WOMEN EDUCATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NEPAL

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A Dissertation

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for the candidature for any other degree.

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Laxmi Dhungel

Degree Candidate

DEDICATION

To my grandparents, parents and the women who are struggling for their existence in the Nepalese society.

APPROVED

Dissertation of Master's of Philosophy in Education has been presented by Laxmi Dhungel to the research committee on March 17, 2013.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements of Master's of Philosophy in Education (Development Studies) at Kathmandu University on March 17, 2013.

Title: *Women Education and Political Participation*

Abstract approved: _____

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Women and their political participation in Nepalese context have been a challenging issue for feminist studies because there lies less women representation in the decision making level of Nepalese politics. Nepal has not witnessed any top women leadership till this data. Even if we see the major political position held by women leaders, it is scanty. Hence I am interested in such research wishing to see the participation of women in development activities.

Nepalese women have been suffered by gender discrimination. There are many issues related to such discrimination. Moreover, several important issues for women empowerment are unexplored. Nepalese women are facing so many difficulties in this patriarchal societal structure. Their primary concern so far has been about achieving equitable society. However, only limited attempts have been made in their favour.

Women's position and participation in decision making level is hopelessly minimized though we talk a lot about development. In this context women's political participation has always been a challenging phenomenon. The cause of all these concerns is nothing more than the gender discrimination. In the meantime, education

for women in itself is a challenge for them. Why is this prejudice in our context? What wrong have they done being women? Why is our social structure giving injustice to women? In this scenario, I have designed a framework considering these questions. My attempt in this research is to see the level of women's participation and their understanding in education, identity, encouraging and discouraging factors for their involvement in politics. I have involved myself as a participant in this research and expressed my reflection. I have observed Nepalese society through my perspectives, where I have shared my experiences under many topics. I have also tried to explore understanding, knowledge and experiences of women who are educated and uneducated, politically involved and not involved. I have used feminist research methodology in this research where I have often played the role of participants and put forward my point of view regarding women's political participation. The feminist theory in my research advocates women's participation and their freedom. I have discussed their problems into an academic arena through this research. I have also mentioned how women are dominated in this socio- cultural context.

My research approach is qualitative. I have tried to incorporate critical, interpretive and narrative approaches. In this context, I have raised certain questions against women's discrimination through critical approach. Besides, I have used interpretative paradigm to address the issues of my respondents, whereas my experiences have been included through narrative analysis. For this research, I have designed a framework raising the issues of women's political participation and education in Nepalese context. From this research, I have found that the perception of women is in the process of change and they want to come out of the existing traditional gender roles. At the same time I have observed many challenges on them which they wish to overcome.

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ACRONYMS

CA: Constituent Assembly

CEDAW: The Conventional on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

against Women

GON: Government of Nepal

IPU: Inter-Parliamentary Union

MA: Master of Arts

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

PhD: Doctor of Philosophy

SLC: School-Leaving Certificate

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nation Educational Social and Cultural Organization

WB: World Bank

CHAPTER I

SITUATING MYSELF AS A FEMINIST RESEARCHER

Chapter Overview

In this chapter I have introduced some of my key roles in various social responsibilities like being a daughter, a daughter-in-law, a wife, a teacher in a dialogue form. The extent of my political, economic, educational and social involvement will visualize my status in the society. The objective of presenting my roles and responsibilities in a dialogue form in this research is not to express my sentiments being a literary person, but to bring out the challenges faced by women in Nepalese society. In the process of expressing my views, I have used the narrative form. Narrative research focuses on generating the stories of the people in the forms of various literary genres such as a fairy tale, a noble, an autobiography and others. In the process of defining stories and bringing the issues from the field, the everyday life reality of people is depicted either in the form of story or through the conversation (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 471).

I have gone through the experiences of participants and myself relating to the research problem of political participation of Nepalese women. I have also presented the statement of the problem, research questions and my interest besides the research of this type in this section.

I have tried to explore women involvement in politics. Besides, I also tried to see their challenges regarding their participation and the influences of education towards their political participation.

Scene I: Who Am I? A Question to Myself

I have constructed this scene to present my roles in different social environment. I need to fulfil different responsibilities in such different environments. All the items such as books, cosmetics, clothes and cousins are scattered here and there in my room. I observe all these items very closely. All get messy. I am not able to maintain my room properly because I have to accomplish various works. Early in the morning I go to college to teach. I return home and prepare food, serve food for others, eat hastily and go to university. As a daughter-in-law I must help my mother-in-law and involve into household activities. It is hence, almost impossible to manage my room properly. Such activities and hasty life style strikes me to ask myself so many questions as who am I? What are my roles and responsibilities? Is my performance suitable to the role I am playing? Are my activities satisfying the people around me? I would like to present some of my roles in different social settings as follows.

I Am a Daughter

I present myself as a daughter and portray my roles in the form of dialogue with my mother. I want to reveal the situation of women in Nepalese context through a series of dialogues. In so doing, I mainly describe the practices and the performances of the daughter in the social construction. I experience multiple forms of discriminations in my family and society being a daughter. I think that other daughters may not be an exception in this regard. Expressing and sharing my experiences may help to reveal our lived truth. Being a daughter I have also faced lots of challenges and obstacles to get my identity into family and society. I describe the conversation between me and my mother as follows:

Mother: Dear, do you know one thing?

Me: What is it about?

Mother: One thing always strikes me after you get married. You had to be a son instead of a daughter. It's the god's misdeed. You are not with me though you love me a lot. You are just the guest of this house. If you were a son you would be with me, would help me and would take care of me since I am getting older day by day.

Me: Mum, why are you thinking in that way? Don't you feel that a daughter can do everything? I can also fulfil your desire being a daughter. Yes, I agree with you mum. But what can we do? The only thing I can do is to cope up with the situation courageously. And push this agenda of our participation in the political process. Therefore I, being a woman, want to develop myself as a social worker. As everybody is affected by politics, women are affected. Not only this, I wanted to develop my career as a politician. Society has bound us to a restriction that we have to think more before we act as per our desire and dream. It is not by other reason but we are the women as you used to tell me "Chhoriko Janma Hareko Karma".

Mum: I am also telling you the same thing. I want my daughter to be involved in politics. I want you to redefine the daughter's role prevalent in our society. You have gone through the struggle. I also want you to be an independent daughter. I agree that there are difficulties and challenges. I am sure you can overcome all these.

Me: I am thinking to develop my career in the political field, but I have many challenges. Being a woman I need to cope up with much hardship, which my male counterparts need not to face. I have to do the household activities and office works, and maintain relationship with relatives. I fail to show my participation into a public arena.

After dialogue I want to reveal my past days in a narrative form:

This was the case when I was in my school days. I used to participate in various programmes and meetings organized at school from early morning to late evening. It used to be already 5 or 6 PM when I reached at home. All my relatives used to say that it was not the time for the daughters to return home. Day after day my friends were organizing various extracurricular activities and insisting me to stay at school for a long time. But I felt so difficulty to participate in that meeting. My brothers used to comment that it was not good to stay outside late night. In my initial school and college days the rules and the regulations of the society were not women friendly. At the time I was in my higher studies I used to have economic challenges as well. I was not getting adequate economic resources so that I could show my involvement in the public gathering. It affected the overall development of my political career. I was not getting privilege of the resources that were easily available to my brothers. I lacked to invest the resources to build up myself in the public arena. Under such circumstances I used to wish to be a son who could easily organize his resources, arrange the public meetings.

Me and My Mother's Thinking

The prevailing thought of my mother is that the situation of women in our society is the consequence of our social structure. Our social structure has bound us in such a way that we can't think one step ahead of it. This social structure has shaped my mother to think the fact that there are challenges to be a daughter, and to be a son is a matter of getting privileged in the society. At the end this structure shapes overall behaviour. When the individual actors act in the social setting, it is often based on what Glidden calls practical consciousness. He further expresses that in the process of performing the regular action that comes as a routine like action which helps to producing and reproducing the structure which lastly comes as a means and the

outcome of the action (Giddings, 2000, p. 59). Therefore, in the process of developing myself as a daughter, my mother has also built-in various behaviours. She expects me to develop the lady-like behaviour. Politics as well as other economic activities, as she suggested me, are for the male and women are for doing household works. Therefore, she says that I should be her son instead of a daughter. I partly agree with my mother that the son and the daughter have their own potentiality in this environment. I agree that all these kinds of thinking of my mother are the result of our culture. I don't blame her anymore.

Me as a Daughter-in-Law

A daughter- in- law in Nepalese society has to perform her work very differently. She is supposed to follow a special set of norms and values in this patriarchal society. Moreover, her residence is changed, identity is changed. The surrounding environment pushes her into a great dilemma. Her decision, desire and identity become distant as soon as the pattern of life changes as a bride. To cope up in the new environment she has to manage and maintain so many things. Her identity may get to the crisis if she fails to maintain in a newer social setting. Lynn Bennett (2005) in her book talks on changing role of the women in Nepal, especially the Brahmin Chhetri culture. I am not the exception in this society. I am also following the basic social norms and values. I would like to introduce a small incident of myself as follows:

Once I was sleeping late morning. There were some guests in my house. As I entered into the kitchen I felt shy though my mother-in-law did not respond negatively. All my difficulties were not because of people's gathering there but because of the norms that a daughter-in-law was supposed to do which I had violated. There are many do's and don'ts defined by our socio-cultural system that women

need to perform in a particular way. This pushes her in a situation where she does not get any exposure. As a result, she cannot involve in public works.

Mother-in-law: What is wrong with you, dear? Why are you sleeping till late morning? You can share with me if you have anything wrong.

Me: Thanks mum. I had to do some of my due works last night. Hence, I could not wake up early in the morning.

Mother-in-law: Laxmi, do you know one thing?

Me: What is it about, Mum?

Mother-in-law: That was the day when your husband used to stay with his grandparents. We had to do a lot of household works right from early morning to late night. We even wouldn't be able to have enough food. Those days were so miserable that my children used to feed me by stealing food from my mother-in-law during my pregnancy. I had to cook food, work in the field regularly as a machine. Time is changed a lot now. I don't have any hesitation to cook and serve you. I can't treat you as I was severely treated by my mother-in-law.

Moreover, I have listened to a lot of stories from my mother-in-law that she had faced in her life being a daughter-in-law. Yes, the time is changed and the perception of the people has been changed. I have a hidden fear that I may not get this opportunity forever. I am scared of many things. Being a daughter-in-law, I need to maintain various things in my home. In the process of developing myself in the political field, I need to do so many works which I cannot easily accomplish. I, being the daughter- in-law, need to give more time at home instead of outside. There are so many ceremonies, festivals celebrated in my house. I need to invest my time in those activities. Besides, I have to invest my time and resources in the social gatherings. Being a daughter- in-law I have to maintain relation well with all. I have not that type

of freedom to utilize the resources of my house on my own. In this context, it may be a big challenge for daughters- in-law to move to political arena. Now a day's my colleague and friends say that it's women opportunity that they are getting the plenty of privilege at home, office and school. Truly speaking, there are lots of challenges we have been facing. Obviously, the time has been changed and the situation is not like in the past in some cases. There are still many things which should be improved in family, society and state level.

Reflecting My Roles as a Daughter-in-Law

Though I am scared of social norms and values, my mother-in-law is not so much traditional. She helps me in my household works. She also shares the fact that she had to perform a lot of household activities even having a little of food given by her mother-in-law. I remember the voice of my mother who always advised me to be a skilful daughter-in-law. I was frequently told by mother that a daughter-in-law should be skilful and perfect to do any kinds of activities and have to adjust in a new environment leaving her parental place, which I used to deny. I realized that she was right when I got married. My residence, identity, surrounding environment have been changed. I got married as per the spirit of Hindu ritual. As I got married all my identity, living style has been changed. Besides taking care of myself, I need to think about others. The feelings of responsibilities have been increased in me. Instead of my interest I need to take care of others' interests. The date and time of my career planning is almost vanished. I need to narrow down my career to focus in my house activities and maintain relation with my husband and his relatives. The freedom I had in the past is vanishing and I need to allocate myself in a periphery. I need to take permission if I have to go out of home. I need to take permission of my husband to do something though it is fruitful for me. I have to think twice whether it is accepted by

my husband or not. Attending the public gathering outside the home becomes a challenging task for me. How can an individual develop herself in this interference? It needs public participation and one needs to spend more time with the public to involve in political activity. How can a woman build her political career if she has to spend most of her time within household works? I have exactly the same experience that I have to perform household works in my house being a daughter-in-law. As a result, I am isolated from the public gathering which is very essential for political involvement.

Me as a Wife

"Marriage is the relationship between the male and female" (Rao, 1990, p. 328). It creates certain mutual obligation between the partners. Although Rao gives his emphasis on mutual obligation, I have to do more compromise in comparison to my husband in this patriarchal society. Many feminists argue that marriage brings several responsibilities for the women. When men and women get married, women need to contribute more and men are benefitted. My marriage also brings lots of responsibilities to me. I had one expectation before marriage. But the reality is quite different. For Abbott and Wallace (1997) Girls grow up expecting and wanting to get married, seeing the wedding day as the supreme moment of their life. Married life rarely turns out to be what they have expected, however-the reality is very different from the dream (p. 145). Jessie Bernard (1973) has suggested that there is the marriage of male and female but in the process of leading life males are more benefitted than the female (as cited in Abbott & Wallace 1997, p. 145). By adopting the cultural as well as biological requirement they marry within certain age but this step brings a great turn in their life that they will not get a chance to enter in other field than their home. The literature, thus, supports the existing situation of women in

my research as well as me, but many of my participants and me as well want to overcome that situation and struggling for their own existence out from four walls of home and kitchen activities. My discussion with participants and my experiences has taught me that I should confine within the strict circumstances of marriage and family life. The confinement as such chained them in the way that they hardly ever find the doorways of their participation to the political arena. After marriage I am struggling for my academic career as well as the household responsibility. In the case of my husband he can easily give his time and resources in his career. Whereas, I need to think about others' interests, their likes, dislikes and so on. Various philosophers also express that women education should confine within the household and periphery of husband and children. In the words of Rousseau (n.d.),

> The education of women should always be relative to that of men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable; these are the duties of women at all times, and what they should be taught in their infancy.

Why is education given to women differently from that to men? Why do women need to think about maintaining the household relationship? These are challenging questions in our social context. They always seek for their role and get nothing in return. This socio-cultural context should be deconstructed; otherwise women should always be in the bargaining position. The time has come for the change, but still my husband says that there is not trend of husband participation in the household works. He has his own duty and the career. How can he spend his time in all these non-sense works? He termed household works as non sense works because it has no any economic significance and recognition. It does not contribute in any

professional career. This kind of reaction of my husband always threatens me that all the responsibility of house is only in my shoulder. I disagree with him and accept that this is all because of his socialization. He has never seen the senior males participating in the household activities. Why does he want to become a unique? Maintaining a relationship with husband becomes sole responsibility of wife in our context. It seems that my contribution is more important than my husband if the relation is to continue. If I perform any activity as per my interest, that can't be accepted. If I wish to do any work of my interest and search for any decision in some issues, that is not tolerable. If I go ahead as per the interest of my husband, the relation becomes maintained and balanced. On the other hand, if I try to bargain in any circumstances, this creates a conflicting situation. To settle this conflict, I again must give up. I have to perform the double standard role. Many feminists claim that there are work division between male and female. These works are categorized as the public and private spear. Private spear is known as the household which especially limits them to the four walls of the house like the raring and the caring of the children, involving them in various cleaning activities liking washing clothes, sweeping, washing utensils and the inner activities held within the house and the public affairs is the work that is outside the peripheral of home and associated with the economic generative activities like working in the various organization (Davidoff et al., 1976, as cited in Abbott & Wallace, 1997, p. 196).

In this division males are benefitted more than female. But the double standard role denotes the role that is performed both in house and the outside; the house which I am performing as the second wave of feminists' claim. I have to do official works to earn money as well as household works to keep my family running. My husband goes to office, comes back home and starts watching television. I go to

colleges, come back almost at the same time as my husband and start cooking. This is one of the evidences only. Everyone tells me that I am so lucky enough that I balance household activities and office works. I manage house works in morning and evening time and office works in the afternoon. While involving into household activities, my professional career and academic career have been disturbed. I cannot allocate enough time for my study. As soon as I start studying it becomes time for me to cook. It terminates my attention from study. Hence, I am not able to build my academic career strong.

A wife's role for the smooth functioning of husband-wife relation is significantly important in comparison to a husband and she has to face many challenges. She needs to perform every work perfectly and smoothly without any comments. In the process of bargaining the relation, if she shares her feeling then there may raise certain kinds of dissatisfaction from the husband. Going through the same situation, I sometimes bargain with my husband that I want to involve in various public activities. In response, my husband says: "you as an educated woman can decide yourself." But when time comes for the participation, he does not show any kinds of interest. He encourages me to participate in various public activities. But when I need to participate in such activities he does not support me. I support him in his all activities. I am sure that his behaviour is the reflection of our patriarchal society. How can I imagine my political participation in this context? Therefore, instead of compromising with my instant work, I cannot involve myself in politics. Before involving into politics, I have to think and manage several obstacles; otherwise there will be question in my existence and identity.

Me as a Teacher

Being a teacher as well, I have been facing challenges. I am not able to take early morning and night classes. I feel a sense of discrimination among my colleagues. The administration allocates me relatively less salary than the male teachers. I am not able to attend any of the gatherings like late night party, parties on holidays organized by the colleges. The administration asks me to take classes if I have any leisure time. This is what they can't do with male teachers. Moreover, students think that male teachers are more intellectual and active in comparison to female teachers. In this scenario the female teachers need to give extra effort to compete with male teachers. I am enjoying and sustaining with my profession. When I make up my mind to involve in politics, I get scared. There is not that type of opportunity to gain economic incentives being involved in political field. Therefore, I am not prepared to involve in politics now.

In course of dealing on "women representation and the gender," my students come with the view that there is no need of these kinds of discussion in the academic field. They view that there is no discrimination between male and female in private and public sphere in our society. I try to convince them saying that we have to see the practices of our society rather than being a utopian.

Feminism as an Ideology and Practices: Me as a Living Contradiction

(I and my husband are in the kitchen where he insists to cook)

My husband: I will feed you a delicious food, OK?

When he expressed these things, I was surprised because he had no habit of cooking. In informal discussion, he expresses that he cannot perform the household activities. He simply wanted to spend his leisure there.

This is the actual situation. I don't like my husband to involve in household activities like cooking, sweeping, cleaning, washing etc. Why can't I welcome my husband in such activities though he likes to do it? Is it all because of the social structure where I am grown up? Neither he can do all these activities, nor can I welcome him. Being a teacher, I teach so many theories of feminism in my classroom and advocate on women issues. I easily and happily do the household activities rather than being involved into external activities in public environment as advocated by feminism. In many informal talks with my friends, I share that I weave handkerchiefs, cook meal and engage into kitchen works. My friends view that all these are feminine works and comment that I can't be a feminist. Thus, I have not been able to implement feminism into practice despite the fact that I know something on it.

"Feminism raises the voice for the women's rights. It was defined in terms of two long term goals namely the freedom from oppression and the removal of all forms of inequality" (Malla, 2011, p. 20). Advocates of feminism give more emphasis on the upliftment of women highlighting on their justice and empowerment.

I frequently raise an issue among my colleagues that being a daughter has a lot of challenges in Nepali society. My friends deny it and argue that being a woman is to get an opportunity. She can enjoy the resources earned by her husband. They further put their arguments that a woman is bound to accomplish household works but not the external works that are likely to be done by her husband.

