Nepal Himalaya: Women, Politics, and Administration

Tulasi Acharya

Nepal Himalaya: Women, Politics, and Administration

By Tulasi Acharya[1]

Abstract

The paper is a qualitative analysis of the status of women and women in politics and administration in Nepal Himalaya. The paper reviews data on women in civil service and in administrative levels. Looking at women in Nepali politics, policy on women, and women in administration, the paper highlights some social and cultural issues that have "othered" women as the "second sex." As the country is heading towards modernity, gender friendly approaches are being instituted. Although some data reflects the progress of women's status and their increasing political and administrative participation, the data is insufficient to predict if there is democratic gender practices in political and administrative levels. The political and administrative culture of Nepal Himalaya can be changed only by promoting gender practices and by deconstructing gender images in administrative culture. This is possible through a representative bureaucracy and an enforcement of democratic policies. The paper will discuss the social constructionist view of policy, gender, and culture and how the deconstruction of gender images help women better their administrative positions.

Keywords: Politics, Policy, Administration, Culture, Women, Nepal, Democracy, Social Construction

Introduction

The Maoist movement (1996-2006) in Nepal has somehow empowered Nepali women. The empowerment is associated with "recruiting women in the military (Yami 2006), inculcating in them the sense of women's rights, providing them with some vocational training, and enabling them to self-think and to contemplate the situation of women who lagged behind in the community. When the Maoists entered the mainstream of Nepali politics with the 12 Points Agreement, women's participation in political and bureaucratic levels has increased. This increment is a result of Maoists' agendas of representing women, the poor, and the uneducated people in the election of the constitutional assembly. In the context of Nepal, the poor, the marginalized, and the uneducated people tend to be women. Thus, women's participation in a political and bureaucratic level rose. Compared to the constitutional provision of at least 5% of women candidates in each election reached 33% of reservation for women at all levels of government (Aryal 2000). This is an indicator of development and modernity of Nepal Himalaya.

Different political movements have occurred since the unification of Nepal. They are the Anglo-Nepal war (1814-1816), Rana Regime (1846-1951), Panchayati System (1962-1990), the reestablishment of democracy (1996), and the establishment of democratic republic (2008). Now the modernity of Nepal Himalaya can be observed in terms of women's participation in politics

[1] Public Administration, College for Design and Social Inquiry, FAU. Author for correspondence: 4553 Rainer Way NW, Acworth, GA, 30101. Email: tacharya@fau.edu

197

1

and administration. We see some changes in the governance, policies, and programs for women in both state and local levels (Aryal 2000).

Despite these improvements regarding the role of women in every political movement, women's participation in politics, administration, and bureaucracy is disheartening. For example, the first constitutional assembly election (2008) had only 367 women out of 3970 candidates who ran in district election (Bhattarai and Budd, 2008), although it has been previously stated that the constituent assembly election (2008) came out to be the most representative governing body of "gender, caste, ethnicity, religious, and religious diversity" (Bhattarai and Budd, 2008, p. 77). Women's participation in major governing bodies is very low. To make the administrative culture and bureaucracy of Nepal more democratic, the number of women should be equal to men in the executive, judiciary, and legislative body of the government. Those who stay on top of the bureaucratic hierarchy are male, basically upper caste male, who are deemed rich, educated, and privileged. On the other hand, the number of women working at a higher administrative level is very low because women are deemed to be less rational, less educated, and not "men." These taken-for-granted tags as cultural production of the society are seldom questioned. As a result, Nepali bureaucracy and policy design reflect socially constructed views, jeopardizing women's empowerment.

In this paper, I will discuss social construction of policy and culture in context to analyze the status of Nepali women and their position in politics and administration. As a counter argument, I have underscored some progress of women's political and administrative status compared to the past. Finally, I will interpret the replicated data received from private and public reports with the help of the secondary data by using the interpretive method (i.e. social constructionism) to reach a conclusion.

