCH  
OF INDUSTRY, 1961 AND 1971  
(In percent)

	Male		Female	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
1. Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing	96.87	98.17	91.74	92.81
2. Mining and Quarrying	-	-	-	-
3. Manufacturing	1.24	0.46	2.31	1.32
4. Electricity, Gas and Water	0.02	0.00	0.05	0.05
5. Construction	0.01	0.01	0.21	0.14
6. Trade and Commerce	0.49	0.55	1.51	1.62
7. Transportation and Communication	0.19	0.02	0.51	0.27
8. Finance and Business Services	0.55	0.01	2.81	1.10
9. Personal and Community Services	-	0.78	-	3.69
10. Activities not Adequately Described	0.63	0.00	0.86	0.00

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

Appendix: 22

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY SEX  
AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTOR,  
1961 AND 1971  
(In percentage)

Occupational Status	Male		Female	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Professional and Technical	7.39	9.43	1.97	7.73
Administration	-	0.52	-	0.18
Clerical and Related	8.23	18.17	0.33	7.05
Sales Workers	17.78	21.40	15.87	27.92
Service Workers	22.90	11.68	15.91	20.66
Production Related	33.80	38.90	45.95	36.46
Unknown	9.90	-	19.97	-

Source: As per Appendix: 2.

## Appendix: 23

ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE PCFULATION BY REASON AND SEX IN 1961 AND 1971  
(In percentage)

Year	Sousewives & Domestic Workers	Students	Old Age	Chronic Disease	Lepers	Invalid Crippled	Insane	Prison Inmates	Pensioner	Not Stated	Total
<u>1961</u>											
Total	75.62	2.73	14.82	0.68	0.18	1.43	0.12	0.25	0.69	3.47	99.99
Male	3.74	20.79	44.95	2.91	1.05	6.35	0.61	1.80	2.95	15.21	100.00
Female	85.32	0.30	10.76	0.38	0.06	0.76	0.05	0.04	0.45	1.89	100.00
<u>1971</u>											
Total	69.32	12.73	11.02	0.48	0.13	0.39	1.14	0.11	0.19	5.49	100.00
Male	0.00	50.48	21.56	1.32	0.38	1.14	0.42	0.46	0.79	23.44	99.99
Total	88.02	2.55	8.18	0.25	0.06	0.19	0.06	0.01	0.03	0.64	99.99

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal. Kathmandu: 1977.

Appendix: 24

## WOMEN'S AGE AT COHABITATION AND AGE AT MENARCHE

Age-Group	Percentage of Women
15	34
16- 17	62
18- 19	79
20-24	94

Source: HMG/N. Ministry of Health, Nepal Family Planning and MCH Project, Nepal Fertility Survey. Kathmandu: 1976.

Appendix: 25REGIONAL DIFFERENCES OF MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE  
FOR WOMEN BY CURRENT AGE

Regions	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	All
Hill	15.1	14.8	15.6	15.4	15.8	15.3
Terai	14.6	14.6	14.9	14.4	14.9	14.7
Mountain	15.6	16.1	15.5	15.6	14.5	15.5
All	14.9	14.8	15.3	15.1	15.3	15.0

Source: As per Appendix: 24.

Appendix: 26THE PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EVER-MARRIED WOMEN  
ACCORDING TO CURRENT EXPOSURE STATUS

Exposure Status	Percentage
Pregnant	9.8
Widowed, Divorced or Separated	7.4
Married and Living with Children:	
Sterilized	1.5
Infecund <sup>1</sup>	10.0
Exposed <sup>2</sup>	71.3
	<u>100.0</u>

Source: As per Appendix: 24.

<sup>1</sup>Includes all currently married women who reported that they were unable to bear more children.

<sup>2</sup>Includes all non-pregnant currently married women who reported that they were able to bear more children.

Appendix: 27PROPORTION OF LITERATE POPULATION OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE IN 1961 AND 1971  
BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

Age-Group	1961			1971		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
10 - 14	9.17	24.55	3.06	23.80	35.80	9.60
15 - 19	11.38	19.51	3.08	21.90	35.40	7.10
20 - 24	10.62	20.19	2.35	17.00	30.90	4.10
25 - 29	9.07	17.36	1.58	13.30	24.40	2.50
30 - 34	8.43	16.36	1.25	10.50	20.30	1.60
35 - 39	10.66	19.80	1.17	9.80	17.60	1.40
40 - 44	7.76	15.43	0.94	8.70	16.40	1.10
45 - 49	8.15	15.26	0.93	8.70	15.70	1.00
50 - 54	6.72	13.20	0.76			
55 - 59 <sup>1</sup>	7.52	14.33	0.73	6.80	13.20	0.70
60 and Over <sup>1</sup>	5.92	12.34	0.58	6.00	11.70	0.60

Source: As per Appendix: 23.