Feminism advocates on women empowerment, women rights, equal participation which I also try to observe whether it is in action or not. Since I started to learn it, I have been seeing its ideology into action. I tried to persuade my colleagues as well. In course of time I found feminism as an idealistic approach. I found reality quite farther. I was not able to implement all the essence of feminism

into my action. I have been gradually deviated from its essence. I prefer to have children, stay at home, do the household works and prepare food for my husband. In one hand, I am performing the household job, and on the other I am involving myself in my professional career. I wanted to involve in the public sector as my career. As the feminists have explained that there is a challenge for women. They have to perform the double role. The western feminists have explained that it is difficult for the women to perform the double standard role. I cannot escape from my private domain. I can't get an opportunity to enjoy into the public domain.

Therefore, I am not able to perform one work perfectly in this dual realm. Representing the third world feminism Talpata Mahanti has expressed:

Many writers have used generally accepted notion of the division between the male public sphere and a female private sphere. Rosalto (1974) referred to the domestic space as feminism and the public realm as masculine, making a clear hierarchical distinction between the sphere of influence the public realm included cultural, political and economic decisions and exercised control over domestic space of women. For many feminists since the 1970s, this dichotomy between the female/male and domestic/public made sense and explained the entrenchment of patriarchal power. More recently, it is claimed as middle class western perspectives. According to the western feminists, women are not in the public sphere; therefore they are in the public sphere. Blunt and Rose (1994) describe the ways in which this construction of gendered space is specific both to the middle class idea of domestic and a white notion of the sanctity of the private. The elaboration of the private as a domestic work has been feminine grace. The formation of middle class relied on the creation of private, domestic space where women are socialized, entertained and raised

the children while men were outside of the home working. Those in lower classes could not afford this luxury of space that defined what is meant to be the proper lady. (as cited in Jones, 2008, p. 35)

I have also gone through the same responsibility. I have to focus in various fields. I cannot perform myself in the participatory work. I am going through this dual responsibility. Therefore, I cannot perform any work perfectly which is one of the challenges for the women. In one hand, they can't go for the revolution and on the other hand, they can't challenge the status quo situation. In this ground reality being involved in politics is a challenging task for me.

My Schooling: From Leadership Quality to Ladiness

My schooling started at 3 years. My school days used to be more creative in the sense that I was good in extra-curricular activities like playing games, singing, dancing. I started to be the centre of attraction among my teachers and friends. I used to be the class monitor, school captain whose roles used to be very crucial in personality development. My entire family environment was also favourable to develop political culture. This was a good platform for me to develop the leadership quality. I could continue it till my later age. I was inspired both by parental side and school side. A feeling of ladiness was being developed in me around the age of 13/14. I started to think in a way that I had to help my parents in their household works. Gradually, I minimized my involvement in extracurricular activities. My time to household works started to extend. I was becoming a cultured girl very loyal to family, society rather than personality development through creative activities at school. Hence, I started to be a social girl loyal to my house instead of developing leadership qualities by means of several creative activities at school. Then I thought that being a female is to keep quiet not talking in front of others as well as to perform

the household activities. This type of thinking dominated me. My parents and siblings also started commenting that being a female is not to participate in the public sphere.

These kinds of tradition dominated me. Therefore, I started living in the periphery of the home and gained the crown of the loyal and the gentle lady defined by the society though I had a keen interest in public functions. I was bound myself to the four walls of the house even though I had the capacity of leading social affairs. I gradually started to ignore helping people and attain public affairs. Then the quality of being lady-like started to develop in me.

My Family Environment and My Mum's Political Ambition Towards Me
In a Sitting Room

Mum: You have achieved your academic degree. Why don't you think to choose politics as your career?

Me: Yes of course. I am on the way to achieve it. Mum, I am still not prepared to show my involvement into politics since I am not economically sound and I don't have self-confidence as well. I have a long way to learn about politics. So far as my understanding towards politics is concerned, it's a public welfare seeking game which requires time, determination and resources. I can't devote my time in seeking public opinion and their welfare since I am a lady who has to spend more time at home than outside. Moreover, I need to develop a lot to actively participate in politics.

Mum: There is the majority of marginalized group in the society and politics could be used for their liberation, and welfare.

Me: You have devoted all your life doing household activities. You struggled to feed and educate us. I have to continue it for the existence of my future generation. Our social structure has never taught us to revolt against prevailing social norms and

values. So, I don't have courage to change the prevailing social structure through politics.

My mum time and again insisted me to join into politics but I ignored it. There are various causes behind my ignorance which I will discuss in the coming chapters of my research.

My Interest Towards Feminist Research

Looking into existing ground reality, I found the women fully engaged into household works. I can see a major generation gap and shift among my grandmother, mother and myself. We have been discussing on feminism, women rights and equal participation here and there. But I can't see any significant difference in their status in real life. The status of women is not improved even though we are discussing in it in a very positive way. They are bound to the four walls of the house. This thing time and again strikes me. Women's issues are not brought into an academic discussion. It is said that only women can bring the issues of the women. Various scholars claim that data brought by the women can give the real justice for women in research.Feminist research has generally been concerned to move away from the positivistic view of sociology as a science and to argue that research should involve a commitment to the emancipation of women. While some feminists have suggested that feminist research should be researched by women, for women and with women, others have argued that it should include both men and women in its 'subject-matter', explicitly recognizing and investigating the sex–gender system that exists in the society being researched. (Abbott, Wallace, & Tylor, 2005, p.367)

I am also convinced with the notion of feminist that it should bring women issues by women. Until and unless we give justice to women in action, the discussion

on feminism alone can have nothing to contribute. Giving justice to them is to bring out the issues related to them into academic field and study them reasonably.

Statement of the Problem

Now I am presenting the way in which surrounding this research is introduced and why this research is important. It is also to analyse the influence of women education and their political participation. Our society has patriarchal practices which are clearly seen in social, political, educational aspects as well as the state mechanism. In such circumstances I try to explore women's views on political representation and the influence of women education in their political participation.

"The institutional arrangement of political structure reveals that there are comparatively fewer women in politics. By 2009, women held 19.1 % of all parliamentary seats worldwide" (Women in Parliament, 2010). This data fairly maintains the prejudice in political participation among genders in the global context. The participation of women in politics of Nepal also reveals degrading condition despite some fewer improvements at present. The Present Constitution of Nepal, 2007 lays focus on the active participation of women in political scenario and grants 33 percent for women. This can be taken as a good sign in the context of Nepal because less number of women is in the decision-making process. Despite such provision in the Interim Constitution, if we observe the formation of the present government, women are not getting proper chance to be represented in all aspects of social, economic and political affairs. If we go through the political history of Nepal, participation of women in parliament was only 5% in 1990, right after the restoration of democracy. Again, based on the policy of political provision for women in the mainstream of development, political participation became popular among the women in Nepal. However, the increased number of participation could not ensure the

qualitative contribution of women in politics. In this context, it is necessary to analyse how they are involved in the political decision and how their education encourages them to contribute to qualitative representation in politics, and what hurdles they are coming across in the process of ensuring their active and effective participation in politics.

The practice of quota policy has encouraged women to participate in politics regardless of their class, caste and educational background. Since there is a neglect of academic strength of women in politics in the policy of quota system, their quality contribution in politics has been questioned. The gap between their representation and quality contribution is to be urgently addressed to ensure the optimum level of development of the nation by participation of women in politics.

In this scenario, it is necessary to analyse why these women have no access to the political representation. Even if they have the opportunity, it is difficult for them to maintain this representation. What are the challenges that they were facing in terms of political representation? Why is the social value system not in favour of women? Why are the educated women not participating in political system? This research will contribute to bring out women's issues relating to the political participation and the education.

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Research Questions

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I have developed the following research questions for this study:

- How do women perceive education in relation to their empowerment for the participation in politics?

- What are the hurdles that women are facing in ensuring their participation in politics?

- How is the identity of women shaped and perceived by the society in process of being involved in politics?

- How is woman participation in politics?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to bring influence in political participation of women. It also aims to explore their perception towards their own active and effective participation in the politics and the role of their education in determining their political location in the changing context of Nepal. At the mean time, I think, my experience also plays an important role in the process of expressing the issues of women participation with feminist approach.

Significance of the Research

I perceive education and political participation as empowering factors for women. In a way of leading life, I have envisioned for gender equitable society where there is equal representation of women in every sector of human life. Being involved in this research, I have tried to explore the existing problem of the social-cultural practices of Nepali society and experience of women of Nepal. I hope this research will provide a scenario of Nepalese society along with experiences faced by women of Nepal. This research will encourage the women who are struggling for political representation. This research will contribute in policy formation regarding gender participation in societal, educational, organizational and economic sectors of human life. More importantly, it will help to reveal the social issues relating to women participation in politics and education by means of my reflexivity.

Policy Significance

This research will provide the picture of Nepalese society especially Nepalese women. In my perspective this research will provide a plan and policies of Nepali

society related to gender representation in education, politics and other organizations. The representation of women at the central committee of Nepalese political parties is 28.7%. This percentage reduces to 12.4 at their executive committee. 33.5 % of women are being participated at the committee of their sister organization and 14.7% of women are being represented at other sister organization other than women organizations (Renaissance Society Nepal, 2008, p. 6). It shows that the representation of Nepalese women in political institutions is marginalized. This research attempts to bring out the clear picture of Nepalese women which will help the policy makers to launch the programmes for the upliftment of women in political field. "Feminist research has emerged as a legitimate, relevant and popular research. The quality and the validity of its findings are beyond contention, and over the years it has produced a significant output that has provided guidelines for policies to modern societies" (Roberts, 1981, as cited in Foundation of Social Research, n.d., p. 54).

Research Significance

My discussion on women's political representation and education is not only beneficial to the educated women. It is equally useful for the women who are non-schooled and far from political representation. This research explores the existing socio-cultural setting and the aspiration of women in Nepal. This research reveals the issues of women's political representation due to education. Therefore, this research discards the androcentric bias and discloses the actual issues of female.

Professional Significance

Undoubtedly this kind of feminist research is beneficial to raise women's issues in the discussion. This research is fruitful for my professional career which will provide me some insight in relation to women development. This research will empower me at present as well as in the future. Involvement in this type of feminist

research will motivate me to move ahead towards other research. This research will

raise the gender practices that are prevalent in our society. By involving in this type of

research I wish to develop and discuss the women subordination in the development.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Overview

My study focuses on the participation of women in politics and the role of education in empowering them. I, therefore, have mentioned various literatures to support and enrich this study and some theories which I have felt worthy enough to make this study meaningful in the following paragraphs. This section is divided into three categories; theoretical discussion, thematic discussion and policy discussions.

Theoretical Discussion

In this research I have tried to explore various approaches of feminism by applying various theories of the feminism. Modern feminists have shown particular interest in the idea of political representation. This arises from the fact that conventional definition of the politics effectively excludes women from political life (Heywood, 2002, p. 11). In the process of raising the question about the oppression I have discussed about the liberal, radical and socialist feminism in following ways:

The Approach of Inequality Wearing the Coat of Liberal Feminism

To be a liberal feminist means to provoke the women opportunity and right outside the house and the household activities. Not only have that in the process of approaching the issues we need to address the equal opportunity for the women. In identifying barriers to women's achievement, liberal feminists have become increasingly aware of 'internal' as well as 'external' barriers. They have seen how the total environment of male supremacy shapes women's perceptions of themselves

moulds women's interests, needs and wants and limits women's ambition, determination and perseverance . Liberal feminists conclude that equality of opportunity requires equality in children's early education and environment (Jaggar, 1983, p. 194).

As Wendell (1987) says that liberal feminists have always promoted equality of legal rights for women, and have more recently demanded an end to de facto discrimination on the basis of sex,' enlisting the State in attaining that goal (p. 66). Liberal feminists usually are, however, committed to major economic re-organization and considerable redistribution of wealth, since one of the modern political goals most closely associated with liberal feminism is equality of opportunity, which would undoubtedly require and lead to both (Wendell, 1987, p. 66).

Liberal feminists have the traditional liberal beliefs in the power of education as a means of social reform and its importance to human fulfilment, and, since Mary Wollstonecraft, they have demanded education for girls and women equal to that offered to boys and men (Wendell, 1987, p. 66). This theory specially claims for the equal justice in policy and the legal provision. It further claims that there should be no discrimination in rearing, caring and socialization of children. If we relate this theoretical aspect to political participation then there also needs the equal environment for women in Nepal.

The Approach of the Oppression Wearing the Coat of Radical and Socialist Feminism

The radical feminism seems extremist from the point of view of the feminism. In the process of approaching the women rights and liberty, it ignores the existence of the male and claims for the establishment of women rule for equitable society. In my study, I have gone through several feminist theories related to political participation.

Modern feminists have shown particular interest in the idea of political representation. This arises from the fact that conventional definitions of politics effectively exclude women from political life (Heywood, 2000, p. 11). "Radical feminists have thus attacked the public/private divide proclaiming instead that the 'personal is the political'. Kate Millet in sexual politics defines politics as power structure relationships, arrangement whereby one group of persons is controlled by another, feminist can therefore be said to be concerned with the politics of everyday life" (Heywood, 2000, p. 12). Radical feminism claims that patriarchy is the root of all oppression and discrimination. According to Abbott et al. (2005):

> The central tenet of radical feminism is that gender inequalities are the outcome of an autonomous system of patriarchy and are the primary form of social inequality. They argue that there has always been a sexual division of labour underpinning and reinforcing a system of male domination. Patriarchy is a universal system in which men dominate women. Radical feminists argue that no area of society is free from male definition, and consequently every aspect of women's lives currently accepted as 'natural' has to be questioned and alternative ways of living together as men and women must be found. (p. 34).

The above mentioned theory is relatable to my research context in the sense that women in Nepal are not participating in considerable ratio in political sector because they have faced lots of challenges in political field because of the domination of men in all aspects of decisions. On the other hand, they need to spend most of their time in their household chores. The set up of our social structure is also in the way that they are compelled to limit their precious life within the perimeter of strict family affairs and male member of the family. They, therefore, are strategically prevented

from getting participated in the public domain like politics. With the help of this premise, I have explored how the social and cultural constraint limits women life in the patriarchal society like Nepal.

The public and private social constraints as discussed above have made a large room for their social exclusion, marginality and oppression. This has consequently hampered their empowerment. According to the feminist theory, empowering an individual woman is challenged because of their subjugated role and lower level of placement in the politics (Conger & Kanungo, 1998, p. 474). The women, therefore, need to be empowered further by encouraging them to participate actively in political mechanism. The need to empower women, therefore, is essential "to turn public attention to the distresses of the groups that are in need of social change" (Developing the Theory of Empowerment, n.d., p. 140).

Feminists of the second wave also emphasized "the personal is political" (Evans 1997, p. 290, as cites in Canty, 2004).

That is, "the two domains of women, private and public are the factors that determine their political scope. Their household responsibility represent their private affair which always pulls their legs form promoting their experiences to link with the public affairs such as politics. Their personal experience obtained within the defined frame work of social and family construct needs to be linked with the experiences existing in the outer social state. This linkage further helps to benefit them in political, economical and larger social context and thereby they ensure their extended development. (p.154)

The public-private binary forms are the core of feminist theories. The feminist notion of public and private affair unlocks the public sphere which was principally in the hand of men. In past days in the post colonial nation as armed groups and security

forces wage wars amidst multicultural civilian spaces, civil societies are suppressed and public sphere and these things are captured by male representative in society. Patriarchs can no longer play the role of the protector as women are literally and metaphorically forced to come out of the streets (Behera, 2006, p. 35). Thus, the women involvement in the public life increased and women practices the public domain by involving in various public organizations.

Women have been kept outside the public domain of politics as most of the political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, John Lock, Thomas Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for women in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives. The public private divide remains as the foundation of various forms of world democracies (Phillips, 1998; Rai, 2000, as cited in Bari, 2005, p. 3). Thus, in this research, I have also found many facts that women are blocked to come in the public domain resulting less women participation in public domain. I used this theory as a source of oppression of women.

Wearing the Coat of Capability Approach

Going beyond the feminist theories, I have also discussed the capability approach in my research. For the development, empowerment and equity towards women Sen argues that what is important normatively for a person's well-being is what she is "able to do or to be," not just what possessions or income she holds. For this the capability approach plays an important role. Capability approach says that all human beings have an equality of basic capability produce a moral justification for attending to and confronting discrimination against women in various aspects of life (Hicks, 2002, p. 138).

Sen's advocacy for capability approach convinces me to see women under this study with the lens that every individual has an immense capability 'to do and to be' the things for their optimum wellbeing. Despite the possession of such immensely capable women in Nepal lag behind in terms of their wider participation in politics. Stepping on Sen's ideology as above I have explored why women's participation in politics has remained insufficient and what structural frame work has made them feel to be incapable of contributing their knowledge in the politics in comparison to men. The supposition that the individuals are equal on the basis of capability gives moral strength to Nepalese women. I, thus, have scrutinized during the field study that how and to what extent the women under this study use this moral strength to confront the challenges in course of their political participation resulted by the age long patriarchal social set up. After analysing all my data, I found that there is the capability in women to do something in the politics. The formal education makes them compel about their capability. Education is the key for them to involve in the nation-building process. Quality education plays a vital role for the women which help them to participate in politics. I am here focusing that political representation of women is possible only after getting proper education. In the context of Nepal, exclusion of women in the political sphere is all due to the education system, social structure and gender roles in the society but they are not excluded themselves as being women.

These things also determine women in living the public life which is one of the key indicators of the political participation. For achieving greater equality of basic capability will require increasing level of well-being and the freedoms enjoyed by girls and women. Sen's normative vision includes not only a call to equalize capability, but it also promotes overall improvement in the capability of children, women, and men (Hicks, 2002, p. 146). Here, the greater capability, for Sen, has to be

followed by the level and opportunities of wellbeing and the freedoms that the women

enjoy in their life time. I have implied this idea in my research by observing the level

of wellbeing and opportunities to enjoy freedom among the women in Nepal.

Gender and development approach also supports the idea of capability

advocated by Amartya Sen. This emphasizes that development can only be ensured by

removing inequalities and discrimination in education, work and politics through legal

means. According to this approach the capability of an individual can only be

emerged through the practice of gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting as

planning tools in policy making procedures (Unterhalter, 2005, as cited in Karlsson &

Mansory, 2000, p. 73).

Theory of Empowerment

Empowerment theory is the crux of the feminist literature. If we go through

theories and approaches of feminism, there is a discussion in women empowerment. It

has multiple effects in human development. To see the women development and

struggle in political participation, I have brought the theory of empowerment into

discussion and analysed it in relation to other theories as well.

The concept of women's empowerment is not recent. The women in the

nineteenth and twentieth century launched movement for liberation suffrage and

equality. Mary Wollstonecraft for example, remarked that women could not be

measured by men's standard (Lewis, 2009, as cited in Sinha, Jha, & Negi, 2012, p.

61). J. S. Mill stressed the importance of women's education and freedom in his

subjection of women (1869) and on liberty (1859). In the process of giving the equal

right and justice to women the feminism theory emphasises in a broad social

enterprise determined for equality for all as well as emphasizing the importance of

values such as cooperation, tolerance, nurturance and the freedom for each person to

achieve her or his potential (Sinha et al., 2012). By this, we can say that to perform every work there is potentiality to every human being but the main thing is the environment and the opportunity and the things that are mentioned by Sinha et al. (2012).