Social Constructionism: Definition and Application

The way they view the world is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1966) in which subjective meaning is attached. The perception of the world is shaped by the societal norms and values. Society is bureaucratic (Hummel, 2008), and it is hegemonic that shapes one's rationality, knowledge, and politics. Social construction is hegemonic (Ingram & Snider, 2007). We treat the world the way we view it. The perception and treatment of the world are correlated. The way men view women might be different from the way women view men, and so is the perception that exists between the "abled" and "disabled," "rich" and "poor," and the "privileged" and the "marginalized." The role of actors in policy design is shaped by how they view the world. In policy formulation and implementation, the socially constructed hegemonic power plays a crucial role in shaping, forming, and implementing policy. Even in the process of defining policy problems and solving them, the normative/societal values guide the actors, and the social reality multiplies with multiple truths. Coming to a particular solution of the policy problem is possible by recognizing the socially constructed hegemonic power play. The hegemonic power play occurs between the actors involved in policy design. Socially constructed views are inextricable, complex, multiple, and hegemonic. The power play gives the actors involved in policy design a platform to discuss and execute the policy through multiple interventions and many layers of communication.

The way the policymakers view the world is socially constructed, and this is reflected in policy design. Ingram, Schneider, & Deleon (2007) write:

198

2

> *The incorporation of social construction of target populations as part of policy design helps explain why public policy, which can have such a positive effect on society, sometimes—and often deliberately—fails in its nominal purposes, fails to solve important public problems, perpetuates injustice, fails to support democratic institutions, and produces unequal citizenship (p. 93).*

The social constructions are hegemonic, meaning the "taken for granted" takes place without being questioned, and this leads to the marginalization of the disabled in the way they are perceived. The taken for granted issues are never questioned regarding the true conditions of the marginalized people. Policymakers sometimes view the social constructions as a natural condition and seldom questioned them (Ingram, 1997).

People with resources have access to policy making agendas and the ones who are deemed deviants fall behind the policy agendas (Ingram, Schneider, & Deleon, 2007). Ingram, Schneider, & Deleon (2007) write, "Widows, orphans, the mentally handicapped, families in poverty, the homeless, and many other categories of unfortunates" lack political power that "sharply curtails their receipt of benefits" (Ingram, Schneider, & Deleon, 2007, p. 103). Regarding the social construction in general, Schneider and Ingram (1993) write, "These myths become inculcated in the culture embodied in policies so that their authenticity is unquestioned, and they are accepted as fact" (p. 107). In other word, policies reflect the way the world is viewed without being questioned.

Patriarchal Administrative Culture: A Feminist/Social Constructivist's View

Women in Nepal Himalaya have low participation in administration. This speaks to gender images in the administration. Speaking of gender in administration, Stivers in the American context (1993) writes:

> The images of expertise, leadership, and virtue that mark defenses of administrative power contain dilemmas of gender…: It contributes to and is sustained by power relations in society at large that distribute resources on the basis of gender and affect people's life chances and their sense of themselves and their place in the world (p. 4).

Stivers separates public from domestic spheres of influence to show how methodical has been the exclusion of women from the public realm and the non-recognition of women's contributions in that realm. She writes, "… Both pervasively in theory and persistently in practice, the household has been viewed as the realm of women; and women's concern, when they evolve around their domestic responsibilities, have been seen as private—not political—by definition (Stivers, 1993, p. 5). The social roles have been gender typed (Stivers, 1993). The idea "cult of true womanhood" (Stivers, 1993) implies women's womanhood associated with her ability to bear a child, be sexually active, work in the kitchen, and look after the kids. If the woman fails to perform those activities, she loses her womanhood. Stivers (1993) writes that domestic issues must be treated as public, which underpins government's relationship to the culture, and the public relationship to the private. These are the gender images reflected in bureaucracy.

Bem (1994) outlines three fundamental assumptions that shape our cultural understandings of male and female. The assumptions are "androcentric," "gender polarization," and "biological

essentialism." The androcentric assumption places male at the center. The gender polarization reinforces the idea that male and female are different, and the last one emphasizes the biological essentialism (Bem, 1994).