<sup>1</sup>For 1971, Age-group 55 to 59 and 60 and over actually refers to age-group 55 to 54 and 45 and over respectively.



Appendix: 28

PERSONS 15-19 AND 20-24 YEARS OF AGE WITH FIVE YEARS  
AND MORE OF FORMAL EDUCATION BY SEX AND DEVELOPMENT  
REGIONS IN 1961 AND 1971

	Males		Females		Total	
	15-19	20-24	15-19	20-24	15-19	20-24
<u>Regions (In 1961)</u>						
Nepal	6.73	5.42	1.30	0.65	4.04	2.86
Eastern Development Region	7.16	5.44	1.42	0.80	4.35	3.00
Central Development Region	10.63	6.90	0.99	2.06	5.69	4.33
Western Development Region	6.27	4.39	0.66	0.40	3.28	2.16
Far-Western Development Region	3.60	2.75	0.34	0.22	1.97	1.39
<u>Regions (In 1971)</u>						
Nepal	16.80	13.88	3.70	1.88	10.55	7.65
Eastern Development Region	17.60	14.96	4.05	2.07	11.22	8.31
Central Development Region	18.33	15.74	6.01	3.38	12.58	9.39
Far-Western Development Region	9.67	7.15	0.87	0.49	5.41	3.69

Source: As per Appendix: 23.

Appendix: 29 Contd. ...

	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Total
<u>Married at 20 or + Years Since First Marriage</u>					
< 5 Yrs.	97.4	1.0	1.6	.0	192
5 - 9 Yrs.	98.0	1.3	.7	.0	152
10 - 14 Yrs.	97.5	2.5	.0	.0	121
15 - 19 Yrs.	89.3	7.8	2.9	.0	103
20 - 24 Yrs.	85.8	12.0	2.2	.0	92
25 - 29 Yrs.	84.8	12.1	3.0	.0	33
30 + Yrs.	.0	.0	.0	.0	-
TOTAL	94.2	4.3	1.4	.0	693

Source: HMG/N, Ministry of Health, Nepal Family Planning and Maternity Child Health Project, Nepal Fertility Survey. Kathmandu, 1976.

Appendix: 30

THE PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ALL ADULTS RECORDED  
IN THE HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE ACCORDING TO CURRENT  
MARITAL STATUS - BY SEX AND CURRENT AGE

A. Both Sexes

Current Age	Never Married	Currently Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Total
15-19	55.0	44.1	.4	.4	.2	2,936
20-24	18.3	80.0	.7	.7	.3	2,709
25-29	5.1	91.6	1.8	.9	.5	2,343
30-34	2.2	93.3	3.2	.8	.5	1,862
35-39	1.3	91.6	5.8	.5	.8	1,534
40-44	.9	88.8	8.7	.5	1.2	1,549
45-49	.9	84.0	14.1	.4	.6	1,140
50-54	1.0	78.3	19.2	.2	1.2	1,223
55-59	.1	71.7	27.1	.6	1.0	787
60-64	.9	63.1	34.6	.4	.9	743
65-69	.5	62.3	36.4	.0	.8	385
70-74	1.5	47.4	50.5	.0	.6	325
75-79	.0	46.0	53.2	.8	.0	124
80 +	1.4	32.6	66.0	.0	.0	144
TOTAL	13.2	76.2	9.5	.5	.6	17,804

Contd. ...

Appendix: 30 Contd. ...B. Males

Current Age	Never Married	Currently Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Total
15-19	73.2	26.1	.1	.3	.2	1,446
20-24	32.8	65.1	1.2	.8	.1	1,248
25-29	8.8	87.1	2.0	1.5	.5	1,100
30-34	3.2	93.3	2.6	.7	.2	936
35-39	2.0	93.3	3.5	.8	.4	742
40-44	1.3	93.9	4.0	.4	.4	755
45-49	1.1	91.6	6.8	.2	.4	571
50-54	1.2	90.9	7.1	.2	.7	604
55-59	.0	83.9	14.6	1.0	.5	384
60-64	1.6	84.5	13.7	.3	.0	373
65-69	.5	76.3	22.2	.0	1.0	207
70-74	1.8	68.9	28.7	.0	.6	167
75-79	.0	66.1	33.9	.0	.0	62
80 +	1.3	50.0	48.7	.0	.0	78
TOTAL	19.0	74.8	5.3	.6	.3	8,673

Contd. ...