Empowerment has been raised as a political agenda of all grass roots movement in 1960's. On the other hand, it has also been focusing on the women issues to raise the power and consciousness for a more return to the community (Gorz, 1982, Wright 1985, Cain & Davis, 1990, as cited in Davis, 1994, p. 179).

Bystydzienski and other feminist who have written about empowerment (Bookman & Morgan, 1998, Mancy, 1983, Hartsock, 1981, Kitzinger, 1991) see empowerment as a process which breaks the boundaries between the public and the private domain that comes out of the personal into the social and which connects the sense of the personal and communal. Empowerment can be transformative when it is linked to a permanent shift in the distribution of social power. Great emphasis is put on autonomous grassroots activity (Davis, 1994, p. 180).

Empowerment is a multidimensional process encompassing all spheres of life, including the social one. It is an ongoing dynamic process that enhances women's or any marginalized and alienated group's ability to change the structures and ideologies that keep it subordinate (Bhasin & Dhar, 1998, as cited in UNFPA, 2007, p. 11). It is a process of making the power structure more inclusive to all women and men of all castes, creeds, classes, ethnicities and races. The theory of empowerment is based on the assumption that the capacity of people to improve their lives is determined by their ability to control their environment namely having power (Hansenfeld, 1987, p. 478, as cited in Bush & Valentive, 2000, p. 83).

The women in Nepal are subordinate to men to more extent due to patriarchy social construct. The empowerment theory, in this context, is crucial in the sense that this theory helps me to develop my view points towards empowering processes of Nepalese women for getting rid of situation of marginalization, alienation and oppression.

In course of empowering women in Nepal, it is essential to connect the private and political life of the women in question. By the help of this theory, I will visualize how the daily activities and personal life of women in Nepal are socially connected with politics and how the women in question interpret their political spheres within the socio-cultural construct in which they live.

For Giddens, the empowerment of individual women can be determined by the degree of their consciousness, the achievement of personal autonomy and ability to act in social and political spheres of their life (Developing a Theory of Empowerment, n.d., p.147). Walby holds the view that we cannot understand women's political action, or women's participation in mainstream politics, unless we examine the patriarchal forces that resist women's demands and exclude women from the main stream of social process (Abbott & Wallace, 1997, p. 275).

The final goal of empowerment is to transform the ideology and practice of domination and subordination; to challenge and transfer existing power structures, systems and institutions which have upheld and reinforced discrimination; and to access and control material and knowledge resources. The process may be viewed in economic, political and social dimensions (UNFPA, 2007, p. 12).

Empowerment of women in the context of Nepal recounts the access to economic opportunities and resources and non-economic resources such as education, knowledge and health (UNFPA, 2007, p. 12). I have enriched my research by

including the indicators of empowerment mentioned above qualitatively. I have also observed the consciousness of women against oppressive practices in relation to religion, economy, culture and family. I have studied how these elements play role oppressively and discourage women's participation in politics. Similarly, in course of analysing women empowerment I have studied, observed and recounted the women's organizations, solidarity, collective action, effective voice and presence in decision-making process.

Beyond the Quota: Other Structural and Legal Provision for the Upliftment of Women in Political Representation

As the (in Burns et al., as cited Goetz, 2003) survey to 15000 American adults concluded following factors on the propensity of women and men to participate in political activity: a childhood socialization in politics, educational levels, participation in high-school clubs, employment in jobs providing political connections and opportunities (e.g. professions, or organized work), participation in non-political organizations, participation in religious organizations, available time, family income, own income, and experiences of gender based discrimination. They found that men's advantage in political participation was linked to a much stronger endowment of two key factors: education, and the types of jobs that provide the resources and contacts needed for politics (p. 5).

Thus, in a process of participation in politics the above mentioned factors play the important role. In the case of Nepalese women the above research findings seems to be highly relatable. For the proper presentation in politics and decision-making process, education is the most. If one lacks education, s/he can't be able to maintain public relation which is the key in politics.

As note, examples of gender-integrated politics provide a crucial psychological mechanism for women's knowledge and interest in politics, which in turn affects their participation in politics. In this respect, monarchies open to women are government institutions that provide an example of political rule as not only a "man's game," but also a "woman's game" (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001, as cited in Mcdonagh, 2002, p. 538). The political integration of gender as discussed above emphasizes the equal participation of male and female in politics which empowers women's psychological mechanism to use their inherent knowledge and interest in politics. Realizing this fact as such, various institutions of government have designed political policy to include women in politics gave to avoid the domination of male over national politics and ensure gender integrated role in politics. Thus, in recent years, politics has been recognized not only as 'man's game' but also as women's game.

"The World Bank has suggested that empowerment of women should be a key feature of all social development programmes" (World Bank 2002 as cited in Sinha et al., 2012, p. 63). The millennium development goals (2002) emphasized the essential role of gender equity and women empowerment as a tool for achieving acceptable demographic changes in developing countries. In the process of giving the importance to empowerment claims that empowerment of women can be expressed in terms of decision making power from the perspectives of health, mobility and household purchase as well as access to work and education. A number of studies have shown that women may be empowered in one area of life while not in other (Hashemi et al., 1997, Kishor, 2000, as cited in Sinha et al., 2012, p. 63).

According to Bari (2005), a research in women's political participation has many issues and challenges. Women's participation and access to formal political

power structures vary across countries. There is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developed countries particularly in Nordic countries. Out of twelve countries where women representation in parliament is more than 33 percent, nine of them are ranked in the high human development category. However, the improvements in medium and low human development countries are not significant. The structural and functional constraints faced by women are shaped by social and political relations in a society. The common pattern of women's political exclusion stems from social and political discourses. Political structures and institutions, socio-cultural and functional constraints that put limits on women's individual and collective agency (p. 3).

"Now, researchers, women's' activists, and government departments are reaching a new consensus. Women must be seen as economic actors - actors with a particularly important role to play in efforts to reduce poverty" (World Bank, 1991, as cited in Bhasin, 1996, p.3072). Therefore in this game, bringing women in the public sector come as a main action. UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality identifies strategic priorities and practical actions for achieving women's empowerment by 2015. These include: strengthening opportunities for post primary education for girls; investing in infrastructure to reduce women's and girls' time burdens; guaranteeing women's and girls' property and inheritance rights; increasing women's share of seats in national parliaments and local governmental bodies; and combating violence against women and girls (Espen & Broody, 2007).

The Indian policy and practices shows that the kind of supplementary place that had been allotted to women in the community development programmes financed by the ford foundation in the 1950's and 60's which involved training women in skills of family management and "Home economics" thus come in for vehement criticism.

Feminist in the 1970's could now emphasize the utter incongruity of projects meant to enable village women to become in the words of the director of the women's programme in 1959, " a good wife, a wise mother a competent housewife and a responsible member of village community (Mehra,1983, as cited in Mary, 1996, p. 3075).

The history of women empowerment as discussed above shows that they were, in the past, focused for family and household management and their academic interaction also limited with the scope of home, family, child rearing etc. This practices, later, was heavily criticized and policy and development practices were gradually designed as women's responsive. In course of time, they were not only confined within the premise of a good wife, a wise mother and a competent housewife but also a responsible member of village community. This gradual and imperceptible upliftment of women from home environment to community and society indicated a positive sign for ensuring their right to effective participation in politics. In the context of Nepal, the development policies and practices have been observed to be similar to the context of India as discussed above. This research has tried to bring the issues of housework and challenges faced by Nepali women in the process of involving themselves in political fields.

Nepalese Legal Provision for Women in Politics

Women upliftment in politics in Nepal have also been caused by the legal provision which took place in different interval of time as mentioned below:

"Treaty on elimination of every kinds of violence towards women in 1979

Treaty on Elimination of Caste Discrimination 1965

 Provision of Interim Constitution 2063

Constitutional Assembly Declaration 2063

Interim Plan (2064-067)" (Renaissance Society Nepal, 2065, p. 1)

There are certain provisions for women from the Government of Nepal. The women status and provision though the GON has taken multi-dimensional approach to eliminate the stereotypes and patriarchal attitude to achieve women's full and equal participation in political and public life, challenges remain. Women representation in the civil servant is 12 percent, with only 6.2 percent of women in gazette class. There are fewer women in senior level of civil service, only 14 (women secretaries and joint secretaries) compared to 417 men in the same level. Though quota measured are adopted in security forces. There are only 5.8 percent women in Nepal police, 2.58 percent in Nepal Army and 3.4 percent in armed police force. There are few women judges in Nepal constituting 1.76 percent. Women representation in the constitutional bodies is rare and symbolic. Currently there are only two women commissioners in six commissions, one each national human right commission, and the public service commission. There are no women in the election commission. Women representation in cabinet is less than 20 percent and the highest level of government that women have ever reached is the position of deputy prime minister, and deputy speaker as mentioned earlier. In 2006 the interim parliament passed the resolution on achieving 33 percent representation of women in all state organs and all level that resulted in 33 percent representation of women in the constituent assembly (CA) as a historical benchmark of women's participation in public political sphere. However the resolution is not always followed by the political parties.

On the other hand if we analyse the political participation of the Nepalese women, there is also some provision of quota system. Therefore, the number of women is increasing in political representation.

As (CEDAW (2011) States that:

Women participation in political parties is also low especially in leadership positions. A study on women's representation in major political parties reveals that in central level executive committee women are only 12 percent and in the district level executive committee. Only 10 percent of women are meaningfully participated which is not enough to bring the desired change. While a legal provision in the interim constitution 2007 calls the political parties to be inclusive including representation of women in the political parties such provision lacks implementation due to concrete quota measures. Therefore, legal measures with quota are suggested to be included both in the new constitution as well as the newly drafted political party management bill by the election commission Nepal. (p. 7)

The given constitutional legal provision is one of the milestone steps towards the women right. By declaring certain legal provision, the state mechanism has adopted the women friendly environment. However, the contemporary status of women in their real life situation has not been observed to be the same as claimed by the Government of Nepal.

The policy of Nepal addressed in the share of women in income is seen to be only 30 percent and in administrative services 12.7 percent. A (resolution) proposal to ensure 33 percent representation of women in all state mechanisms has been passed by the reinstated parliament. In this regard, Beijing Action Plan observes these kinds of affirmative action are important for women education and political participation.

National Action Plan relating to International convention on eradication of all kinds of discrimination against women, and a national plan of action on control of trafficking in women and children have been prepared. Some of the laws discriminatory against women have been amended. Gender focal points have been

established on all sectoral ministries in addition to establishment of National Commission on Women. Assistance has been provided for skill development for social and economic empowerment of single women. A mechanism for gender budgeting has been set up in the Ministry of Finance. The (practice) tradition of compulsory participation of women in preparation and implementation of local development program has been institutionalized. The awareness level of women has been increased as a result of active engagement of the non-governmental sector and the civil society in protection of women's rights. However, it is felt that there has not been adequate improvement in the legal provisions, development programs and budget allocation for gender equality.

Convention on the Political Rights of Women 1952

Desiring to implement the principle of equity of rights for men and women contained in the charter of the United Nations, recognizing that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or indirectly through freely chosen representatives, and has the right to equal access to public service in his/her country, and desiring to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights in according to provisions of the charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Having resolved to conclude a conventional for this purpose, hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article I: Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men without any discrimination.

Article II: Women shall be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all

public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

Article III: Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

Article IV: The convention shall be open for signature on behalf of any member of the United Nations and also on behalf of any other state to which an invitation has been addressed by the general assembly. This convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the secretary general of United Nations. (Basnet et al., 2061, p. 461)

There are many provisional and policy regarding women representation in decision making level but in real context the implementation part seems some lacking. My participants who are actively involving in politics and desire to involve in the same field express their different views but agree with the importance of education. There are many things involve in the paper but if we see the real context then there is absence of government, they opine.

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) of agency evaluates gender inequality in three key areas: seats in parliament held by women. Women as legislator, senior, officials/managers, and professional/technical workers: and female income. In no country do women have 50 percent of the parliamentary seats. Sweden and Rwanda have the largest share of women in the legislative assemblies. In both countries women held 45.3 percent of the seats followed by Costarica with 38.8 percent. Of the 171 countries women held with the data on female parliamentarian only 33 countries out of which 12 countries were in the west had female

representation exceeding 25 percent of seats. Worldwide 93 percent of all cabinet members were men in 1996 (Connell, 2006, as cited in Karlsson & Mansory, 2007, p. 79). They thank to the legal system and provision as allocated for the women who actively participate in the name of women's development. They view that women's participation in development, education, political affair and more other factors are welcoming in the context of Nepal.

CEDAW establishes the universality of the principle of equality of rights between men and women and makes provision for measures to ensure equality of rights for women throughout the world (UNESCO, p. 4). The convention kept the wide range of equal rights for women in the political, economic, social, cultural and civil field. The political rights of women are treated in part II which provides an equal right in political and public life at the national and international levels.

Typically, policy directives and programs treat gender as an additive category, to be added onto existing ones with women as a special target group, rather than gender as a lens through which the approach to development should itself be re-examined. The programs are essentially launched in welfare terms, under the umbrella of the basic needs approach that gained currently in development thinking in the mid 1970's. This approach emphasises the provision of basic goods and services such as food, health care, literacy to the economically disadvantaged, without serious questioning the existing distribution of productive resources and political power or the social (gender) division of labour (Agrawal, 1994, p. 1456).

Further the equal right convention sets those social and economic rights enumerating equal rights for women in the areas of education, employment, health care, economic and social life, which special attention given to the problem of rural women (UNESCO, p. 5). The above literature emphasizes that the idea of

development in the past was limited to the basic approach acquiring food, health, shelter, etc. and the basic notion for empowering women was disregarded. This has caused the women in general and Nepalese women in particular to be backward in almost every respect.

 In one study Agrawal (1994) has suggested that most of the women lack information about the law as well as the means to act on it. They need legal literacy and legal aid. To provide this, the state key role could be played by civil society, including women's organization, as well as village councils and municipalities which now have substantial female representation following seats reservations. The media can also contribute to raising the awareness about the law (p. 3).

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Thematic Review

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In this section I have discussed on various themes related to women and their political representation. These themes were discussed with my participants in the field too where I have taken their views related to the topic.

Women and Education

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) does not support non-poor women whose security and human rights are threatened by, for example, domestic violence or barriers to political participation (p. 4). The MDG includes a specific goal on gender equality and women's empowerment. However, the role of gender in the goals has been the subject of criticism and a source of confusion among countries and agencies struggling to implement and monitor them at country level.

Towards the promotion of education and equality the MDG gives emphasis in education by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015 (Lorraine, p.1). The MDG of gender equality through education is advocated by the above literature. I

have seen the disparities existing among genders and their roles in acquiring MDG of gender equality in the context of Nepal raised the question that, how can the global community achieve the third MDG of gender equality and the empowerment of women? To be empowered women must have equal capabilities such as education and health, and equal access to resources and opportunities such as land and employment (Esplen & Brody, 2000). This is the challenge of today's world which should be addressed in the area of political participation as well.

Education for all global monitoring report 2009, expresses that unequal distribution of education has wider consequences. Income based gaps in educational opportunity reinforces income inequalities and the social divisions that come with them. They also mean the benefits associated with education in areas such as public health, employment and participation in society are unequally distributed. The human costs of these inequalities are cumulative and cross-generational. For example, the fact that women account for the majority of illiterate people in the world today is a reflection of historical gender disparities in access to education (p. 28). These things also matters for the political participation of women in national or local level.

A regional conference Philippines (2007) concludes that when you bring in a man then only he joins the struggle but if you bring in a woman, then the whole family joins. If women do reach the power then there are initial signs that they can perform the things differently than to men but much more research is needed on this. Political parties are now conveying messages about the promotion of women in politics and leadership roles in their election campaigns (One World Action, 2008, p. 12).

Studies show how the gender definitions of women as household and remunerated workers in Puerto Rico have been historically imposed through conflicts

between men and women, between men and capitalism that demanded female labour, and even between women in diverse familial and employment positions. For example, Baerga (1999) documented how the labour movement's defence of the privileged position of craft workers was partly based on their definition of men as the main breadwinners and their work as the tasks done out of the home, placing men in opposition to women and devaluing women's productive and reproductive work in the household (Warren, 2003, p. 676).

Women and Socialization

In the way of showing own behaviour such as family and the society plays an important role. When we see the individual we always analyse his/ her behaviour. There is always the socialization process that plays the important role for individual development. Socialization is the process by which members of a society learn and understand the values symbols and norms of their culture. They are oriented to the social, political, economic and hierarchal systems of their society. Through the socialization process citizen's values are influenced by dominant culture and forces and are hence bound to replicate the ideas and values that are already pervading in the culture. In other words through the socialization process, different social groups such as families, schools, peer groups, and other organizations try to mould the individual behaviours towards certain desirable outcomes (Kalantari, 2012) . Sociologists have defined socialization as a mechanism of adaptation and learning. In a process of developing oneself for public affairs, the upbringing of the child in home which is known as socialization plays an important role.

Women and Economy

Economy is the basis of every decision in material world. According to Marx all conflict and revolution is caused by economic resources. It may be in the

household level, national and or international level. To analyse the women oppression, Marx and Engles developed a theory of women's oppression over a lifetime, culminating in the publication of the origin of family, private property and the state in 1884. Engles wrote the origin after Marx's death, but it was a joint collaboration, as he used Marx's detailed notes along with his own (Smith, 1997).

How can we end women's oppression? This question can only be answered by posing yet another question: why are women oppressed? Unless we determine the source of women oppression, we don't know who or what needs changing. This, the women's question, has been a source of controversy for well over a century. Karl Marx and Fedrick Engles located the origin of women's oppression in the rise of class society. Their analysis of women's oppression was not something that was tagged on as an afterthought to their analysis of class society but was integral to it from the very beginning when Marx wrote the communist manifesto in 1848; ideas of women's liberation were already a central part of revolutionary socialist theory. The bourgeois sees his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that (Under communist) the instruments of production are to be exploited.

I have mentioned various literatures worth full to this research in this chapter. The theoretical standpoints discussed in the beginning of this chapter will help me in understanding the women world in the context of Nepal in relation to their socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-emotional aspects and how these aspects play role in the socio-political positioning of women in question. Again, I have brought some empirical and thematic studies on women and their empowerment, their family and social life, the existing belief system in society regarding genders and their roles, at forefront to understand the women in general and the Nepalese women in particular. I

have found these studies are crucial to my study in the way that it will give me guideline to perceive the meaning of the data generated from the field.

However, this study is quite different from the above mentioned study in the way it will seek the political position of women with their own perception in the changing context of Nepal. This study has focused various barriers generated from the patriarchic social set up of Nepal which discourages Nepalese women to participate in the main stream of politics. Similarly, this study also brings educational status of women and the role of their academic strength in ensuring their effective political participation. I have not found such study to have taken place strictly in the context of Nepal. I, thus, have carried out this study.

Summary of Theoretical Aspects and Situating Myself

In this research I have borrowed various theories. The motive of presenting these theories is to analyse the data that were presented by my participants. In the way of presenting I have presented myself and analysed theories and data. I have presented various feminist theoretical aspects (eastern as well as the western feminism) on that (Liberal feminism, Radical feminism, Socialist feminism) have been discussed. On the other hand, third wave of feminism is latterly raised in the process of incorporating the data with the women. Sen's Capability approach is also discussed. In this section I have presented various theories. I have tried to discuss these theories linking them with the former discussion with my participants.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Our work needs that we see things in real context in field, it believed that research should be in real situation that we explain and understand our eventful, reality within and as a part of its atmosphere. It is only within its environment that experience, reality, can be known and this matrix includes the knower.