In the context of Nepal, these assumptions are crucial to see the cultural understanding of male and female. There are religious and cultural factors to place male at the center. Previously, Nepal was a Hindu kingdom (Nepal Constitution, 1990). With the end of monarchy and the establishment of a "democratic republic" in 2008, Nepal became a secular country. However, the majority of people in Nepal are still Hindu (Census Bureau of Nepal, 2010) and the people's cultural and social practices are influenced by Hindu philosophy and literature. Hindu religious texts and literature reinforce androcentric perceptions in society.

Hindu religion reflects that fasting in the name of a husband or future husband is fulfilling the wishes of Nepali women. In *Swastani Bratkatha,* pure stories of fasting (*Swastani Bratkatha*, 2010) Goma, a female character, worships on fasting an imaginary Lord Siva, a male character to appease him so she would find a good husband in the future despite her trials and tribulations. Even today, the majority of women (educated or uneducated) read *Swastani Bratkatha* for a month and do some fasting at times worshipping an imaginary Lord Shiva *ling*, penis in the name of their husband's health and longevity, or to find a better future husband. Thus, such practices have become a culture.

Hindu religious texts and their interpretations underscore the portrayal of male figures in Nepali women's minds. Such deep seated feelings rooted in Nepali women's psyche are strong examples of how their modes of life are shaped by religious texts that have influenced even the cultural, social, and bureaucratic institutions. In these institutions, male is in the center, always on top, controlling and governing the institution. Mackinnon (2006) writes, "Men have become knowers, mind; women have been to-be-known,' matter, that which is to be controlled and subdued, the acted upon. Of course, this is the social matter; we live in society, not in the natural world" (p. 261). In Nepali society, even today women consider it their duty to obey their men, and to comply with their duty is what they think. As Stivers (1993) would say this is the "cult of womanhood." This is one of the challenges Nepali women are coping with in their social, political, and administrative life.

This Hindu literature highlights the "cult of womanhood" assigning them their duty that has a lot to do with pleasing male figures in order to receive something good, useful, and generous. Women's success is portrayed through rigorous trials and tribulations. This portrayal has created Nepali women's moods and motivations, putting many Nepali women in a state of psychological dependence on men. Christ (2006) writes, "Religions centered on the worship of a male god create "moods" and "motivations" that keep women in a state of psychological dependence on men and male authority, while at the same time legitimating the political and social authority of fathers and sons in the institutional society (p. 212). Here "mood" means "a psychological attitude, such as awe, trust, and respect, while a 'motivation' is the social and political trajectory created by a mood that transforms mythos into ethos, symbol system into political reality" (p. 211). Religions and religious texts have such a "compelling hold on deep psyches" (p. 211) of so many Nepali women that have hardly allowed Nepali women to move freely.

A father is projected as a savior of the family as reflected in Hindu literature. A mother indoctrinates her daughter the same way she was indoctrinated with some rules of do's and don'ts. Sometimes, the husband dominating his wife represents what Christ (2006) would say "God 'himself." Thus, the patriarchal ethos in Hindu religious literature is reflected in cultural and bureaucratic institutions of Nepal. In a different context, Christ (2006) writes that religion has

"engendered powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations of devaluation of female power, denigration of the female body, distrust of female will, and denial of the women's bonds and heritage" (p. 218). In the context of Nepal, religious and cultural institutions define norms, habits, and symbols for women, which define women's roles and their conditions in society, politics, and all bureaucratic institutions. Thus, women are discriminated in their political, institutional, and administrative lives. This type of discrimination in cultural and bureaucratic institutions can be associated with the concept that Young (2006) would call structural oppression. Young (2006) writes:

In this extended structural sense, oppression refers to the vast and deep injustices some groups suffer as a consequence of often unconscious assumptions and reactions of well- meaning people in ordinary interactions, media, and cultural stereotypes…we cannot eliminate this structural oppression by getting rid of the rulers or by making some new laws, because oppressions are systematically reproduced in major economic, political and cultural institutions" (p. 4).