Appendix: 30 Contd. ...

C. Females

Current Age	% Never Married	Currently Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Total
15-19	37.3	61.5	.6	.4	.1	1,490
20-24.	6.0	92.6	.3	.5	.5	1,461
25-29	1.8	95.7	1.7	.4	.5	1,243
30-34	1.2	93.4	3.8	.8	.9	926
35-39	.6	90.0	8.0	.1	1.3	792
40-44	.5	83.9	13.2	.5	1.9	794
45-49	.7	76.4	21.4	.5	.9	569
50-54	.8	66.1	31.0	.3	1.8	619
55-59	.2	59.1	39.0	.2	1.5	405
60-69	.6	46.1	52.8	.0	.6	178
70-74	1.3	24.7	73.4	.0	.6	158
75-79	.0	25.8	72.6	1.6	.0	62
80 +	1.5	12.1	86.4	.0	.0	66
TOTAL	7.7	77.6	13.4	.4	.9	9,131

Source: As per Appendix: 29.

Appendix: 31SELECTED TARGETS OF THE FIFTH PLAN  
IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Programmes	Targets
Percentage increase in the production of the agricultural sector within the Plan Period	19.2
Percentage increased in the production of foodgrains within the Plan Period	16.72
Percentage increase in the production of cash crops	68.08
Land to be covered by improved seeds (in hectares):	
Paddy	387,650
Wheat	367,200
Maize	133,900
Use of chemical fertilizer in nutrient metric tons:	45,000
Foodgrains and Potatoes	31,500
Jute	3,100
Tobacco	1,200
Sugarcane	1,750
Credit to be provided in millions of Rs.	142,310
Land to be brought under cultivation (in hectares)	52,150
Land to be brought under settlement scheme (in hectares)	62,900

Source: His Majesty's Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission, Fifth Plan (1975-80). Kathmandu: 1975. (In Nepali).

Appendix: 32

DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL INCOME BY SOURCE WITHIN EACH INCOME STRATUM  
IN THE HILLS OF NEPAL IN 1974  
(In percentage)

Sources	Per Capita Income					
	Rs.276	Rs.293	Rs.308	Rs.293	Rs.385	All Rs.308
Crop Production	0.0	30.2	51.0	66.2	64.3	45.2
Animal Husbandry	Negative	21.0	17.2	14.1	16.9	18.4
Agri. Wages & Salaries	10.6	13.2	9.9	4.8	2.0	9.7
Non-Agri. Wages & Salaries	46.2	28.0	10.1	6.9	9.6	17.7
Non-Agri. Household Enterprise	22.1	1.1	1.0	2.0	0.6	1.2
Pensions	0.0	3.2	5.6	0.7	6.0	4.0
Remittances	21.1	3.0	2.3	4.4	0.3	2.6
Other Sources	0.0	0.3	2.9	0.9	0.3	1.2

Source: Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion, International Labour Organization, Nepal Rural Household Survey: 8 Village. Bangkok: 1976. (Wimeographed)

Appendix: 33DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL INCOME BY SOURCE WITHIN EACH INCOME STRATUM  
IN THE TERAI OF NEPAL IN 1974

(In percentage)

Sources	Per Capita Income					
	Rs.289	Rs.292	Rs.296	Rs.377	Rs.594	All Rs.420
Crop Production	0.0	12.1	31.2	54.9	82.3	47.0
Animal Husbandry	Negative	Negative	2.3	0.4	5.3	2.1
Agri. Wages & Salaries	71.4	63.1	33.4	14.2	1.1	20.1
Non-Agri. Wages & Salaries	19.0	11.0	17.1	15.9	9.0	12.8
Non-Agri. Household Enterprise	9.6	12.9	12.1	2.0	0.0	3.6
Pensions	0.0	0.7	3.9	0.2	0.0	2.5
Remittances	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4	1.3	1.9
Other Sources	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: As per Appendix:32.



Appendix: 34

LAND AREA BROUGHT UNDER IRRIGATION DURING DIFFERENT PLANS PERIODS  
(Area Irrigation in Ha.)