Barbara Du Bois 1983 (as cited in Hawthorne, 2008, p. 44)

Chapter Overview

In this chapter I have explored the research methodology along with various philosophical stands of my research. Revealing the research paradigm, I have explained research design, ontological and epistemological stands. In the process of going through the research, I have also built standpoint, ethical consideration and the quality standard. In this aspect I have explained the methodological aspects in a dialogue form. I have presented various characters and myself in various forms.

Ontological Assumption

The philosophical consideration is one of the processes applied in research which provides guidance and approach to the research. Therefore, I as a researcher have also developed certain ontological and epistemological approaches in the process of investigation. Following the first chapter I have gone through feminist methodology in my research. Feminist methodology therefore in terms of ontology, I have tried to view the nature of reality. The focus is on human groups especially the women, their feelings, perception and events, which form the central unit of inquiry for this project. I have taken the constructive viewpoint. I also go through

incorporating the data from my own feeling and reality. "Social constructivism holds assumption that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and experience" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 8).

Qualitative researchers seek to understand the context of setting of participants through visiting social environment and gathering information personally .The constructivist view focuses on the human engagement with their world and makes sense of it based on their historical and social viewpoint (Cresswell, 2009, p. 8). I have taken the group of the women and their essential views on the education and the political representation. Bhattarai, (2006) views that:

 Sometimes, the set feminist research, apart from other approaches to social inquiring, is its ontological claim that the reality depicted by much of social science knowledge is incomplete and fundamentally distorted. The world described by many studies of human and organizational behaviour is dominated by an andocentric worldview that is it communicates the male experience and is based on male assumption and perspectives. Their experiences, assumptions and perspectives of females have often been excluded as subject of study, as researcher and as interpreters of result reality. (p. 254)

Ontology describes the reality in the process of truth finding what reality is. In this research, I have tried to capture the reality of women's experience in relation to political representation and the education as a motivating factor. Therefore, my reality is subjective and as a history of ontology "assumes that there is a 'reality' that has been created and shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender-based forces that have been reified or crystallized over time into social structures that are taken to be natural or real" (Olesen, 1994). Therefore, I also generate the reality

from various categories of women who will represent multiplicity of groups in our society.

Epistemological Assumption

After exploring some ontological assumptions and views, I have gone through epistemological stand. As various feminist researchers, I have also incorporated the views from women who are leading their life and bargaining with the authorities. In the mean time I also express my own feeling and thinking being a woman and some of its opportunity and the constraints in a process of leading the life. Therefore, the epistemological orientation also provides me a way to investigate and find the truth.

Epistemology is the branch of the philosophy that investigates the nature of knowledge. Therefore, in this research I have also incorporated my experiences as the source of knowledge. I have taken the women of various levels and categories as the respondents in this research.

Notion of feminist methodology emerged out of our reading of sociological literature of two types according to (Bhattarai 2006) asserted that:

The first concerns feminist analysis of the epistemological assumption which underlies different ways of knowing the social reality and of understanding women's experiences. It includes those researches that employ the self-reflective process in regard of feminist ideas. Second type of ideal includes empirical research on gender asymmetry that we feel and incorporate these feminist assumptions into the techniques and strategies used to gather and analyse data. (p. 254)

I also incorporated the first and the second type in course of representing and analysing the resources. Epistemology deals with the complex question. There are various questions that philosophers have provided in the process of finding truth from

the field for e.g. what are the sources of knowledge? Does the sense supply, or does reason provide reliable knowledge of the world? What is knowledge? What is the relation between knowledge and belief? In a way of giving answer various philosophers provide various answers but in the process of finding the knowledge and truth feminist researchers add various sophistication techniques and serious insight on the process of generating knowledge (Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 18). As taking these things in the consideration, according to the nature of the research, my epistemology is based on my participation views which are subjective in nature; the subjective nature has explored the real sources of knowledge in the particular topic.

"As the feminist epistemologist code (1991), has defined knowledge as an inter-subjective products constructed within communal practices acknowledgement, correction and critique" (p. 224, as cited in Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 19). As Hawkesworth further defines "the definition has the virtue of emphasizing that knowledge is a human product, generated by fallible inquires through the process of interrogation and contestation that evolve many people over long period of time". As Hawkesworth, I have also applied the subjective based knowledge of the political women in the views of participation in the political sphere and present the views of contestation between me and my participant as well as give the critical lens to the response presented by those respondents. "Feminists are concerned with who has the right to know, the nature and value of knowledge in general, and feminist knowledge in particular; and the relationship between the methods you use, how you use it and the knowledge (findings/results)" (Scott, 1998, p. 2, as cited in Letherby, 2004, p. 184). I have also integrated these views in the process of representing the issues of political representation of women. I have also presented the knowledge claimed by the women in particular as well as in general. In the process, I have also described

how I use my knowledge and how I present in the upcoming chapter. I have analysed my data in upcoming chapters which have shown the experience and the perception of the women in leading the life.

Feminist Epistemology as my research knower I define my representative from the multiple sector. In this research I have gone through collecting the data from the women who are linked with politics who are in the mainstream of the politics and who will desire to come in the political sphere and want to make their career in politics in the context of Nepal. In selecting the respondents I have selected the women who have various educational and political backgrounds. Women are grouped from the schooling and the non schooling. Therefore, I have tried to capture various levels of women and tried to explore the multiple realities that are being practiced by them. To define this multiple reality I have tried to capture the issues of women from the feminist analytical tool.

Dealing with the epistemology of my research I followed the subjective knowledge from the women who are in politics and higher education achiever and who are lower educated and the illiterate or out from the political participation. Especially, "subjective approach to epistemology that focused on issues pertaining to the faculties and sentiments of the knower as the sources of knowledge, feminist inquiry arrives at an impasse"(Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 63). In the process of generating knowledge I have also actively participated in the process of generating the data instead of only analysing the views of various women. I represent myself and raise the question about the Nepali women and the social structure where I am positioned.

I have tried to add in and generate further detailed sentiments related to women education and issues of participation and other related subjects. I have tried to

explore the feeling of domination and the encouragement in terms of developing the self in the education and political sphere. Therefore, being a woman I have also realized and experienced in various levels. This issue of domination and the oppression sometimes make question in the structure of our society. Therefore, I also included my views in order to raise the question of justice and representation and empowerment.

Axiological Assumption

Axiological assumption focuses on the value of the knowledge. "It concerns three main questions: whether values are subjective or objective, that is personal or impersonal; whether values are changing or constant; whether there are hierarchies of value" (Kneller, 1971, p. 220).

I have developed certain values of the knowledge regarding the feminist research. I have taken the women politicians and their knowledge and construct on the basis of their subjective interpretation. I have also gone through my interpretation of knowledge. In a process of collecting the information, I have collected the perception of women towards politics --what value they give to the participation issue in politics and how the education plays an important role in the process of participating in political platform.

Qualitative Method in Feminist Research

I think my philosophical consideration has guided me towards the qualitative approach of data collection method. By analysing ontological and the epistemological orientation, I come to the conclusion that I adopted the qualitative approach in the process of collecting and analysing data. Although "more closely aligned philosophically with qualitative research, feminist scholars use both quantitative and qualitative research methods in their work" (Oakley, 1998, p. 716, as cited in

Letherby, 2004, p. 177). In this research according to my philosophical stand, ontological and epistemological my sources of knowledge are the women of multiple realities and multiple representations as well as I have claimed in my epistemological stand that my knowledge is subjective based. In this stand I have taken the approach of the qualitative research.

"To be a feminist social scientist one must have a certain allegiance to the qualitative paradigm, and a willingness to go along with the habit of dualistic either/or thinking" (Oakley, 1998, p. 716, as cited in Letherby, 2004, p. 177).

According to the nature of my study I have decided to apply the qualitative research for the purpose of my study. I think the qualitative research will be the most appropriate for this kind of research. Some qualitative feminist researchers openly claim that qualitative methods are more feminist than quantitative. Feminist like Oakley claims that in a way of finding the real context feminist researchers apply qualitative methods as the best suited to the project of hearing women's experiences and everyday action of life (Oakley, 1998, p. 708, as cited in Leatherby, 2004, p. 176). That the 'critique of quantitative' overlapped with the 'critique of mainstream/ male stream'; and that quantitative and qualitative approaches represented. In my research I have tried to incorporate the voice of women. As Devault (1999) asserts that "qualitative methods 'give voice' to women respondents, allow women to help determine the direction and focus of the research, and emphasize particularity over generalization" (Leatherby, 2004, p. 176). So applying this methodology I have stepped forward to my research.

Paradigm in My Research

In the process of going through the research the researcher should be convinced on the subject issues, especially in its paradigmatic stand. I have discussed

in this subject area of the study. "The qualitative research method has its roots in cultural anthropology and American sociology" (Kirk & Miller, 1986, as cited in Cresswell, 2009, p. 194). The approach of the qualitative research has recently been adopted by researchers who especially see the education and the issues of the suppression and oppression with critical lens. "The researcher adopts this approach to investigate process where the researcher gradually makes sense of the social phenomenon" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, as cited in the Cresswell, 2009, p.195). They further suggest that this entails interest in everyday life of the setting chosen for the study. I have also developed certain process of investigating the issues of women education and their political participation.

Interpretative Paradigm in My Research

I have followed the interpretative paradigm in this study. In the aspects of analysing the interpretative paradigm, it especially focuses on the knowledge that is locally situated culture and embedded in organizational and the interactional sites. According to the Holstein and Gubrium drew attention to the interpretive procedures and the practices. "That gives structure and the meaning to everyday life" (Dengin & Linkoln, 2000, p. 381). Approaching through the interpretative paradigm I have interacted with my participants.

Critical Paradigm in the Research

Feminist research comes under one of the aspects of the critical research. "Critical theorists suggest that a feminist standpoint methodology rooted in women's experience would elucidate the epistemological knowledge, everyday experiences and political praxis that positivist epistemology often denies" (Turner, 2003, p. 259). Talking about the critical paradigm as Turner (2003) explains:

It was developed by the Frankfurt School of thought. The term Critical theory has its origins in the 20th century Frankfurt School, and now is associated with scholars across a range of disciplines. Among these scholars, Anthony Giddens and Jurgen Habermas are two who have been particularly influential in the current project. Especially in this research, I have tried to raise the issues of the women political representation. I have tried to see all these issues from the feminist perspectives. Therefore, I assume that this type of research will help to develop certain level of raising the voices of the women especially the critical researchers assume that the knowledge developed in their research may serve as a first step toward addressing such injustices. (p. 259)

In my research I have tried to address the issues of injustice and oppression of women. Therefore, to raise the voices against that and to bring such issues in academic discussion I have applied the critical approach where I have presented my reflexivity.

Some Linkage Between Interpretative and Critical Research Paradigm

To blend two paradigms in one research is a challenging task but as per the necessity of my study I have tried to blend these two paradigms. In this study to collect the data from the respondents and listen to their views on the particular subject, I have taken the interpretive research paradigm. "Interpretive research is especially helpful when the questions being examined are explanatory in nature. It is then necessary to focus heavily on human intent and meaning, which is at the heart of interpretive research" (Israel, n.d., p. 1).

As my ontology regarding this topic the knowledge is subjective. Israel also expresses the same views on that. She says that interpretive ontology views all reality as subjective reality. That is why it cannot be sufficiently understood from the

positivist's distance. Every human being is unique and every bit of social life has its own meaning, feeling, intention and motivation. This ontology takes a holistic and systems perspective, which sees everything and everyone as interconnected. On the other hand if we go through the epistemological stand of this research, the knowledge regarding women education and their participation in politics I am closer to this. I present my reflexivity in this research and I have presented the women life experiences. As Israel expresses that its epistemology requires the researcher to be much closer to the situation to, in effect, interpret life through the human experience. In fact, the scientific process is really an engagement between the researcher and participant(s). Israel (n.d.) further expresses that:

> Critical research ontology, like interpretive ontology, views human behaviour from the standpoint of meanings and intentions, but it also emphasizes people as creators of an action. It especially raised question on the existence problem and the structure way of living of the people. It is potentially self-critical at the most fundamental level, related to the norms of its approach to social inquiry. At the same time it also raised the question on the people and organizations align beliefs, norms and actions. It can also challenge the status quo and create immediate, positive, self-directed change. (p.3)

In my research I have tried to apply both the paradigms. In a process of expressing my worldviews and discussing on the subject matter sometimes the interpretive paradigm dominated the research and sometimes the critical flavour seems to be strong.

Area of the Research

There is no any particular site of my research. Even though I have gone to Sindhupalchok and talked with the participants. I have taken the multiple sites for my

research. And there is no uniformity in the participants as well. To see the multiple aspects I have taken both schooled and non schooled women. I have tried to capture the multiple responses on the political representation and education from various levels of women for the same purpose. Instead, I have captured my participants in kitchen, in parliamentary house, in garden and on their room. There is no that type of constructed setting for the research. Talking about one of my participants Tina, I have visited her thrice for the purpose of my research. She used to be hurriedly working in her kitchen in all my visits. I could easily see her responsibility and the work pressure which reflects the women's responsibility as well as the burden in the eyes of a feminist researcher. I found the double standard roles and responsibility of a woman. She had to be responsible both at home and office. I have taken two women as my participants who are not politically participative and distant from Kathmandu. I visited Tina and Tula Mai in Chautara. I have selected this place because this is my home town and I have been living there.

Tools of Data Collection

In the initial phase of my research I was preoccupied by the positivistic research. I thought to make a structured questionnaire related to my research questions. I prepared a table for the purpose of coding and thematizing. Later on, when I visited my participants I felt something different. When I was taking their interview based on the questionnaire, the questions aroused in such a way that I had not limited on the questionnaire. I was guided more by my participants than the questionnaire. Therefore, I had prepared a checklist and the semi structured questions related to the research.

Techniques of Data Collection

There are several techniques used in social science research in the name of obtaining sufficient and logical information. For the specific purpose to conduct this research, I use one of these techniques i.e. qualitative one. There are some of the reasons behind using this technique in my work. This type of research aims at discovering the underlying motives and desires, using in-depth interviews for obtaining the solution of my research problem rose earlier in this research. I involve visiting some of the areas aiming at discovering the underlying motives and desires from the side of my participants. This research technique helps to build some analytical concepts and thinking regarding the women's participation and their roles in changing and transforming the societies as a whole. For this, I actively engage in observation, in-depth analysis and participant's observation. Qualitative research assists to find the general motives of the participants related to my topic of education and political participation of women in the periphery of certain areas of my study.

Data Presentation and Analysis

I made two metaphorical words to manage my data analysis. One is being here and the other is being there. I coded the data, thematized it, made the meaning and brought the voices of the participants. Being the female of Nepal, I have also brought my voice as well and analysed that with various theories. On the other hand by going through the literature of Oaklay (as cited in Letherby, 2004, p.185) I found that the feminist research has the potentiality of reflexivity which especially helps to bring the real world in the academic field. Therefore in this research I have brought experience of myself and female participants.

In this research I have used two representative metaphors for the data presentation and analysis. One is the *being here* and another is *being there*. In the

process of presenting and analysing research being there metaphor focuses on the data that is in the field. On the other hand being here focuses on researcher's analysis especially my analysis and its linkage with the theories. The main objective of presenting data in this process is to see myself and the feeling of others in my research. I want to show my world views and the worldviews of the participants in the particular topic.

Sample of My Study

In this research, I have randomly selected six women participants and except them, I act as one of the colleagues or fellow participants. My destination is to discover the underlying motives and desires from the side of respondents so that I selected only six participants. I have selected the study population purposive fully so that I can "generate information rich cases to enrich findings" of the questions of this research (Patton, 1990, p. 159). Purposive sampling also aims at discovering the underlying motives of human behaviour. It helps to obtain logical information on the specific topic or situation. The limitation of this study is that I try to analyse the existing situation of women education and the political participation through the help of only 7 respondents along with me.

My Participants and Myself in the Research

I am planning to apply feminist methodology in my research. In my research there will be no hierarchy relationship between the participants and the researcher. For example, "the feminist concept of treating the researcher not as a superior but a participant along with the participants themselves has rested well within my comfort zone" (Gergen, 1988; Kirsch & Ritchie, 1995, as cited in Mendis, 2009, p. 379). As Oaklay mentions that "there are the exploitative relations in many research which hide the real context". As Skeggs (1994) and Millen (1997) assert that "there in the process

of involving in research researcher should not pacify the participants and assume that they are less powerful" (as cited in Letherby, 2004, p. 178). I have mentioned my participants in the following order:

One of my participants in this research is **Parmila Prasai** (pseudonym). She is one of the representatives in the constitutional assembly (CA) of Nepal from quota representative. Talking about her education she dropped her study after she passed her 12 class. She then actively participated in politics as well as in household activities. Her involvement in politics as she told me was hindered due to household works. During discussion with her she expresses that if there had not been the provision of proportional representation system the majority of the women would not have selected in the political representation.

In the first meeting I found her different from my assumption. I requested her to give her views on women political representation. My main purpose was to go in-depth analysis and capture the reality that she was facing in terms of her political representation. As my research question is to know the perception level of the women education, I tried to analyse education as a determinant factor for the political representation. Thus I have incorporated my stand as well as the representative women. There is a clash relationship between me and my participant but I tried to maintain all these relation in the whole research. Being a university student struggling in the academic career, I have understood that education is everything for me. But I have found my participants having different idea. She expressed that there are other factors as well which determine the political representation. Despite having two sons and their nurturing she was giving her equal effort and time in politics.

My second participant **Mala Paswan** (pseudonym) is also one of the quota representative women in the Constitutional Assembly. I found a vast gap between me

and Mala in terms of thinking regarding education. I was with the view that education is the foundation of human development. In course of discussion with her she expressed that determination is the most for success rather than education. In this process of discussion on woman education and representation she says that she has primary level of education though she got an opportunity to be elected in the constitutional assembly (C.A). In reply to my question to what extent the education comes as a prominent factor of the political representation she directly expresses that there is no relationship between the education and the political representation. She is a woman representing from Terai as well as the scheduled caste. So living in certain circumstance it is necessary to explore the story that was experienced by Mala. I have incorporated her views which will be worthy analysis to explore the reality of the Nepalese society.

The next participant of my research is **Tula Mai** (pseudonym). She did not get an opportunity to go to school in her childhood as a result she was unable to read and write the letters. She lives in her home town Sindhupalchok and works in a shop, but she wishes to involve in politics. In her first meeting she ignores to share her experience with me. She told me that she is an illiterate woman and does not have anything to help me. She agreed to response me after I convinced her.

Me: Namaskar. How do you think that being an illiterate woman have obstacles to participate in politics?

Tula Mai: I think the main obstacle to hinder me to involve in any creative activities in the society is my education. I wish I also had a degree like other urban ladies have. But I have not even the ability to recognize the letters. What can I do in this situation?

Me: Why did not you join the school at your childhood?

Tula Mai: It is all because of our social structure. In our time our parents had the conception that women should not go to school. There was no right to read and write for the women. Further her expression was that everyone being a daughter would have learned household activities instead of going to the school.

Me: Did not you join other classes for the recognition of the letters?

Tula Mai: I tried but my other responsibilities like the household activities and the family problem compelled me to quit this type of classes. But I am determined that I will provide good education to my daughter and the granddaughters. I wish to make my daughter the politicians who will bring various programmes for the welfare of the women.

I found so interesting participant for my research that she is aware of existing social structure that discriminates the male and female in the society. In her discussion she expresses that the patriarchal social structure is the main cause for the women discrimination. At the meantime she was also expressing that the education comes as an ultimate tool for the women. She claims that she is performing well in her work without any formal education. Now a days she wishes to participate in the social welfare activities in the society but she feels she cannot do that due to the lack of education. So in my perspective education comes as a prime essence for the political representation.