The oppression of Nepali women is structural and it is prevalent in a political and administrative level. Although Young (2006) discusses "five faces of oppression" in her own context, such as "exploitation," "marginalization," "powerlessness," "cultural imperialism," and "violence," these major faces of oppression can be seen in Nepal's cultural and bureaucratic institutions. Women's job is limited to kitchen chores, and Hindu religious and cultural practices have cemented the idea of the female being males' caretakers, by providing "children with emotional care" and men "with sexual satisfaction." Powerlessness of Nepali women is an upshot of Nepali social institutions, which are firmly grounded in Hindu religious and cultural practices. Associating female body with purity, deeming premarital sex as sin, males restrict women's mobility and control their sexuality. As a result, a number of undesirable social practices take place, such as "female seclusion and Purdah, child marriages, and mob rapes of women during times of social upheaval" (Acharya, 2009). On top of that, the prevalence of a caste system doubly suppresses women if a woman is of a "lower caste." Thus, the chances for a lower caste women to reach top positions in a political and administrative level is unlikely to happen.

Religious and cultural understanding of women has unintentionally influenced the administrative and political culture of Nepal. Jamil and Dangal (2009) compare the demographic compositions of Nepalese bureaucracy and discuss the administrative culture in Nepal. They highlight the values and norms dominant among Nepali bureaucrats within the bureaucracy. They conclude that the administrative culture in Nepal is gender, religion, and caste biased. They write, "The administrative culture is guided more by particularism than universalism, by ascription than achievement, by rule-orientation than result orientation, and by authoritarian than participatory values" (p. 193). The administrative and political culture favors men as it highlights the men's role as a ruler, provider, and what MacKinnon (2006) would call "knower." Thus Nepali culture places men in the center in any social, political, and institutional life, and women are always marginalized as women are allowed limited freedom. Until the androcentric culture is replaced, it is not easy to see women in Nepal bureaucracy. Changing the current cultural images reflected in Nepali administrative culture is crucial to address the condition of women in bureaucracy.

Policy Mismatch: Socially Constructed Programs and Policies for Women in Nepal

The Tenth Plan of national policy on WID/GAD adopts the policy of mainstreaming gender, reducing gender inequality, empowering women, and recognizing gender equality as key indicators of poverty analysis. However, we do not see the effectiveness of the program. ADB

Nepal Fact Sheet (2009) reports that Nepal's own economic policy never brought a change in women's lives. Even the laws made for women discriminate against women (Acharya 2009). The policies and programs made for women's education do not address the issues effectively. However, there are/were many women's associations that actively engaged in empowering women. One of many is All Nepal Women's Association (ANWA) that organized women from all walks of life, held conferences, focused on equal rights in all sectors, formulated a 14-point program of action called "ANWA Campaign for Five Years," and pressurized the government for increasing women's participation in policy making bodies (Aryal, 2000).

Looking at the gender issues and women's rights incorporated in the interim constitution (2007), we see many changes in support of women's empowerment. The constitution discusses the "conferring citizenship to child if father and mother are Nepali," no sex discrimination, employment and social security rights, women's rights, right to social justice, right against exploitation, and equality between men and women (Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007). The 2005 amendment of the Civil Service Act includes a provision of formulating positive policies on women in government service without restricting any age bar for those who want to apply for positions advertised by the Public Service Commissions (Civil Service Act, 2005). Some of the Millennium Project interventions included in the gender model are helping girls work through vocational training programs and school work programs, encouraging political participation, ending violence against women through awareness programs, helplines, and short-term housing and gender sensitization programs for elected politicians, judges, bureaucrats, and police, and strengthening the ministry of women, children, and social welfare and Gender Focal Points (GON/UNDP, 2006).

The governance for women has not adopted representative bureaucracy in an administrative level. Women's political participation and representation have increased, but not in executive positions. Although some reports (Aryal, 2000; Hosni & Lundberg, 2005; and Tamang, 2009) show that women's representation in politics and government administration is increasing—for example, 3 percent in 1978 to 3.5 percent in 1997 to 6.4 percent in 2000—the participation of Nepalese women on top levels in the bodies of government and public administration is negligible.