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1. Irrigation Area Prior to 1st Five Year Plan (1956-1961)	
a. Chandra Canal (Saptari)	13,000
b. Jagadishpur Reservoir	400
c. Juddha Canal (Rautahat)	850
d. Pardi Dam (Pokhara)	<u>450</u>
	14,700
2. Achievement During 1st Five Year Plan (1956-1961)	
a. Tika Bhairab (Lalitpur)	1,620
b. Mahadev Khol a (Bhaktapur)	340
c. Jhaj (Rautahat)	3,300
d. Sirsia, Dudhara (Bara)	1,330
e. Tilawe (Persa)	4,300
f. Phewa Tal (Kaski)	320
g. Vijaypur (Kaski)	1,890
h. Gokarna (Kathmandu)	320
i. Other Small Chemes in Kathmandu Valley	<u>2,160</u>
	17,200
3. Achievement During 3rd Five Year Plan	
a. Khageri (Chitwan)	6,000
b. Tokha (Kathmandu)	390
c. Sangepatyani (Tanahun)	500
d. Sisaghat (Lamjung)	350
e. Dedhagaon Tal	250
f. Minor Irrigation Project	<u>36,820</u>
	44,310

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Contd. ...

Appendix: 34 Contd. ...

## 5. Achievements Under Fourth Five Year Plan

a. Pathraiya Irrigation Project (Kailali)	2,000
b. Chatra Irrigation Project (Morang, Sunsari)	30,000
c. Mahakali Irrigation Project (1st Phase, Kanchanpur)	4,000
d. Gandak Eastern Canal (Bara Parsa)	13,000
e. Tubewells (Rupandehi)	400
f. Minor Irrigation	
(1) Badaiya Tal (Bardiya)	400
(2) Chapal (Bardiya)	400
(3) Doghora (Dang)	260
(4) Pushaha (Parasi)	960
(5) Baghola (Rupandehi)	640
(6) Jabai (Kapilvastu)	800
(7) Milti (Ramechhap)	40
(8) Chakkhu (Bhaktapur)	160
(9) Pithuwa (Chitwan)	960
(10) Pipal Tar (Dhading)	45
(11) Gajuri Tar (Dhading)	64
(12) Deagaon (Palpa)	40
	54,269 Ha.
(i) Grand Total	: 156,979 Ha.
(ii) Area Under Cultivation:	1980,000 Ha.
(iii) (i) as percentage (ii)	7.93

Source: Bhuvanesh K. Pradhan, Irrigation Projects in Nepal. Paper presented in Seminar-Cum-Workshop on Development Planning sponsored by CEDA on March-April, 1978, Kathmandu 1978 (mimeographed). pp. 7-10. For area under cultivation, Agricultural Statistics of Nepal, HMG, Ministry of Food, Agricultural and Irrigation, July 1972, p. 1.

Appendix: 35LIST OF IRRIGATION PROJECTS INCLUDED  
IN FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

Name of Irrigation Project	Net Commanded Area (Ha.)
1. Kankai Irrigation Project	5,000
2. West Kosi Canal	11,000
3. Kamal Irrigation Project	21,600
4. Chitwan Irrigation Project	11,100
5. Narayani Zone Irrigation Development Project	29,430
6. Banganga Irrigation Project	6,000
7. Mahakali Irrigation Project (2nd Phase)	
8. Western Gandak Project	25,000
9. Tubewell Irrigation Project -	
i. Kailali, Kanchanpur Districts	8,000
ii. Rupandehi Districts (Bhairawa Lumbini) (Groundwater Project)	8,000
iii. Janakpur Districts	420
10. Phewa Dam Reconstruction	320
11. Kanchan Dam Irrigation Project	10,000
12. Manusmara Irrigation Project (2nd Phase)	2,000
13. Kanchania Irrigation Project	400
14. Chaurjhari Hill Irrigation Project	400
15. Chapkot Hill Irrigation Project	2,000
16. Madetar Hill Irrigation Project	200

Contd. ...

Appendix: 35 Contd. ...


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17. Kathekulo Hill Irrigation Project	466
18. Rangha Tar Hill Irrigation Project	244
19. Dedgaon Tar Hill Irrigation Project	200
20. Renovation of Panchayat Level Local Canals	1,000
21. New Hill Irrigation Projects	2,806
22. Battar Lift Irrigation Projects	414
Total:	<u>16,600 Ha.</u>

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Source: As per Appendix: 34.

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