The fourth participant is **Nirmala Rai (**pseudonym) who wishes to come in the political scenario; therefore she is doing her Ph.D. degree in the process of preparing herself in political participation. During the discussion she expresses that education can be one of the motivating as well as the prominent factor which encourages her to participate in the political representation. She expresses that

education, especially the academic education is prime for one's upliftment in the society.

The fifth participant of my research is **Tina Shrestha** (pseudonym). She is a primary level teacher. She has two sons. She wishes to involve in politics. I caught her in the kitchen where she was doing the household activities. It was her rush hour that she had to move to school. She was serving her family members. She says that only after serving and finishing her housework's she gets a chance to move to school. In my observation I found that her house was so neat and clean. This shows that she has to invest her hours in household activities. By this she expresses that her desire of political representation is also in vain because of her house management and the rearing and caring of two children.

The sixth participant of my research is **Sarita Dangol** (pseudonym). She represents the member of Constitutional Assembly. I found her in the Singadarbur. She said that she regularly visited to the party office and the C.A. hall. She expresses that she is not recognized in the party meeting and other activities held by various political institutions. After the death of her husband she had joined politics and she got the opportunity to represent in C. A. as the proportional representation from Terai.

Why Feminist Approach in My Research

I want to explore some kinds of discussion between me and my peers in relation to approaching the feminist research:

Me: Going through this socio- cultural structure and raising the voices of the women I realize the needs of feminist orientation where the feminist methodological approach is one of the essential factors. I claim that I will move ahead with the feminist approach in the processing method of the study.

My friends: What do you want to prove by involving in this type of the research? This is the male excluded research. Giving approach to one group of the population does not come under the ethics of the research. In this sense, instead of playing the role of the researcher you are playing the role of an activist.

I took the help of Naples (2003) Feminist and method ethnography, Discourse analysis and activist research. It said that ahead with the feminist notion sometimes feminist research plays an important role as the activist plays. In the process of involving the feminist research one needs to give emphasis to the voices of the women. Sometimes this type of activities seem to be biased to one group but this also comes as one of the approaches towards the critical approach of analysing some aspects of the research.

Me: I am in static with my approach again. I expressed that I will move ahead towards the feminist approach. This especially gives emphasis on the women understanding and the women worldviews. In a meantime I think that I will accept the comments. But while going through the literature I come to the conclusion that I incorporated the women views in the process of generating the truth. Therefore I took the feminist paradigm.

I have felt that one needs to develop certain courage to apply the feminist methodology as it brings some kinds of critical aspects living in certain social and the cultural framework. Therefore approaching throughout the research I have also faced some kinds of challenges. I have expressed that I will process my research through the feminist approach. In this aspect my university has given me a support but going through my peer discussion they have expressed that to be a feminist means to be the extremist who not only plays the role of the activist but in a meantime gives challenges to our socio-cultural construct ignoring the male notion of belief and the

way of living. In this reality even facing various problems, accepting the reality and incorporating all the views I have decided to go through the feminist approach. I found that there needs to raise the voices of the women which are neglected from the very beginning of life. The Feminist claims that" the lack of emphasis on women's issues and perspectives can be explained in part as reflecting the dominant male hegemony in the culture" (Hawkeasworth, 2006, p. 39).

We found low representation of women in every aspects of social, cultural and political life in Nepal. In this context I have decided to go through applying the feminist methodology which sometimes plays the role of an activist. "Feminist methodology means both the conception of the research project: the doing of feminist research as well as the choice of appropriate techniques for this process including forms of presenting the research results" (Hawkeasworth, 2006, p. 39). In this research I have also gone through various procedure of the research. "A feminist methodology can help us to validate emerging feminist theory and indicate the need for modification. Research for women is a research that tries to take women's needs, interests and experiences into account and aims at being instrumental in improving women's lives in one way or the other" Mary Daly as cited in (Bhattarai, 2006, p. 243). I have tried to cover the women's interest and their needs. Through this research I have tried to dig out the factors which hinder them in their field of interest.

I have gone through the representation which means presenting me in the research process. The research has established trend that it is done by the male. There are androcentric bias in collecting, analysing, interpreting and finding of the research. Therefore, there are no women issues presenting in the knowledge world. It is said that the male god method has contributed to women oppression and we need to break his tyranny under patriarchy method has wiped out women's questions so totally that

ever women have not been able to hear and formulate our own questions to meet our

own experience. Therefore, to bring the women issue in the public domain I have

applied the feminist methodology in my research. I have tried to present women's

issues. As applying feminist method in this research I think it would be better to

present practices as well. As the feminists have claimed that the knowledge

generating process is being androcentric. The issues of the women domination and the

women representation can be dug through other dimension of the research which

would be the feminist methodology. Therefore, to realize the actual reality and

according to my research aim I have done this research through the feminist approach.

Feminist Standpoint

The standpoint also counts a lot in this research. In the process of approaching

various views of the women I have incorporated various theories to address various

approaches of the research. I have discussed with the women named Tula Mai who

expressed differently from the women who had taken education from the university

school and the colleges.

Tula Mai, an illiterate woman expresses that education is her main barrier in

the political representation. On the other hand, the woman of constitutional assembly

representative says that the education is not hindering her in terms of representing

herself in the political sphere. Various ground reality and the background of the

women represents various views regarding education. Likewise in this whole research

I have discussed on various topic relating to those women. I have tried to incorporate

views of the women with the variability. These things will be seen in a feminist

standpoint in the process of representing themselves in my research. "Feminist

standpoint theory is connected to what Sandra Harding calls strong reflexivity"

(Hawthorne, 2008, p. 51). I have also incorporated my views towards the whole

research that it is also a subjective approach which rejects the fact that all knowledge is equally valid and holds production of knowledge is politically engaged activity. It further stresses that feminist researchers have a privilege access to actual social reality because the oppressed can see the people and events as they really are.

In the research the real life situation of the women is expressed. In relation to women education and the representation, the political sector seems to be less participatory. Why is this happening? This research will help to explore the real situation of the women from the eyes of the women. Dorothy Smith among others has developed "standpoint theory as a sophisticated analytical tool which takes an account of the experiences, the context and the locality of women's lives, the everyday and every night worlds" (Hawthorne, 2008, p. 50). In this aspect I have also gone through the women's experience. Standpoint theories as mentioned by Hawthorne (2008) argues that:

> they can use women experiences to analyse social relation in ways that overcome the andocentric dichotomies of enlighten positivism such as culture versus nature, public versus private that have structured knowledge production in the social and the natural sciences. In political dimension, knowledge is often embedded in contentious theoretical assumptions that guide research. How can these assumptions be excavates and engaged? Are there techniques that feminist scholars can use to identify and critique presuppositions that typically remain tacit and unexamined? Are there methodological innovations within feminist scholarship uniquely suited to the interrogation of the theoretical assumption that play such a powerful role in structuring perception and accredit particular forms of evidence? (p.176)

Accepting this fact and capturing the crux reality is really becoming the challenging task for me. Even I have tried to explore the unexamined reality of the structure of the society and the life reality of the women.

"What does it mean to use alternative standpoints as an analytical tool? It then provides two cases to demonstrate the potential contribution of standpoint analysis. Focusing on two policies of great import for women, affirmative action and welfare is reformed" (Hawthorne, 2008, p.176). In this aspect I have also discussed about the issues of the women and the action that should be implemented for the welfare of the women. I have tried to analyse my data in the standpoint as an analytical tool.

I have explored the knowledge especially from the origin of Nancy Hartsock, feminist standpoint theory promised feminist scholarship a novel epistemology that could ground research in the truth embodied in women's experience. Hartsock (1983) further expressed that "Women's lives make available a particular and privileged vantage point on male supremacy, a vantage point which can ground a powerful critique of phallocratic institutions and ideology which constitute capitalist patriarchy" (p.284). This analytical tool also helps to see from the vantage point to the action and the interpretation of the data. "According to Feminist standpoint offered a definitive account of the real relations among human beings as inhuman, pointing beyond the presence, and carrying a historically libratory role" (Hartsock, 1983, p. 285).

Feminist scholarship has shifted over the past two decades from a notion of the feminist standpoint to recognition of multiple feminist standpoints and multiple standpoints of women. I have taken and classified my representation from various backgrounds. In these aspects there are the respondents who are from the representative and who will represent and lack the representation. I have taken the

women from various education and economic background. I try to explore the multiple realities of the women.

Quality Standards in My Research

This research tries to obtain the answers of the following questions. These questions are raised by the Hawkesworth (2006) in her writing, after I have tried to raise these questions in my research.

Does feminist research generate truth about the race and gender that mainstream scholarship has missed? If so, do these truths challenge dominants accounts of social institution and practices? How do innovative feminist analytic tools make visible process of radicalization and gendering that have been naturalized by research methodology accredited within the natural sciences?

Tackling with above mentioned questions I try my best to explore the proper solutions of the problems. This work may face some of the challenges regarding innovations that foreground social processes through the social inequality of race class and the gender. In this research, I capture the women life and represent their experience in relation to the political representation and my presence during the research work surely helps to find the real situation of the women of Nepal.

Through this research work, I have tried to maintain the validity of my study by addressing the triple crisis: (Mention triple crisis, I get confused over here). Based on this above-listed crisis, I have tried to incorporate the issues of the representation of women in Nepali society where my study is limited. As being a woman, I myself have expressed some of the typical views towards the representation in political scenario of Nepal. Interview and interaction are the tools of my research work. Regarding these tools of conducting research, Letherby (2004) opines:

The validity of our interpretations depends on the intensity of the interaction

of our personal experiences with the power of feminist theory and the power,

or lack of power, of the researched. Our conclusions should always be open to

criticism. (p.184)

My research's validity also relys on the intensity of the interaction along with

my personal experience and feelings in the particular voices related to the

representation of the women in political sphere and other areas of my study.

In the name of addressing the crisis which I have further listed, I myself

concentrate on the data triangulation and the theory triangulation. Talking about the

data triangulation, I have discussed various labels of women regarding the issues of

the political representation and the issues of education. In the process of approaching

the women views, I use the liberal feminism, socialist and the radical feminism which

help to analyse the data of my present research.

Feminist Postmodernism

Postmodernism is anti modernism which accepts the multiple realities.

Postmodernist, Turner (2003) argues that:

There is no truth that exists apart from the ideological interest of human

discontinuity of knowledge is the norm and permanent pluralism of cultures is

the only real truth that humans must continually face. Further the

postmodernism also accepts that a human creation of knowledge is relative.

Two analytical techniques have been central to postmodern feminist inquiry

deconstruction and genealogy. Both seek disrupt widely accept understanding

of the world by denaturalizing categories, destabilizing meaning, unmasking

the will of truth inform particular discursive formations, and exposing the

operation of power in knowledge production itself. Deconstruction is a method

of discursive analysis developed by French philosopher Jacques Derrida which

challenges the idea that language merely describes or represents what exists.

(p. 229)

This approach rejects foundationalism truth claim and grand theories. It rejects

or challenges the ideas of epistemological foundation of knowledge and holds that

knowledge is rooted in values social group. It gives more emphasis to the knowledge

generation process from the context and the understanding of the people. It

emphasizes to the multiple realities. Moreover "postmodernist tends to posit an

untenable version of social constructionist as the truth about reality. In contrast to the

anti foundationalist claims that all our ideas about the world socially constructed,

some postmodernist suggest that all reality is socially constructed" (Hawkesworth,

2006, p. 71).

It views the production of knowledge as a construction and change to the ideas

that knowledge and power are inseparable. As this theory talks about the knowledge

construction I also incorporated the knowledge and experiences that is understood by

the women.

"Feminist post modernism also accepted the differences between women and

view that the ongoing division and dichotomies like male/female, gender/sex,

dominant/subordinate are all parts discover relative to time and space" (Hawkesworth,

2006, p. 71). I have captured the issues of the representation with the approach of post

modernist views.

Essentialism

 In the aspects of representing the essentialism notion, I am not convinced

because I was initially convinced by the constructivist. In this approach I need to

accept the physical and the biological differences between the male and female. Not

only that I need to accept the gender categorization that is developed in our society. Hawkesworth, (2006) expresses essential accepting these topics:

Regarding this issues it raised the question why does culture engage in the double efforts to differentiate bodies through embodiment and gendering? If the centre of sexual meaning is unproblematically reproduction why is this double effort necessary? Smith's response is reminiscent of Levi Strauss culture and genders are both normative organization of intention binding the group together. Gender is a culturally engineered central meaning with a cultural influence physical base. The essentialism says that since men and women have significantly different reproductive risks and opportunities in evolutionary terms, their guiding sex related emotion must be sex differentiate that is, there must be different reproductive risks and opportunities in evolutionary terms, their guiding sex related emotions must be sex differentiate that is there must be different female and male sexual natures. (p. 155)

I was not convinced by the essentialist notion even I try to analyse the social cultural value belief system. Going through both the essentialism and the constructivism theories of the gender I realized and adopted the constructivism. In this research I have analysed the issue of the representation, inequality and the identity. Raising these issues I have captured the constructivism theory which plays an important role in the gender differentiation but in my data presentation and interpretation I have not used this theory. I have challenged this notion of essentialism.

The Structural Analysis of Gender

In gender study, structural analysis is a most. I myself involve in the structural analysis of the gender i.e. of the women in this work. It is essential to understand the notion of social structure to conclude any research work. In this periphery, Hawkesworth (2006) puts:

> I am convinced with the notion that all my understanding is because of the product of the social structure. The dynamic role of the gender in economic, political, sexual, and psychological domains is the relation between personal agency and social structure in gender formation and reproduction. (p.163)

According to Giddens's structuration theory (2000), researchers must be involved in the analysis of gender as a social structure giving emphasis on the recursive relationship between social structure and individuals. He further says that social structures shape individuals, but simultaneously, individuals shape the social structure. Gidden's embraces the transformative power of human action. He insists that any structural theory must be concerned with reflexivity and actors' interpretation to show their own lives. Social structures not only act on people; people act on social structures. So in a process of political participation also there are various institutions which structure the women influence and the political participation of women. Indeed, social structures are created not by mysterious forces but by human action. When people act on structure, they do so for their own reasons. We must be concerned with why actors choose their acts. Giddens insisted that concern with meaning must go beyond the verbal justification easily available from actors because so much of social life is routine and so taken for granted that actors will not articulate, or even consider, why they act (Risman, 2004, p. 432, as cited in Giddens, 2000).

This theory is imperative which has developed my intuition to examine the social structure of Nepal and the location of women in it. I have studied how the social structure have positioned woman and redirected their actions to regulate their daily life. This theory claims that social structure reshapes the individual and vice-versa. I have brought forth the facts that what elements of the social structure in question have guided the women to present themselves in the way they are doing for years and what actions and behaviours of the women have caused the structure to be alive in the existing form.

Feminism Uses in the Research

I have used the wearing coat of feminism colours. It means that in the process of interpreting the findings with the theories I have tried to see and analyse various feminist theories in relation of my participant's views. It means that I am using various lenses to see various data that had come from the field. When I explore from the liberal theory perspective then I have used the liberal feminism as the wearing coat. When I define the radical feminism then I express radical feminism as my wearing coat. In this process when I explain the socialist then I use the socialist feminism. I have mentioned all these theory in literature review sections. Later I have linked with the data and analysed the theory and data orderly.

Ethics in Feminist Research

This research has been analysed with the qualitative and the feminist methodology. In this research I have analysed the views of women who really enter and remain to enter in the political sphere. Doing the feminist research is a challenging task. In this context we need to concern with various subjects. As Bhattarai (2006) addresses that when we are performing the feminist research we need to concern on the following topics:

Learn to accept and use qualitative, historical and other methodologies that highlight women's oppression. Learn critique, and use new research techniques even these have been used in the patriarchal enterprise. Institutional reflexiveness, self-criticism, and accountability into the research process reflexiveness involve the participant subjects' account of the research process. Conduct research which enables women to speak about their own lives and in their own words. According to cultural feminists, it is necessary to focus on analysing women's everyday reality. (p. 269)

As abovementioned ethics I have also incorporated all these views in the way of conducting as well as presenting the findings of the research.

CHAPTER IV

PERCEPTION OF WOMEN TOWARDS EDUCATION

Chapter Overview

In chapter I, II and III I discussed on the methods and the theories that guided me to the perception of women towards education and political participation. Based on these methods, I have tried to capture my participants' views through direct observation and interview, which may help me to find out the role of education for the development of women. Development of women directly or indirectly is linked with the development of the country. I have tried my best to establish the linkage among the participants' opinions on the above listed methods and theories. While dealing with the data collected from the field and interpretation, I link my own perception, experience and aspiration.

In this chapter I have discussed the perception of women towards education including one of my research analyses. In this research I have tried to investigate the issues of women relating to education and the politics. I have tried to explore how various levels of women understand the terminologies, education in the process of developing their worldviews of the education, how they perceive education in the process of leading their live. In this section I have also presented my reflexivity on this topic. It means that I have also included my worldviews along with my participants in this research. While exploring the understanding of women towards education I include both schooled and non-schooled women in this study. The educational perception was also noted from the women who are engaged in national level of politics. I also accounted the women for this research who are not directly

involved in politics but possess high intensity to get participated into it. The perception towards education was collected based on the research question which encouraged me to seek the role of education in helping women for empowerment and participation in politics.

Since this study intended to explore the perception of women towards education in relation to their political participation and empowerment, I brought the theoretical stances of feminism in discussion to support and enrich the analysis of the field data.

In this section I have used two epistemic orientations being here and being there as I mentioned in second chapter. In the process of discussion, being there replicates the data and being here replicates the analysis.

Being Here: Locating Education in My World Experience

My research is based on feminism where I adopt the reflexivity. I present my experiences and the understanding regarding the subject of education. I have discussed my understanding towards education. For this I have also included my reflection towards education with the evidences of the situations that I was exposed in my family and social life. I have gone through the question raised by various feminists "assert that feminist research is reflexive, which means that it emphasizes attention to assumptions about gender relations and the need for self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher (Fonow & Cook, 1991, p. 2). They also assert that "it is 'woman- centred', involving 'the deconstruction of women's lived experiences' and 'the transformation of patriarchy and the corresponding empowerment of women" (Fonow & Cook, 1991, p. 6). The view above emphasizes that any research to be feminist has to possess self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher. It has also focused to keep women in the centre and encourage transformation of patriarchy to

women empowerment. I have tried to maintain these characteristics of feminist standpoints in this research. "The feminist standpoint is an achievement – it is the portrayal of social life from the viewpoint of the activity which produces women's social experience, not from the partial and perverse perspective available from the 'ruling gender' experiences of men" (Abbott et al., 2005, p. 373). To repeat, the research study is reflexive as it emphasizes assumptions about gender relations and is influenced by my self-reflection. I have also presented how my reflection was shaped and what factors in my life caused my perception to be in the way that I have possessed.

Perhaps the mindset of an individual is developed on the basis of their early socialization. I, thus, want to go back to my early socialization to reflect my viewpoints that I have developed in course of developing myself from childhood to adulthood. First, I want to discuss the events and practices which took place in my family in course of my development as an adult. Since Nepalese society is patriarchy in nature, my family was not beyond the impression of male domination which I came to realize in later part of my schooling.