Although there are some facilities for women in terms of age entry in public administration that is 40 for women and 35 for men, it does not seem to be more encouraging for women because of the various influencing religious and cultural factors, and the explicit and implicit practices of "gender images" (Stivers, 1993) in which women are considered as a "second sex." These socially constructed gender images are taken for granted and never questioned. Even in policy making, policy makers' view and perception are socially constructed (Ingram, Schneider, & Deleon, 2007), and that is reflected in policy design. Thus, males in administrative levels remain hegemonic, not only because of them being a male figure, but also because of the socially constructed gender images that keep men on top and women at the bottom. Regarding the social construction in general, Schneider and Ingram (1993) write, "These myths become inculcated in the culture embodied in policies so that their authenticity is unquestioned, and they are accepted as fact" (p. 107).

People's War, an Opportunity for Women's Participation in Politics: Questioning Social Construction

When the Maoist revolution in Nepal began in 1996, many women were recruited in the Maoists' battalion. The women were actively involved. They were guided mostly by the

communist ideology. Women comprised anywhere between thirty to forty percent of the Maoists cadres (Sharma and Prasain, 2004).They had assumed roles "ranging from nurses, messengers, and organizers to fully-fledged guerrilla fighters" (Sharma and Prasain 2004, p. 152). They were revolutionary, and they advocated their rights for women, especially working class women, as well as women from different races, castes, ethnicities, languages, cultures, tribes, and religions. They advocated the secular society rather than to be dogmatic in Hindu religion and Hindu religious beliefs. It was the historical achievements of the PW (People's War) that made a big leap in women's lives (Yami, 2006). Women joined all the fronts: the Party, United Front, and the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the three instruments of revolution. Women became professional revolutionaries by joining PLA, militias, and production brigades. They became policy makers; they worked as couriers, organizers, as barefoot health workers, and as radio anchors (Yami, 2006). For the first time, they were taught to target the feudal state apparatus as an instrument of class and gender oppression. For the first time, they were taught to fight for a new democracy. Women mobilized themselves actively in villages where women were victims of a patriarchal society, superstitious beliefs, and social stigmata.

Women's entry into militarism was an empowering factor in the lives of Nepali women. Women's militarism helped improve their social and class position. Nepali women's entry in militarism was the growth of revolutionary awareness, militant nationalism, and feminism. They started challenging the "basic structure and tradition ideology" of Nepali society. This movement further gave the impetus to feminism and look for the agencies in women themselves.

Another positive leap on the part of Nepali women was their presence in the parliament rose quickly after the end of the Civil war, followed by the election for the Constituent Assembly on 10th of April 2008. In all kinds of voting system including proportional one, the number of Nepali women representatives in the parliament rose to 32.8 %, which was an immense progress compared to 5.8% in 1999. Half of the total candidates participated in the election were women (Bhattarai & Budd, 2008). Bhattarai and Budd (2008) write, "One third of the representatives elected were women, thereby making Nepal the region's leader in female representation overnight" (p. 77).

Nepali women's participation in major political movements in the history of Nepal has made them politically, socially, and culturally aware. Their active participation helped them challenge the social, cultural, and religious practices that stigmatized Nepali women for ages. The Maoist movement in Nepal can be a major political movement to fight for the rights of women from different strata of society and to empower women in different fields. However, a question still remains; has the Maoist movement really brought a change in political and administrative culture of Nepal?

In the recent election for constitutional assembly in 2013, the women's participation was still low though it was increasing compared to the previous participation. The number of female candidates in direct electoral system was 10.89% and 49.41 in proportional electoral system (Constitutional Assembly of Nepal, 2013). In the Constitutional Assembly Election (2013), only 172 women have been elected for the constitutional assembly out of 601 members, which is less than one third of the total number (Constitutional Assembly of Nepal, 2013). This shows that women's participation in the politics is very minimal although the participation compared to the past seems progressive. For the nation to flourish, women's active participation on top positions in bureaucracy is very essential and this is possible only by empowering women in their political lives, by breaking the social and cultural citadel.