When I was in my fifth grade, I remember my mother taking care of us by maintaining our school uniforms. She engaged herself in preparing food for us in time, and maintaining cleanliness of home environment. Among the entire household works 'kitchen-work' used to get high priority in her life. Washing wears of family members and cleaning utensils were the part of her daily activities. Besides these, she comforted me when I began to weep for some reasons. I hardly saw her having food because she used to have lunch when I departed for school and dinner when I slept. I found her ready to welcome my father when he came from outside. The continuous

effort of my mother for children in the family and managing things in the house contributed a lot to run the family smoothly.

Observing the role performances of the family members, I realized that learning in the part of women essentially comprises caring and upbringing of children, helping males in making their life smooth and keeping things in order at home. "The family is an agent of the socialization as well it teaches all the activities needed for the further upcoming life of the people" (Rao, 1990, p. 351). It set into my mind that the potentials of women remain limited to soothe the life complexities of their male counterpart. Since family is an organization, every member in the family has to perform his/her defined roles for proper running of the family. But my mind is preoccupied why the role performances of women in the family are defined the way which causes constraints in their full growth and development. In course of spending days in my life with my mother, I was frequently encouraged by her to be a noble woman. By the terms 'noble women' she meant a woman enduring sense of accepting the instructions of their male counterpart. She, therefore, always encouraged me to perform the activities in the favours of my father and my brothers usually in 'taken-as-granted' form. I, thereby, intended to perform activities in the family thinking to support my mum, dad and brothers. I helped my mum in arranging things in the kitchen. I participated in serving food and supplying home-based services to the members in the family.

As the event grows day and night and slowly my mother started passing the knowledge and all her activities towards me. She passes all the activities that she performs in the discourse in a process of preparing me as the ideal lady for the future that will also do the same activities as she did in her life.

My mother used to tell me that being a daughter I have to perform all the household activities in a very perfect way. In one hand I need to perform the household activities and on the other hand I have to go to school. Living in this circumstance, I had developed that the education for women is all learning the household activities cleaning, cooking and other household activities. Beyond that for the male the education, employment, money and other economic generating activities comes under the education.

In my early socialization I had learnt that I need to be responsible and perform other activities which play an important role, the family serves as an instrument of culture transmission. According to Rao (1990), "Family assurances not only the biological continuity of the human races but also the cultural continuity that exists in the society. It transmits the cultures, traditions, beliefs, values from one generation to the next" (p. 351). It was date 1995 when I was in my early schooling and had to perform a lot of household activities like cooking food items, cleaning the rooms, washing the clothes etc. My mother used to tell me to involve in household works along with studies like "Chori Bheneko Aruko Ghar Potne Jat Ho Arulai Rijaunu Lai Ghar Ko Kam Ma Dhyan Dinu Parchha Ke Padera Matra Sukha Painchha Ta Chori Bhanne Jatle"(daughters are others' property; they should give priority to the household activities, besides concentrating in other works like reading) . Besides, I had to continue my study since the time of my secondary level schooling. In the same way I had to conduct a lot of extracurricular activities at school. I was in such a critical condition that anyone can predict.

I never imagined women are the best performers in their professions other than household works and also they can't be the political leader. But in the later stage of my life I started to think that I can do everything and lead my life very easily if I get

higher education. Then I gradually develop the thinking that women need not to be confined within the territory of household. Since I had to make my parents happy by helping them in their household works I felt a lot of challenges in my professional career due to the lack of education which I could not perceive well during schooling.

I would like to incorporate some of the views of my respondents regarding the perception of education herewith.

Being There: Education as an Ultimate Means for Women Empowerment

I have frequently asked the questions, what is education in your opinion? What do you understand by education? to my participants. In this section I have reconstructed the voices of my participants as follows:

Parmila Prasai

In course of my discussion with one of the representatives of constitutional assembly, Parmila Prasai, she has expressed:

The education comes as a prominent factor in my life. I think women's role at home is to care of house, take care of children and other members at home. This is what I was also involved since my schooling. I used to be satisfied by social activities as well. As a result I started politics since my schooling. I could not get any opportunity to continue my higher education because I got married at the age of 16 due to family pressure. A female is supposed to preserve the culture in her society. Though I was acquainted the importance of education I could not continue higher education in the name of social responsibilities. Because of all these so called responsibilities I had to bear, I was not able to continue my higher education.

Despite all these difficulties, time supported me and I could be selected as a proportionate candidate in the constitutional assembly. In those days I used to bargain my position and the division of my responsibility to my home but no one

listened to me. I am caring of the children and the elders came as a sole responsibility of mine resulting my absence in the higher education. You can hardly imagine how hard times I have spent in those days. In one side there is my desire and the aspiration to come to the public and on the other hand I have lots of responsibility in my home. I could not get an opportunity to come out of my home and spend my time with the public. Not only had this I even can't fulfil my desire of having the higher degree.

Being Here: Importance of Education

My curiosity is that why is Parmila not getting higher education despite her desire to get it? I want to raise this question against this patriarchal structure that has been deeply rooted in our society. Women are far from the access of education though it has been guaranteed by the constitution and supported by contemporary law. Parmila, one of my participants, shared her tragic and painful experience of being deprived from higher education due to some household works. She opines that married woman can do everything if she gets proper chance of getting higher education. She further added that nation-building process will come to an end if women are highly qualified. Parmila was deprived from higher education because she had to take care of her father-in-law and mother- in-law who was sick and her children were not grown up. The opinion of my participant, as my opinion, was to search the access of women in education as advocated by liberal feminists.

My participant opines that women are excluded from the public domain and education. The reason that my participant could not get higher education was nothing more than she was a woman. She agrees with it. One substantial measure of women's status is their educational attainment. Bhattarai (2006) said that:

Although the constitution offers women equal educational opportunities, many

social, economic and cultural factors contributed to lower enrolment and

higher dropout rates for girls. Illiteracy imposed the greatest hindrance to enhancing equal opportunity and status for women. They were caught in a vicious circle imposed by the patriarchy society. Their lower status hindrances their education and lack of education in turn constrains their status and the position. (p. 342)

Besides the liberal and welcoming policies, women are out of the field. It is all because of the unjustifiable action and the practices of the social and cultural values which are predominant in Nepalese society as my participant is also not in the exclusion of it and she also became the victimization of the gender differences.

"Education has long been a fruitful site for feminist work" (Pierre, 2000, p. 477). Going through the liberal feminism it especially talks about the women's liberation through a belief that "women and men have some rational faculties a belief on education as the means to change and transfer society and belief in the doctrine of natural rights" (Bhattarai, 2006, p. 216). Thus in my interpretation, the women's view as well as my experiences demand the right for women as the liberal feminism expresses. It talks about the women's liberation through the legal policies and participate women in education and outer sphere of the house. As Bhattarai (2006) expresses that:

Historically, the first element in the liberal feminist argument is the claim for gender equality. According to George Ritzer "liberal feminism rests on the beliefs that all human beings have certain essential feature capacities for reason, moral agency, and self actualization: the exercise of these capacities can be secured through legal recognition of universal right; the inequalities between men and women assigned by sex are social constructions having no basis in nature and social change for equality can be produced by an organized

appeal to a reasonable public and the use of the state." According to Rizer contemporary liberal feminism explanation of gender inequality turns on the interplay of four factors the social construction of gender, the gendered division of labour, the doctrine and practices public and private spheres, and patriarchal ideologies as the liberal feminism demands for the equal participation in all sphere of life my participants also do so but in the early stage of her life she seems to have no any opportunity to bargain all these things because she is a woman. (p. 221)

Liberal feminists demand women's rights everywhere. Similarly they argue for equal educational attainment and control the discrimination on the basis of sex. Rizer's presentation and Parmila's response seem to match each other. They both agree and demand for the women's access in education.

Liberal feminists from the late eighteenth century to the present day have pointed out that full social participation and public life has denied women. Liberal feminism asserts that the Universalist claims on the enlightenment and it's descendent. Liberalism, which strove to counter the fixed social hierarchy of medieval custom and to extend social status, did not extend so far as to include women. In excluding women, who constitute half of the populations of Western societies, mainstream liberalism is revealed as less about justice than a narrowly Western masculine political project (Wollstonecraft Wolf, n.d., p. 30). Wollstonecraft viewed that women are excluded from the mainstream of full social participation. She also expresses that women constitute half of population though their representation is not proportionate to that of male. My participant's view is similar to Wollstonecraft. She also raises the voice against exclusion of women from the mainstream of social participation and is deprived of education.

To see the history of inequality as well as the deprived access of my participants in this section I have brought the history of feminism by Malla, (2011) that:

> Wollsterncraft's (1759-97) "Vindication of the Right of the Women" can be considered as the milestone in the field of feminism and women revolution. Wollstonecraft is often taken as to be the first systematic feminist theorist. She was greatly influenced by radical thinking at the time of French revolution. Her work "vindication of the right of the women (1792)" urges an equal treatment of women based on their common rationality with men. (p. 20)

To demand the equal participation in education as she also expresses, being a woman she needs to limit herself in the household and the children as the liberal feminism expresses. So that there needs a revolution in the system and the structure in the Nepalese which bind the women in four wall of the house and does not provide any opportunity in the outer space in home for example education and other public sectors.

Being There: Instinct Desire to Have Higher Education

I have presented the view of a woman who is doing her master's degree. She is one of my participants representing from Sindhupalchok named Tina. She delightfully puts her idea that getting higher education as being a woman in Nepal turns her life around.

I have a great desire to have higher degree. In the process of revealing my academic background, I want to be involved in public affair like politics though I am not involved in it at present. I wish to continue my study for pleasure and entertainment. I want to play with it, swim in it and sink in it. I claim that education has fuelled my political activities. Living in this culture and environment I have

learned many things to adjust with the problem and the challenges. In this reality I want to break the boundaries that are set by the traditional value belief system. I frankly speak that I want to fly freely in the sky but my desires are unfulfilled.

I sometimes feel like destroying all the barriers of the house which closed me within it. I want to break the tag of domination given to women by the social structure and be free from that fence. This is not my frustration but a voice of rebel which comes from my heart. Being hopeful my desire to have higher education and be involved in political field will be blessed by God. Education is reading and writing in my understanding. Education is involving into an academic field. I was born in a village where there was no electricity, water supply etc. When I remember the past days I feel worried. I had to go a long way to fetch water. I was the fourth daughter of my parents. I was taught Brahmin culture and rituals as I was born in a Brahmin family. I was forcefully compelled to drop out my class by my father when I completed class five. My father's ideology was that getting acquainted with Nepali alphabets is more than enough for a daughter and a daughter should be able to conduct household activities more than wasting time in the school. I was not happy with my father's thought. And I again rejoined class six after four years. After six years I was able to complete SLC in the second attempt.

After that I got married. I again was unable to continue my study after marriage. I got two babies. I had such motivation to studies which helped me to complete my certificate level in two years. Instantly after I finished my intermediate I could not join Bachelor's Degree because my husband did not help me. I bargained with him but I failed. His argument was that a woman can't stay alone to study in Kathmandu. I have a secure job. I work as a primary teacher in remote area of Sindhupalchok. Then attempting higher degree was also scattered this time. I was

waiting the day will come and I will fulfil my desire. I give this credit to the god. One's wish will be fulfilled by the god. Then I joined Bachelor's degree in 2004 as the college was established in my home town. I passed my graduate degree despite all the difficulties. By that time I had to go to college, go to a primary school walking for three hours, cook food and feed the children and so on. Recently, I have joined Master's Degree and I am sure that I will complete it.

This is the picture of a patriarchal society. Tina's struggle to get higher study is enough to understand this study. She was interrupted in her way by her father and her husband. As she suggested she was helped by her husband in every field but not in education. Because of her internal drive a six class graduate girl is now studying Master's Degree. She is very conscious to education and she closes her children into the room so that they could study. She suggests all the girls to get married after fulfilling all their desires. (This poem tries to capture the voices of the women but it was interpreted by me in the way of expressing the emotion and feeling of the participants):

> *Wake up wake up weak up to break all the barrier*
>
> *Go ahead and move forward for an equitable society*
>
> *Society without discrimination society without domination*
>
> *Dream to see all the male and female to be equal*
>
> *Male and female two wheels of a cart*
>
> *Unite and reunite to create a justifiable society*
>
> *Construct society and build nation justice forever*

As she talks with me during our stay nearby my house, she utters that equity and equality will be established, if our societies grant education to their daughter and the female members. She also appeals for the establishment of equitable society

through education. Women's participation in the developmental work is the most and why not to educate them, she asked me a question. Unity among the women and societies is required for the betterment of the country, she lauds to the importance of education. Equitable society is the only key for the social justice and this will function in the name of nation-building process. Human welfare and the norms of equitable society will be fulfilled, if equal opportunity in education is granted, she shares.

Being Here: Tina's Desires and Linking These to the Feminism

In this section I come to the conclusion that women have to take initiative for their liberation. A woman's desire is often under the control of her father and husband. Generally she can't fulfil her desires and aspirations on her own. She must rely on the initiatives of the male. Patriarchal value belief system has been existed in every aspect in our society. In the case of Tina her wish to get higher education was dominated by her father and husband one after another. Later on, she is in this status because of her own initiative and struggle. Literally "patriarchy means the rule of the father. This term was originally used to describe social system based on the authority of male heads on household activities. It is also said that patriarchy is the symbol of male dominated society" (Bhattarai, 2006, p. 174).

As advocated by radical feminism, Tina also appeals all the women to unite so as to destruct the existing social structure and reconstruct the new one. These kinds of oppression are not only applicable in Tina's case but all the women in this patriarchal society.

Radical feminism appeals that women must create their own separate institutions. Its view is that through the establishment of women centred institutions women will come to rely on other women and not most radical feminist agreed that women's oppression is the first and the most widespread and the deepest form of

human oppression. To claim that women's oppression is the most fundamental form of oppression includes the following meanings that historically women were first oppressed group. "That women oppression is widespread internationally. That women oppression is the handset form of oppression to eradicate that enormous sufferings results for women's and that women's oppression provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression" (Bhattarai, 2006, p. 230).

Burke (2007) expresses his views regarding to the radical feminism:

The second-wave radical feminists oppose the liberals' claims about the institutional structures and neutrality of ideas in the modern state. These feminists claim that the mere positioning of females into institutions and practices, which have been traditionally occupied and controlled by males, would not, by itself, produce an authoritative female voice. The earliest radical feminists, such as Kate Millett (1969), claimed that the oppressed position of women in patriarchal society was due to the social construction of gender-appropriate behaviour which limited women's access to positions of authority in that society. Radical feminists specially express that women are trained to accept and value the virtues of passivity, nurturance, deference and care for others. These virtues were enacted in their role as wife or lover, mother, homemaker or in the limited employment opportunities that women were deemed capable of filling. The response by these early radical feminists was to oppose these gender roles and imagine a society where androgyny is possible.

This kind of oppression has been widely spread right from the beginning of human civilization. According to Friedan, "women have been encouraged to confine themselves to the narrow of housewife and mother, forsaking education and career aspirations in the process. Friedan attempts to prove that the feminine mystique denies

women the opportunity to develop their own identities" (Friedan, nd). As the Friedan views my participants also come under the oppression. Even she has an access and the resources she was allowed confining herself in the household periphery. But slowly and gradually she overcomes to her desire and she fulfilled her aim of involving herself in MA.

Being There: Going Beyond the Formal Schooling

In this section, I have selected such a woman as my participant who is the member of constitutional assembly. She is representative from Terai. The most interesting thing is that she has not got any formal education. I think this is the person who is the milestone in course of my research work. Because of her confidence and perception on why education is needed for women, I try to put myself in her position and build some confidence and the courage. I like to present the conversation in a dialogue form so that the readers will get the things in an easy way. This titbit is the backbone of my research work as well.

Me: Good morning madam. It's me Laxmi Dhungel, a student conducting research on the topic of women education and political participation. I am very happy getting you as my participants and I am very grateful to you for granting me your valuable time. I would like to ask you some questions related to the periphery of women education and their political participation taking you a special reference. Ma'am, how do you perceive education?

Mala Paswan: Education is nothing more than developing own capability. The educated people should do something constructive for the nation.

Me: How do you evaluate women education in Nepal?

Mala Paswan: Majority of Nepalese women, especially from the rural areas, do not have the access of education. And the women who are educated basically the urban

women want to enjoy the white colour job and want to settle their life. Such educated women do not want to involve in constructive works. You can take me as an example that does not have higher education but is involved in politics. Educated women often ignore politics. They are opportunists. If there comes any opportunity, they come forward. I am fed up with educated urban women. They go backward if any movement for women rights has to be conducted and go forward if the opportunity is to be grabbed.

Me: What is the importance of education in your opinion?

Mala Paswan: The importance of education is beyond our thought. It is to lead the life and guideline human activities. As a member of constitutional assembly education is very important for me as well. My past days were, in fact, black since I was deprived from education. My brothers used to go to school and I had gone to India to help my father where he used to work. My wish to get education remained unfulfilled. I had to take care of my siblings and others. How could I study? I can simply read and write. Despite all these depravation from education I am doing the best in politics. So we must have courage, motivation and a will power to do something besides education. You can see various examples that without the formal education people are performing better on their profession in the market.

Paswan further expresses: (this is also the expression by participants which was later interpreted by me)

I visit village and town big and small

Ministry, department and office that local

Talking men women and children

But not university, college and school

But I have a desire to move ahead

I desire to make an equitable society without discrimination and prejudice

I visit to the village and found people are suppressed, dominated and excluded

 I again desire to be the voices of the people and move ahead

Even I don't have the university education I have the desire and the motivation

The motivation which inspire me to make the equitable and the justifiable society

Even no university theory and the big talk

I have motivation and the courage

I have the realization of the practical world not to the big big theory

I visit to the village and town big and small not the universities and the college

Through the help of above mentioned conversation, I conclude the thing as she claims on the importance of education. She thinks that education for her is her political grouping instead of the big concrete building of University and College. She further shares that getting education is possible without attending in the University and it is also possible from the surroundings where she is dwelling. She will visit the home, village and people and their ways of living instead of the prescribed curriculum, books and the classroom.

Me: Ma'am, accepting your desire I have some quires. What about your desire and perception regarding education?

Mala Paswan: Of course, I had a desire to gain higher education since my childhood. But I could not get this opportunity and even I have not passed SLC. My brothers got the opportunity of higher education. My parents used to convince me that I had to be happy as I was. Besides all these, I could develop confidence and willpower which the educated women are supposed to have. I don't regret that I was unable to get higher studies in my time. I can do whatever an educated woman can. I have seen so many

examples that uneducated women have also performed so many good things. Thus education gained in colleges and universities is not the ultimate source of knowledge.

Being Here: My Stand as a University Student: With the Structured Knowledge of the Four Walls

As a university student, I emphasize the need of the formal education to my participant. The motive of this research is also to analyse the effect of formal education of women in their political participation. She gives her emphasis more on confidence, motivation and will power rather than education that we define in four walls of the school, college and university. She asks me the question why does she need education if she is motivated to do something? On the other hand, her value goes to educate the daughters in university. I dream utopian world where women are to be educated. But my participant, while discussing with her, gives her emphasis on women education and on the other hand she denies the role of education for the involvement of women in politics.

My participant seems to be controversial in this regard. She blames education to invite injustice and corruption in the society. Instead of making people rational and loyal, she claims, education helps to build corrupt people. However, her desire to get education remained unfulfilled. She questions me, who am I if Rawan's desire itself remained unfulfilled in Hindu mythology? I come to say in course of discussion with her that she was deprived of formal education which she gives value. Her poverty and parents' restriction can be regarded as a disturbing factor for her study. At that time in her area parents used to limit their daughters within household activities. Dowry system was deeply rooted. She came up with the fact that education was the property of only the rich people. But even the rich people did not use to educate their daughters. From this I can say that education was only for sons in my participant's

area at that time. Eisenstein (1999) said that Karl Marx's socialist theory of conflict claims that "economic sources are the main sources of women domination". Women do not have the means of production in male dominated society. This theory is applicable in the case of my respondent. She is the representative of lower caste and dominated class. Power is dealt within a dichotomous way by socialist women and radical feminists. In these analyses, they see power as deriving from either one's sex or one's economic class position. "The critique of power as it is rooted in the male/female distinction focuses most often on patriarchy" (p. 196). Socialist feminism expresses that economic sources are the main resources for the women domination. Eisenstein (1999) further expresses that:

> Thus the categories of analysis explaining the slavery of the woman in the family derive entirely from the relations of production. The family comes to be by the historical economic modes, rather than it taking part in defining the economy. The family is no longer spoken of as a source of the division of labour coincident with economic relations. Economic existence comes to determine the family (p. 200).

Being There: Deprived of Education: Interview With Tula Mai

In the process of inviting various participants and bringing multiplicity in my research I have tried to present the view of Tula Mai, a residence of Chautara in Sindhupalchok district. This is such a representative in my research who is derived from both education and political representation. I introduced myself in front of her and mentioned the reason behind coming to her. Initially she hesitated to talk to me. Later on, I convinced her and she gave me the information as per my interest. As she told me she was a woman of age 46. Remembering her childhood she expressed that:

Remembering my childhood in that time I could not get copy and pencil from my parents but my brothers got all the facilities, copy pencil and tiffins to go to school. I had to fetch grass from the jungle and do household works. I had a keen interest to go to school. But I did not get this chance. I got married at the age of fourteen. My struggling journey started after marriage.

I got children. I had to do a huge struggle for rearing and caring of my children. I am determined to educate my children though I was excluded from education in my time. I appeal all the women to take education as a vital asset. I think that the rate of return of education is higher as compared to others. Providing parental asset for a woman is the matter of distant. So they should be educated. I have joined in an adult education programme which is conducted in a night time in my village. I have been able to write my name this time. I feel that education enhances people's motivation and develops confidence. I appreciate the women continuing their study. I wish you all the best. (The sentiments of the participants touch me in a way that in that time I created some poem regarding her experiences)

Childhood gone shinning the utensils

Playing with cattle and

Singing with grassy girls

Feeling hunger day and night

It was mid-day when I wake up

All my brothers in school

Clean wearing how good they look

I curse myself

Why am I a daughter?

God's justice is no so fair

Tula Mai, one of the representatives of Chautara migrated from the remote village called Tulosirubari, felt herself so unlucky women. She felt so unlucky because she has no any formal education. She expressed that her brothers were in the classroom when she was involving in the domestic and household works like cutting grasses in the jungle and shinning the utensils in kitchen. She thinks that her brothers are in good and cleaned dress and she was cursing her own fate as being a daughter and in this way the God had done injustice to her.

The Hindu script Gita also invokes that education is the supreme wealth from the other wealth. The most important role of education is, therefore, to create learning environments that helps students "make sense of their world in ways that enables them to change it for the better, for themselves and others" (Lingard, Hayes, Mills, & Christie, 2003, p. 1). Therefore, education is the power which helps the human being to overcome the entire problem that arises in the way of leading life. "Education is the supreme power which helps to destroy all the frustration and generates our heart to give the way of our life" (Nguyen, n.d., p. 2). Education is that element which drives towards solving the problem and works as a mother in the foreign land. But my participant Tula Mai is excluded from it. She even can't read and write the letters which she thinks will be fulfilled one day after she joined the night class far distance from her home.

Being Here: Tula Mai Through Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism especially talks about the female education as my participant, Tula Mai also expresses on its importance. She had to be excluded from education simply because she was a daughter. Thus education is indispensable for the liberation of women. For this purpose our social structure needs to be changed. The views of liberal feminists and of my participants are very much similar in many

aspects. Liberal feminism asserts that women should be provided with education and there should be no discrimination between male and female. Similarly my participant also suggests that education is the most important ornament for a woman. As my participant raises the voices of the equality, justice and availability of the open market to the women liberalism also describes in that way. "It stems from the idea that women must obtain equal opportunities and equal rights in society" (Acker, 1987, p. 423). "Stereotyping and discrimination have created a situation where women have less chance of education, fewer career opportunities, and other social dimensions in society" (Yokozeki, n.d., p. 2). It argues for better allocation of resources so that women can obtain a fair share of educational opportunities. "Three major points of focus in the discourse of liberal feminism are equal opportunities; socialisation and sexual stereotyping; and sexual discrimination" (Acker, 1987, p. 423). In the process of bargaining the right of the women these strategy seems the better strategy for the women liberation (Ykozeki, n.d., p.2).

In the process of explaining the real situation of Tula Maya she further expresses that being the female she is facing lots of problem regarding education from the parents so that she bargains that there should not be the discrimination on women. She can develop herself in the later stage of her life. Her expression seemed to reveal that she did not get any copy and pencil but her brother got that opportunity. Therefore, it seems that there is a discrimination regarding the socialization of her and her brother as a result she is excluded from education and other opportunity. As the liberal feminists she also expresses the issues of socialization and the notion of creating equal opportunity for the female.

Being There: Education as a Preparation of Life

In course of bringing out different views of women from different sectors I would like to present here the viewpoint of a woman who is recently enrolled in PhD. She is Nirmala from Kathmandu.

Taking education as a prime asset of life I consider it a tool that shapes human life. I opine that education is a prerequisite to involve in politics. I think that education is for future preparation and the existence of human being will have to face challenges in the absence of education. I also comment that today's conflict in our country is caused by the people who are not properly educated.

In the process of exploring the issues of gender I do not have any experience of discrimination in course of my study. I was equally treated as my brothers. I got an opportunity to continue my study till this level due to the collaboration of my family members especially my mother.

In my family there are all together five members; my father, mother, my elder and younger brothers and myself. I am the single daughter of my family. I, being grown up in ethnic culture and the family, never saw and felt discrimination regarding the gender. In my family my father had the duty far from my home. Therefore, he stays in a distance. I have spent my childhood with my mother. I have seen lots of struggle faced by my mother. She had done lots of struggle in the process of upbringing us. I have seen difficulties of my mother. I have seen her working day and night to upbringing us. She had handled the responsibility of the house, children and outside works. My father used to come at home in his holidays to spend his leisure. The sole responsibility of the house was in my mother's shoulder.

Seeing such responsibility of my mother I had a feeling of women's responsibility. As well as my mother always used to say that women should adjust

with various challenges. Compared to the son, a daughter has to face a lot of challenges. She insisted me to complete my higher degree. That is why she never discriminated me. I have never felt discrimination regarding providing the higher education from my parents. I am residing in Kathmandu valley working and attending the university. In these aspects I have never felt discrimination being the lady excluded from various opportunities.

Being Here: Theoretical Discussion Relating to Nirmala's Voice

Nirmala accepts that she has not faced any kinds of discrimination from her family. In this context I found the changing role of the family to the daughter. This is one of the positive sign of change. She is able to move ahead her higher education. But why does this happen? What are the consequences besides this? Then the answer is that she has got an opportunity because her mother has faced lots of challenges being a woman. In this discussion I found that her mother did not want to repeat the same suffering to her daughter. Thus she is benefited. By her voice I come to know that her mother has a sole responsibility of rearing of the children and involving herself in the household activities. In my analysis we can find these kinds of tendency in our society. In this discussion we cannot be convinced by the grand theory forwarded by the western feminism. In this sense, we need to approach this besides the second wave of feminism which is known as the third wave of the feminism. It specially says that women of the third world have not those choices that they can enjoy only the inner world of the household or they bargain the outer world. They have no alternatives and they have to stay in the both realm.

Being Here: Contradictory Views on Education

In this section I would like to present two opposing views presented by the member of constitutional assembly, Mala Paswan and a PhD. enrolling candidate,

Nirmala. As a researcher I analyse these two views fairly contradicted. One school of thought does not respect the existence of other. This is true in its vice versa as well. Mala opines that higher education is not necessarily important to involve in politics. On the other hand, Nirmala views that education is essential for political practices. Education makes politics more visionary. Nirmala, a PhD student, further expresses that education makes people think broad. Not only this if we talk about the relation between education and the politics then there needs the presence of higher education, without good orientation of education. We will never get the achievement that we should be. In the process of discussion we don't accept the views of Mala. She says better educated people can lead the nation. She further expresses that Nepal is in the phase of transition and people are raising the voices of identity politics. It creates a lot of chaos. Therefore, if there are visionary politicians then we will not face such great upheavals. Analysing all the facts and facing the entire problem in the process of nation building in my context we need educated politicians. I give more importance to education in order to participate ourselves in the political field.

Being Here: Wearing Various Coats of Feminism

In this section, I have tried to interpret the data using forms of feminism. In the journey of my research I have included wearing coat as a metaphorical use to signify various forms of feminism. Women are discarded from the mainstream of development since the human civilization to this era of knowledge production. Women liberation has been a challenging task. Women are still in a primitive age though the developmental activities massively take place. Many people ask me the question why I am raising the women issues. The answer is very clear. Half of the population cannot be ignored while studying development. Putting this thing in mind my effort here is to see the effect of women education on their political participation.

As I have mentioned earlier I would like to discuss on liberal feminism and its linkage with the data. I have collected wearing the coat of feminism.

"The modern state created the artificial man of reason and right desire" (Bruke, 2001). In this analysis knowledge claimed by men always lead to right decisions. "Early liberal feminist theories accepted the validity of all these claims. Their contention was that female had been excluded from the modern state because of "an insidious assumption that they are less rational and more natural than men" (Stefano, 1990, p. 67, as cited in Burke (2001) expresses that:

Difference between male and female had been used to legitimize the unequal treatment of female in the modern political state. Mary Wollstonecraft and J.S. Mill argued that women are trained to be irrational; with proper education women were capable of human capacity for reason. Women should be allowed to assume their rightful place as the equals of men in society. The tools for this transition are available in the ideas of humanity, reason, respect and justice already present in the modern state. As in the phase of the liberal feminism it basically gives more importance to education, rational capacity as well as the equal treatment from the society for the women.

So, I have presented same views of my respondents as liberal feminism advocates. Liberal feminism puts its argument that education develops rationality in women so that they can be as much capable as men. All of my respondents have shown identical thoughts.

While analysing the data participants sometimes have shown their views similar to radical feminism. Radical feminism basically talks about women's emancipation. Radical feminism also known as second wave feminism views that the entire social structure is ruled by male and opposes the view of liberal feminism about

neutrality, institutional structure and ideas of modern state. Radical feminism, moreover, disagrees with the limited position of women in any institute which is traditionally earmarked in patriarchal society. The view of my respondents is alike to that of radical feminists. My respondents raise their voice against male favoured social structure that prevailed in our society. They ask how we can raise our voice for equitable society in the prevailing condition. They view that they are compelled to follow the predominant value exposed by male. Going through the views of my respondents and radical feminists there are some points where they agree.

It can be concluded that radical feminism cannot be suitable in our context at all. Some of the issues raised by radical feminists can't be applicable in women education, their political participation and the whole state mechanism. Thus liberal feminism is very much suitable theory to analyse the women's views and to appeal their rights. Tula Mai is appealing for quality education. She says that education is the most important and basic things for the women's liberation and freedom. She shares that women should have the access to the society and social norms, values must be needed to grow up properly. What Tula Mai thinks and shares is described in the liberal feminism.

Being Here: The Politics of Household Work

Going through the data of my participants it can be seen that household works were ignored by male characters. Such activities have been the tag for a woman to accomplish. The radical feminists argue that there should be equal involvement of male partner to do such activities besides going to the market and ruling over the whole society. The accepted norms and values in Nepalese society are set on the basis of its culture and religion which ignore the existence of women in education, development, economy and many other fields of policy making.

In the process of analysing the views of radical feminism, I want to say that this research will not have any concern on the gay movement and several other identity recognition movements. Some of the feminists have raised the issues of societal oppression and also recommended excluded male from society to lead a prosperous society. I think this theoretical approach is not appropriate for this research.

Women involvement in the household activities comes as a compulsory even if they have access to the public. Women are not recognized by their work and this work does not provide them status in the society. They have to spend more and more time in households as well as the raring and caring works. Abott, Wallace, and Tylor (2005) express that:

> Feminists often point out that it is women who are generally responsible for the necessary, repetitive jobs that have to be done on a regular basis, while men often do those that are creative and can be done when convenient. Often this division is based on what men and women are thought to be naturally good at. Women are often thought to be naturally good at cleaning, sewing, washing up, shopping, washing, caring for children, cooking, and so on (p. 162).

Women in Nepal are no more exception to the above mentioned condition. Women in Nepal are also subjected to the domestic chores and, they, therefore, hardly get any time to show their active participation in politics. They are thought to be incapable for politics due to the fact that they have not been able to show their vitality so far by limiting themselves within the circumference of domestic chores. Thus, the literature above will guide me to analyse the social and family situation of women and their reciprocal participation in politics in Nepal.

Being Here: The Personal is Political

In course of presenting various views of my participants, I have presented my experiences along with it. In the process of involving myself in the educational activities I had to consider lots of things. For this I had to bargain with my parents to continue my higher education. If I wished to study I used to get that chance after having completed my household activities like cooking food, washing clothes, washing utensils etc. In the process of moving to higher degree, I had to bear the economic burden of my study. On the other hand my brothers had to face no lacking of anything since my parents were responsible for that. My mother used to convince me that brothers are the future bread winners. I was grown up in a situation where it was my responsibility to continue my education as well as the job.

Feminists of the second wave adopted as their motto "the personnel is political." In so doing, they challenged women's exclusion from the public world of politics and economics, while reintroducing the personal experience of being female into the political discourse of the day (Evans, 1997, p. 290, as cited in Canty, 2004, p. 154). The notion of the politics interpreted as the areas of the social life and the personal is interpreted as the private life of the household and the family. Feminist of the second wave bargain to bring the personal issues in the political so that women should not face the challenges and the oppression in the process of leading their life. In my context also I am excluded in public realm because I am a daughter or female. As the notion of radical feminist personnel is political I also want to raise the voices for making the private affairs into public. Let's bring the issues of women and their work and peripheral area to public. Then we can think about the liberation. This is my experience as well. The upcoming daughters and women should not involve themselves for their liberation.

While talking about women's liberation, radical feminists come with the view that existing social structure has to be destroyed and women's personal matter related to household affairs have to be brought into public discussion. When there comes the talk of women liberation we usually ignore it by saying that it's a private affair. But radical feminists opine that women spend their most of time by doing indoor activities and those activities should not be limited within the periphery of house. In the process of bringing out those activities in public atmosphere as an issue of public interests my respondents as well as myself agree with this view. They view that woman issues have to be discussed in public forum though it is challenging. Because we have been following the norms and values of this society and we cannot disconnect the chain of this social structure. I frequently ask my brothers to help me in kitchen. In reply he says that my feminism has to be limited within me. The main challenge is how can I raise this voice in a public forum? In the same way I ask my husband to help me in household activities but he replies that this work does not fall under his area of responsibility. We have been socializing in a way that we feel all these things as a natural process and we have to follow it without hampering on its spirit and essence. In the name of being feminist if we go against its spirit our relation becomes critical. What a prejudice natural law in this society! Is it a justice for women? From the above mentioned data such injustice in our society is prevailed in education as well.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the views expressed by women of various sectors on the topic of importance of female education and its effect in their political participation. In course of collecting data I come to know that women are deprived of education and their access in political participation is very marginal. The women in our society are congested within the household works. There is the discrimination

between a son and a daughter in terms of educating them. The effect of poverty

prevalent in our society is directly proportional to women education. Even the

resourceful people hesitate to educate their daughters. The condition of female

education in the family who do not have resources is even vertiginous. In the process

of discussion I found that many women are deprived from higher education even

though they have the desire to move ahead this is because of our social and the

cultural structure of the society. The predomination thought that women or the

daughters are the resources for other houses that they should be prepared for

household activities. It has dominated the parents' thought which result discrimination

on the son and daughter. In the answer of the perception of the education every

participant of this research thinks that education is a prime asset for human being. It

may be in the form of university and the schooling or the form of motivation and

encouragement.

CHAPTER V

ENCOURAGING AND DISCOURAGING FACTORS FOR POLITICAL
INVOLVEMENT

Chapter Overview

In previous chapters I discussed on the significance of education in political involvement. Besides this I mentioned how women perceive education as encouraging element to involve in politics. I incorporated the views of both schooled and non-schooled women so as to analyse their perception involving in politics.

In this chapter I have tried to bring out the challenges and barriers faced by women in the process of involving into politics. In course of discussion with my participants I have raised   questions what are the barriers for women to participate in politics? What are factors responsible to encourage and discourage them to participate in politics? By this discussion I came to know that their economical, social, political, family atmosphere influenced them to engage in politics. However, they faced several challenges to participate in local and national level politics as being women. I analysed various factors which might have encouraged and discouraged them to participate in politics. This section is fully devoted to analyse encouraging and discouraging factors for women to involve in political representation. I have used the interpretive paradigm approach while analysing the data in my research. I brought my views and experiences significant to explore the lived realities of my participants regarding encouraging and discouraging factors of their involvement in politics.

I used two metaphors Being Here and Being There to bring the micro and macro perspectives of encouraging and discouraging factors of women's involvement in politics.

Being Here: My Exclusion From Politics

Being here metaphor depicts micro perspective to analyse the women's participation in politics.

I always question myself why do I have a fear to take part in politics? My mother frequently suggests me to take part in politics so as to serve the people. She opines that there is lot of opportunity in politics. I do not know what kinds of opportunities does she observe in politics? Most of the time I escaped with my mother's intention saying that I do not have capability to take up politics. And my mother tries to convince me saying that I need to have a will to join politics that may increase my capabilities. I would like to join politics but I do have many obligations to fulfil in my life. First obligation is to complete my higher education, then after I would be economically independent to develop my career in politics. She again told me that I could have other types of obstacles as well. So, she suggests developing my self-determination at first.

However, I feel inferior in front of my brothers, friends, and seniors because of the gender role that are predefined by social structure. It would be difficult for me to break down such structures. Instead I acted as an escapist in front of my friends and brothers saying that let me continue my higher education and I can do politics after I finish my higher education. Besides, I could not be a part of politics because of many reasons like economic insecurity, social structure, patriarchal value belief system and lack of my self determination as well. Amartya Sen, in "Development as Freedom" talks about capability of people. He further says that for the development,

empowerment and equity towards women what is important normatively for a person's well-being is what she is "able to do or to be," not just what possessions or income she holds. For this the capability approach plays an important role. Capability approach asserts that all human beings have an equality of basic capability produce a moral justification for attending to and confronting discrimination against women in various aspects of life (Hicks, 2002, p. 138). But I think I lack such capability as mentioned by Sen.

In one hand there is my mother's inspiration that I must take up politics and on the other hand, I have a sense of fear. I don't have good economic and social condition to participate in politics. I don't agree with the views of Sen's capability approach. Economic and social condition has become a determinant factor for me to opt for political activities. I need to invest both resources and time with the people if I want to engage myself into politics. I can't continue my higher studies if I choose politics. I can rather start it after completion of my higher studies.