It is because of those social and cultural values that place only males in the center, women's number in bureaucratic level is very low. Many researchers (Momen, 2013; Tamang, 2009; Acharya, 2009) have shown that the participation of women in politics and their access to the positions of power are restricted for many reasons. The report (The Hindustan Times, 2008) writes that the first historic constitutional assembly in Nepal could not get the proportional representation, including women, dalits, and poor women. The report says that even if they wanted to nominate 50% of women contestants, they could not do so or they chose a female candidate who is weak to the rival candidate so she would lose the election. Women have sole responsibility for household maintenance and child care activities. Women cope with political nepotism that favors men, especially upper caste male. Momen (2013) writes, "Political parties in Nepal could not include a good number of women in the parliamentary election which is a threat to equal participation in election" (p. 109). Nepal's politics and administration is dominated by males, that also by upper caste males and they are ruling the nation in a hierarchical thinking that does not emphasize the equal participation of women in Nepal's politics and administration.

Gender Proportion in Government and Administrative Level: The Reality of Social Construction in Practice

Looking at the data of men and women officials working for government in many sectors and in an administrative level, it is clear that women's participation is minimal although there are many policies and programs that are in favor of women's empowerment. The Table I and II below show a clear picture of gender participation in government levels and administrative levels.

Table I. Source: Civil Service Book Keeping, 2014

Class	Gazetted Officers		Non-Gazetted and classless employees	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Special	96.97	3.03		
First	96.96	3.04	87.98	12.02
Second	95.72	4.28	84.93	15.07
Third	92.38	7.62	96.05	3.95
Fourth			93.39	6.61
Classless employees			93.39	6.61
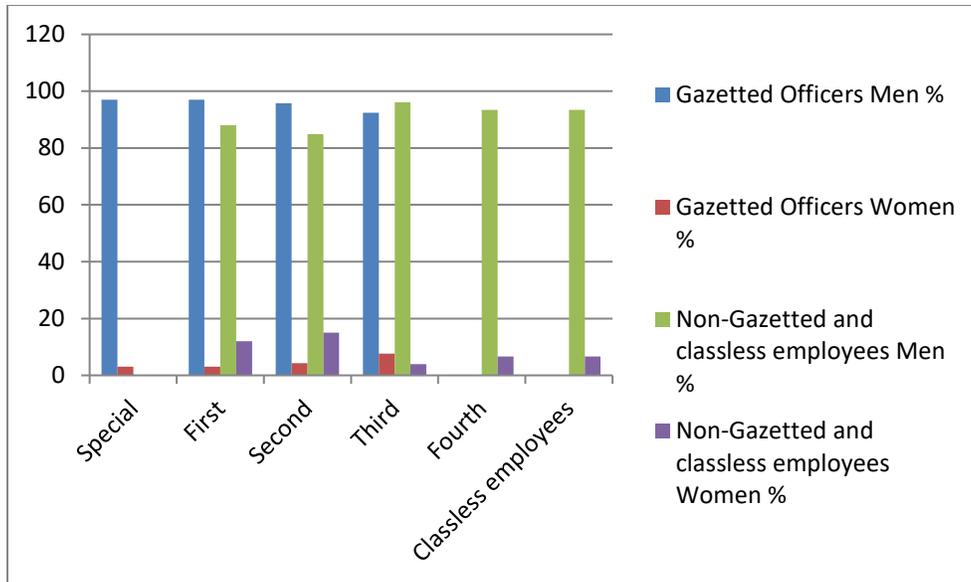
The number of men and women working in the administrative sector:

Table II. Source: Civil Service Book Keeping, 2014

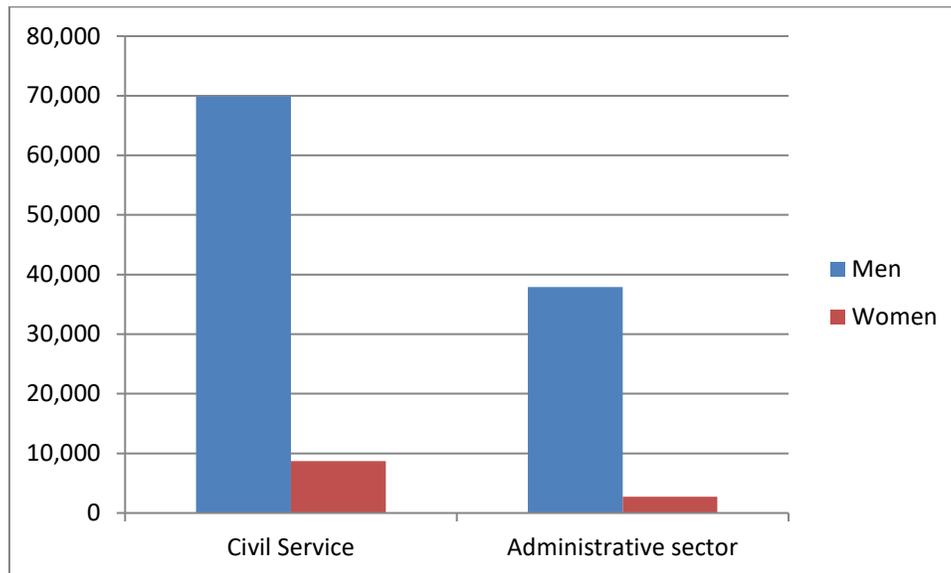| Gender	Civil Service	Administrative sector
Men	69,896	37,900
Women	8,731	2,734

Table I and II show that the participation of women in the upper administrative level is very low. Since the women's participation in public service is minimal, it is natural that women's access to policymaking is a lot less too. Although Civil Service law has explained and encouraged

women's participation by providing 45% quotas to women, the women's participation in administrative level is minimal. The interim constitution of Nepal 2008 has also encouraged the empowerment of women making the participation of women very inclusive. However, according to the latest data from Civil Service Book Keeping 2014, out of the total civil employees, the number of men is 66 thousand 7 hundred and 51, whereas the women's number is 10 thousand 2 hundred and 54 only. This makes clear that the number of women in administrative level is lagging far behind that of men. Similarly, looking at the data by gender, the number of men as Gazetted officers is 93% and women's is 7%. In the upper administrative level, the number of women is very low. This low participation of women in the administrative level is the result of weak policy on women and empowerment, less involvement of women in politics, and the prevalence of patriarchal values in Nepali society. Thus, the policy made in an administrative level cannot be 100 percent democratic due to the fact that the bureaucracy in Nepal is patriarchal. The increase of women's participation in an administrative level cannot be ignored. However, this participation is very minimal in terms of the nation's progress and democratic practices. What is the reason behind less participation of women in many sectors and administrative levels in the context of Nepal? Only the higher caste Hindus have been privileged, and women, poor, and lower caste people are marginalized. Askvik, Jamil, and Dhakal (2011) emphasize that the caste and religion play an important role in Nepal. They write that highest percent of the population working in higher positions in the civil service was occupied by upper caste males. Again, the same social, religious, and cultural factors play a crucial role to prevent women from having an equal participation in politics and administration. Borrowing the idea from Bem (1990) again, one of three fundamental assumptions have deeply shaped Nepali cultural understandings, i.e. a male is placed in the center. This notion of the male at the center has influenced the political and administrative culture of Nepal.

Conclusion: Need to Deconstruct the Social Construction of Gender

To include all women from all socio economic background, and to advance the nation towards modernity, representative bureaucracy and democratic inclusiveness is evitable in the context of Nepal. Jamil and Dangal (2009) write, "A more representative bureaucracy poses less of a threat to a democratic system than a bureaucracy that represents particular class or social group" and it also builds and maintain public trust in government (p. 194). Representative bureaucracy incorporates social interaction in policy making (Jamil and Dangal 2009, 194). Nepali society is strongly patriarchal and highly hierarchical with dominant of male on top in bureaucratic level and women at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and if the women are "low caste," poor and uneducated, she is going to be at the lowest level of the hierarchy. This social system deeply rooted in Nepali culture has influenced bureaucrats' attitudes and perceptions "towards politics, political elites, and society in general" (Jamil and Dangal 2009, 195).

According to Jamil and Dangal (2009), a typical bureaucrat in Nepal is male. They write, "Male representation in the bureaucracy is around 90% or more." The cause of this they write is women's "low competence, confidence, gender inequality, and socio-cultural taboos concerning women's position in society" (Jamil and Dangal 2009, p. 200) and placing the male at the center. More than fifty percent of total population in Nepal, women have secondary status in the patriarchal Hindu culture. To make Nepal's bureaucracy more democratic and representative, women's participation is inevitable, and that is possible only through democratic bureaucracy, not othering women, by discouraging social and cultural values that others Nepali women,

encouraging women's political participation, and executing the programs, and deconstructing the gender images in administrative culture. The tendency of othering in Nepalese bureaucracy should be discouraged.

References

Acharya, M., and L. Bennett (1981). The Rural Women of Nepal: An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of Eight Village Studies. The Status of Women in Nepal, vol. 2; Field Studies, part 9. Kathmandu: Centre for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University.

Berger, Peter and Luckmann, Thomas. 1966. *The social construction of reality*. London: Penguin

Civil Service Act, (2005), Nepal

Aryal, U. (2000). All Nepal Women's Association. *Gender, Technology and Development,* 4 (2), 305-310.

Askvik, S., Jamil, I. & Dhakal, T, N. (2011). Citizens' Trust in Public and Political Institutions in Nepal. *International Political Science Review,* 32 (4), 417-437.

Bem, S. (1994). *In the Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual inequality,* Yale University Press.

Bhattarai, k. & Budd, D. (2008). Political Parties in Nepal: Opportunities and Challenges. *The Journal of the Institute of Justice & International Studies,* 8, 75-88.

Civil Service Book Keeping, 2014, Nepal.

Constitutional Assembly of Nepal (2013). Election of Commission, Nepal.

Jamil, I. and Dangal, R. (2009). The State of Bureaucratic Representativeness and Administrative Culture in Nepal. *Contemporary South Asia*, 17(2), 193-211.

Hackett, E. and Haslinger, S. (ed.) (2006). *Theorizing Feminism*, New York: Oxford.

Hosni, D. & Lundberg, C. (2005). The Status of Women Revisited: The Case of Nepal. *Equal Opportunities International,* 24(3/4), 73-85.

Hummel, R. (2008). *The Bureaucratic Experience*. Sage Publication.

Hutt, M. ed. (2004). *Himalayan People's War Nepal's Maoist Rebellion*, Indian University.

Ingram, H., Schneider, A. & DeLeon, P. (2007). "Social construction and policy design" in Paul A. Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the policy process.* Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 93-126.

Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 (2007) As Amended by the First to Sixth Amendments.

Kharel, B. (2005). Women and Conflict Reporting in Nepal. *Media Asia,* 32(1), 17-19

Momen, N. (2013). Influence of Political Parties in Elections: Evidence from Nepal. *Cross Cultural Communication,* 9(5), 105-111.

Sharma, M. and Prasain, D. (2004). Gender Dimensions of the People's War: Some Reflections on the Experiences of Rural Women. *Himalayan 'People's War': Nepal's Maoist Rebellion.* Michael Hutt, ed., London: Hurst and Company, 152-165.

Stivers, C. (1993). *Gender Images in Public Administration.* Newbury Park: Sage, 1993.

Tamang, S. (2009). The Politics of Conflict and Difference of Conflict in Politics: the Women's Movement in Nepal. *Feminist Review,* 91, 61-80.

The Hindustan Times. (2008, March 08). Historic Election Leaves Nepal Women in Lurch.

Yami, H. (2006). *People's War and Women's Liberation in Nepal,* Raipur: Purvaiya Prakashan.