I was not socialized in a way that I could do something in the public sphere of life. Socialization is the process how someone is being adopted in a particular society. Women in our society are socialized in a way that they are supposed to be inferior to male counterparts. In this line, I am not an exception. My mind is made up accordingly and I can't think beyond bearing the children, conducting household activities. In this way I have been the slave of society. "Women are socialized and given the lesson that women's participation is generally lower either because they have been "socialized" differently (especially as far as marriage, motherhood, employment, and property ownership are concerned), or because they have fewer resources" (Schlozman, Burns, & Verba, 1994, as cited in Chhibber, 2002, p. 410). Hence, I think education is a tool to overcome all of these. To sum up I need to be

financially, economically and educationally strong to remove the feeling of inferiority. I need to develop self confidence so that I can get my political aspirations materialized.

An implicit assumption in these sets of arguments is that lower level of participation of women is mostly the result of a process of socialization that leads them to think of political activity in a different way than men. In other words, women don't take an active part in political life because they don't think that political participation is important. "An implication that follows from this line of reasoning is that women do not think that entering political life would necessarily be advantageous. If they did, they would participate as autonomous actors" (Chhibber, 2002, p. 410). But the radical feminism expresses in a different view (political factors, which restrict political activity only in public arena and the private sphere of family life is rendered as apolitical). "This public-private dichotomy in traditional definition of politics excludes women from public political sphere and even when women are brought into politics, they are entered as mothers and wives" (Conference of South Asian Women, 2009, p. 42).

In this realm I am also one of the actors of this society. I have been playing the role as per the expectation of my family and society. I was not grown up differently and not taught in a way that could help me to appear in the public arena. Multiple forms of discrimination and injustice were associated in women's political career as Geiser (2005) indicates "women in Nepal suffer from many obstacles such as the lack of economic resources, dowry demands, polygamy, alcoholic husbands, domestic violence, a lack of education, political representation or accusations of witchcraft or trafficking just to state a few examples" (p. 22). He further stated that discrimination against women with regard to marriage, inheritance of the transmission of citizenship

to children, divorce, protection against violence, criminal justice can be found in all public and private spheres.

Under such situation how can I act as an independent woman to develop a political career? Is it mere difference of sex? "Feminist critics made the idea of sexual difference their main analytical reference, showing the andocentric sign of symbolic order, in which what is masculine is equal to what, is universal, and what is feminine is banished into a different secondary position" (Cavarero, 1987, Irigaray, 1977, as cited in Sanchez & Sevillano, 2006, p. 66).

Being Here: Self Determination

Most of my participants both political representatives and non-representatives agree with the view that self-determination is the prerequisite for politics. One of my participants, the member of constitutional assembly, had self-determination because she involved in politics after her marriage instead of being limited into household works. She felt discriminated from the society as well as from the family but later on she has developed her career and established herself into political field.

Being There: Mala and Her Determination

I have developed views though being deprived from education. I have various challenges like scarcity of money and so many barriers. I could overcome these and be elected a member of constitution in the proportionate representation. On the other hand, I have seen the educated women who are residing in city area neglect politics and public activities. I have tried to convince the women who come under me. But they never listen to me. Therefore, young and energetic educated women are out of politics often involving in economic generating works. In my perspective they don't want to participate in politics. But in the cases of opportunity seeking, when there is the discussion on the representative allocation and quota preservation they appear as a

priority list and at the time of doing public work they vanish and give focus only on their private works. May be they have also their own obligation and compulsion but I request them to take up politics for equitable society. In the same way time, resources and family support for a woman are also necessary ingredients for political involvement.

Another member of constitutional assembly, Sarita suggests that anyone interested and having will and self determination can choose politics. It is not only educated women to be in it. It can't be ignored that women should participate in politics and decision making mechanism. The prime objective of this study is also to investigate the barriers that women are facing. Then by these women's prospective, their self determination and their will appear as barriers. They focus on breaking the barriers that are being faced by the women. In a meantime, they express that educated women are only in the household and particularly take part in their private affairs. Therefore, they need to break that barrier. They appeal these women should come in the public sector ignoring the traditional roles and responsibility allocated for the women.

Like Mala, my research participant shared similar views regarding their determination into politics. She is Nirmala who is having higher education, views that she is interested to involve in politics and higher degree is preparation for that. She further says that she is a woman and moving towards higher degree which is also one of her prime needs to involve. In this regard the self determination also plays the important role. I want to express that higher education is one of the prime aspects for own involvement in politics. On the other hand I have not even casted the vote in any election. I have not got an opportunity to vote as well. I think in upcoming election I will utilize that opportunity. The women representatives express that the educated

women may not be able to handle the situation because they themselves feel they lack confidence, courage and self determination. I agree with the view of uneducated women that educated women ignore politics. Indeed, the American sociologists Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001) assert, "on the basis of decades of research into the factors influencing women and men's engagement with politics in USA, that education is an especially powerful predictor of political participation" (p. 286). Though the literature review is that education is a powerful means for political participation my participants who are having higher degree are not interested in active political involvement.

On the other hand there was a "traditional assumption that women are biologically best suited to domestic work and men are to economically assigned jobs is nowhere more obvious than in the issue of generating and sustaining discrimination against women in the public world" (Finley, 1986, p. 1120, as cited in Begum, 2009, p. 175). This kind of belief and practices had brought barriers to me as well as my participants in the process of building career in the political field.

Being Here: Patriarchy

This is the case of myself how I am bound towards the patriarchal system in the micro political activities. I want to reveal the case I faced in my family .There was a peace rally in Kathmandu organized by civil society Nepal in 2010. Many of my friends had invited me to attend that rally. I was also interested to attend that. It was obliged to take the permission of my brother. He denied my proposal and asked me to stay at home. I did the same. In the same way I used to vote that political party which I was asked to vote by my brother. These are some of the evidences how the patriarchy is deeply rooted in our society. Female decision is not maintained. I could

neither join the peace rally nor vote to my interest group. Male decision is supreme in my house.

In the case of many of my participants it has been true. In the case of Tina she says that she had to drop out school because of her father's decision. In the same way I had to feel disturbances to involve in politics because of my husband's decision. As told by Parmala in the case of property, male can deposit and even sell the land and house to spend for the election. But it is almost impossible in the case of female. Male can enhance their career by doing anything as required which the female can't. In the initial phase of my political career I have not got to utilize the resources of my parents as well as of myself. Hence male decision is supreme in our society and they can develop their career easily.

On the other hand the female counter part has to obey the decision of the male though that is in favour of male as I usually obey my husband and father. As a result women cannot be empowered till patriarchy exists in this society. She further expresses that women don't have their own decision whatever they want to do. They are bound by other's interest and need to depend on other's support as a result of patriarchy. I am not an exception of this system. "Patriarchy maintains, in the one hand, domination structures against women and children and on the other hand, certain type of socialization that maintain boys and men suffering kinds of 'masculinity' that prevents the possibilities of constructing an equitable society" (Lifanda, 2005, p. 5).

Being There: Lack of Family Support

It has been seen in the practice that women's roles and responsibilities are limited in the family. They spend most of their time in the house. So, family plays an important role for the career development of a woman. They can't easily get a chance

to be in outdoor activities like joining public meetings, officials works etc. In the case of Tina:

I have to do a lot of works at home like taking care of my father- in- law, children, washing their clothes etc. My husband does not like me being engaged in public activities. I have to limit my interest to maintain the relation with my husband. How do I ignore my husband's interest? As a result I am not able to develop public relation.

 The role which women have in the home gives additional ties to female politicians, which reduce their mobility. Women who are married and trying to bring up children while keeping a home will find it almost impossible to work full time as well. "This problem is enhanced in a country like Nepal because of the large family sizes that put additional burdens on women. To participate in politics women often find that they must either be less committed to their families and homes or put marriage and married life on hold until they have finished their political careers" (Ghimire, 2006).

Being There: Support of Husband

Radical feminists are with the view that male should be excluded for women friendly environment at all sectors and all the women should be unified for the same purpose and motive so that equitable and justifiable society can be imagined. This view of radical feminists gives emphasis to the sisterhood to unite and bargain for the equitable society. But it has been falsified in the case of Mala. Mala says that all her success is the result of her husband's support.

I am a normal farmer working in the field with the mud and stone. I had never imagined being a member of constitutional assembly. In current situation my husband lives in the village taking care of children as well as taking care of the land and

agricultural production. My husband had helped me in the election also. Spouse support can either promote or prevent women in political participation. Women who come from families with a strong political history will often be encouraged to continue the work of past relatives. Women generally need to receive permission from their husband or father in order to embark on a political career. In this process I have got a support from my husband. I think that without this permission and support it would be very difficult for me to become a successful politician. This is not only because of the financial help, which is so often required, but also for moral encouragement that is provided by their spousal counts a lot in the process of participating in the political sphere for women. I am having sufficient support from my husband.

Being Here: Household Chores - Women's Barrier to Involve in Politics

In my discussion the women are repeatedly found that they are socialized as if they are only for the housemaid and childcare. It is not only in the discussion but in the practical field that they have been facing lots of challenges which hinder them in the process of participating in political field. In this section I have tried to incorporate these views.

The answers of above mentioned questions are very obvious. All my participants and I are agreed to say that it is the women who do and keep themselves busy with these works. While major changes have occurred in the status of women in some parts of the world in recent decades, but still the role of women continues to be home-central, thus, excludes public activities and political life (Chhibber, 2002, p. 409). In this context how can we imagine women's participation in politics? Marriage has been an obstacle in the case of one of my participants Parmila since her political career has been disturbed after her marriage. She was politically active and even

taking part in revolutionary activity before marriage. When she got married at the age of sixteen her activity started to be limited within the periphery of house. She was confined with taking care of children, sick mother- in- law and father- in- law. As she said a woman has to allocate more time once she has children. She had to give up all her political activity like party meeting, public relation development. Domestic works in her case becomes an influencing factor for her to give up from political responsibility, which at times plays vital role in the political empowerment. It is believed that women are mainly for the purpose of reproduction and domestic activity, hence (there is) no need to educate them, as this is a waste of resources (Lifanda, 2004, p. 6). In this way as Pramila told her wish in young age to involve in politics went in vain after she got married. She started to be groomed up in household activities and taking care of children slowly and gradually. She is now in politics after her children are grown up. She lives in Kathmandu and she has to go to villages time and again. She faces difficulty to leave her children alone. She thinks that her wish alone is being activated.

In the same way my participant, Tina, is a primary level teacher. She has two sons, her husband and her father- in- law at home. She has recently joined master's degree. She has triple role to play i.e. her job, study and indoor responsibility. She has to allocate more time for indoor activities like taking care of children, old aged father -in -law, and husband. She says that her wish to be in politics is being limited only because she is a woman. If she were a male she would get freedom and would not be confined within household responsibilities. If she got time she would obviously join the public meetings and politics. Investing her time in various private sectors she is excluded from political field. Even in the household level she doesn't get any opportunity to decide herself. She further expresses that if she got the opportunity she

would leave all the things and continue her higher studies. But she could not because she is a mother and daughter-in- law, wife and the teacher having a bundle of responsibilities. Therefore, she can't involve in her further education as well as in politics.

Being There: Economic Dependency

The metaphor of being there portrays the broader macro perspective of raising agenda of the political representation of women. Economic resources play an important role for anyone to involve in politics. The economic access also plays the important aspects towards the political participation. One reason for the relatively low participation of women in day to day economic affairs in many countries is a relative lack of access to economic resources. The ownership of land and capital in the developing countries has tended to be very heavily based in favour of male members of the family. It is typically much harder for women to start a business enterprise, even of a very modest size given the lack of collateral resources (Sen, 2001, p. 201). This literature encourages me to understand the political access of women in Nepal is highly influenced by the degree of their economical grasp. Through this, I have observed how the male in Nepalese society has maintained their control over land and capital and how this ownership explicitly excludes the larger mass of women from active political participation.

If we look at the relation between Nepalese women and their economy the consequence is different. Nepalese women are not economically sound since they don't have house, land etc. on their name. As told by one of the respondents, Sarita:

I do not have house and land on my name. All these properties belong to my husband. I have been depending on the salary being the member of constitutional assembly. All my house expenses and the expenses while being with political cadres

are maintained by my salary alone. Politics is increasingly becoming commercialized needing huge amount of money to participate in politics. "Women lack access and ownership of productive resources to have access to political activities" (Eisenstein, 1999, p. 196). Socialist feminism opines the same phenomena as Sarita has experienced throughout her life. Economic status plays crucial role in politics, which is possible only through quality education. If she has no any salary and the economic back up, it will obviously hamper her political career. The property plays the important role for the women in decision-making and participation in public affairs like politics.

Scholarly explanations for this gender inequality in political representation often prioritize political and cultural explanations over economic ones (Viterna, Fallon, & Beckfield, 2008, p. 456). However my respondents come with the view that economy plays decisive role to involve in political activities. There is the minority of women being represented in constitutional assembly because the economic status of women is not good in our patriarchal society. All the resources in patriarchal society are controlled by male. Talking about the economy it plays a prominent role for the women to participate in politics. We find that the women are not in sound economy which should be. Socialist feminists are committed to understanding the system of power deriving from capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein, 1999, p. 196).

The socialist feminist talks about the economic distribution relate to the power and politics. Marx specially deals with it. The socialist feminists raise the power distribution on the basis of economy. Women economic empowerment is absolutely essential for raising the status in the society (Seth, 2001, p.188). Women should be economically strong. Then only there will be more women in politics. As Marx and Engels come with the view that political representative women also feel that they are

lower position in the class categorization because they are dominated by the bureaucratic people as well as they had no that type of asset in their name which will support their future career. Women also lack social capital deprivation.

Muluki Ain recommended that the main sources of law that governs property and inherence rights, which are determined in part on the basis of marital status and gender. The eleventh amendment to the Muluki Ain added some provisions relating to property, providing greater rights for women. In this provision sons and daughters are entitled to inheritance right to ancestral property. However daughters must return their share of partitioned intestate property after marriage (The Center for Reproductive Rights, 2004, p. 136). As this kind of legal system also hinders in the economic independency of the women which will in long run affect the overall decision of women and their political representation (Conference of South Asian Women, 2009, p. 41). On the other hand, many feminist scholars claim that women are far from state mechanism. They do not have any access to legal framework of county. In one study Agrawal (1994) has suggested that most women lack information about the law as well as the means to act on it. They need legal literacy and legal aid. To provide this, the state key role could be played by civil society, including women's organization, as well as village councils and municipalities which now have substantial female representation following seats reservations. The media also can contribute to raising the awareness about the law (p. 3).

Being There: Lack of Higher Education

In the process of gathering various views of different sectors of women, I have taken the opinion of a woman named Tula Mai representing the remote area of Nepal:

I am deprived of political representation due to the lack of formal education. I could not go to school. Therefore, I cannot even read and write Nepali Barnamala.

My father did not send me to school because I was a daughter. If I were a son of my parents I would get that opportunity because we had a tendency that daughter should not be educated. It is believed that if they are provided education then they will not listen to their parents. There is also the notion in our community that women must take responsibilities of their household after their marriage as well. My father used to say that sons are the future breadwinner who will care of the parents whereas daughters are made for their husbands. Most of the fathers think that girls have wasted their resources because girls are meant for marriage. The belief system guides them as daughters decorate others' houses. They had to involve in the interior activities not in educational activities. I was deprived of education by such notion of my parents.

Explaining these issues I think western feminism is applicable to interpret the position of women in society shaping a progressive position on gender issues in education. Feminism, in this level, I understand as the commitment to the political, social, and economic equality of women, which draws on and has instigated a variety of movements, theories, philosophies and campaigns (Weiner, 2004, p. 16). She further expressed that she wanted to involve in politics but she felt that everyone ignored her. I think that it's because she was uneducated.

Moreover, her opinions were ignored in the VDC level party meeting. I think I am unaware of the situation of the country. In this context I want to do something for the development of the country. I feel myself capable of helping people as my male counterpart does. I have been involving in helping people both economically and emotionally. But the society does not trust me. I want to say that it's all because I am uneducated. I want to remind you one of my incidents. That was my speech in the mass of the people. I delivered it in front of a huge mass and they gave me a lot of

compliments. I want to claim that I have a quality to participate in politics. People appreciate and encourage me to participate in politics however the party does not want to select me in the committee. It is because I don't have formal education. My father did not send me to school. My father's opinion, regarding education was that daughters are for others and investing resources on them is the wastage of both time and money. Neighbours and relatives believe that if you send a girl/woman to school she will be more exposed and civilized and cannot be under a man any longer. Still others think a woman's job is in the home and she does not need to go to school to learn it (Lifanda, 2005, p. 4). She feels herself to be victimized by her father because he did not educate her. As a result, she says, she is excluded from politics and backward than educated people of her society.

Being Here: The Institutional Support and Quota System

Mala Paswan in a narrative construct "Self determination" shares that she is a Terai based scheduled caste representative who has been able to be elected as a member of constitutional assembly. Being an uneducated and scheduler caste woman, she could have been elected in such policy level organization. Mala Paswan could not have got this opportunity unless the state mechanism had not made the provision of quota system. She agrees that Nepalese parliament as well as the state mechanism has adopted women friendly policy. If this positive discrimination is not applied and mere majoriterian system is applied then the result would be different. Mala agrees that women legislative representation is only possible when the political parties, state mechanism favour institutional support and quota system.

In the same way Parmila Prasai, a normal and not highly educated woman, would not have been able to be elected the member of constitutional assembly unless the state mechanism had not adopted the policy of institutional support and quota

system for the women. The concept of woman-friendliness was coined by Norwegian political scientist Hernes in the late 1980s as she defines woman-friendly states as such: A woman-friendly state would enable women to have a natural relationship to their children, their work and public life .A woman-friendly state would not force harder choices on women than on men, or permit unjust treatment on the basis of sex. In such a state women will continue to have children, yet there will also be other roads to self-realization open to them. In such a state women will not have to choose futures that demand greater sacrifices from them than are expected of men (Borchorst & Siim, 2008, p. 209). Women's political representation, once considered unacceptable by politicians and their public, is now actively encouraged by powerful international actors (Hughes & Paxton, 2006, p. 898).

Most centrally, many studies have found that nations that elect legislative candidates using some form of proportional representation generally elect more women than do nations with simple majority systems, as party lists are more conducive to forwarding women as candidates (Kenworthy & Malami, 1999; Matland, 2002; Paxton, 1997; Kunovich, 2003, as cited in Viter et al., 2008, p. 457). Therefore, most of my participants like Mala Paswan, Parmila Prasai, Nirmala Rai, Tina Shrestha and Tula Mai Adikari, Sarita Dangol focus on giving continuity to the quota system for the further representation of women.

<center>**Being Here: Women Representatives - Result of Quota System**</center>

The question, why is there an increased presence of women in parliament from some years? The ultimate answer of this question is the establishment of quota system. My participants also agree that quota system has been able to increase a number of women representatives in constitutional assembly and so many other fields. Various countries have adopted the quota policy. By analysing the definition given by

Wilma Rule (Tripp & Kang, 2008, p. 341) who was one of the first to write about quotas as solutions to institutional barriers to women's representation, electoral system constraints can be overcome by affirmative action to promote women within the party, women's political mobilization, enlargement of electoral districts, and the limitation of electoral terms to ensure greater turnover (Tripp & Kang, 2008, p. 495).

My participants are grateful to the quota system that they would not have been selected if there had not been the provision of quota system. One of my participants, Parmila, argues that women are excluded though they are equally competent with their male counterpart. So, she thinks that such a positive discrimination is necessary to apply in response to my question, what can be done to maximize women representatives? Their common answer is the provision of the quota. Parmila has mentioned the case that the wife was not given chance to get the ticket for a particular seat though wife was equally competent to her husband in that party .Especially modern feminist talks about the political marginalization of women because of the patriarchy value system. Modern feminists have shown the idea of political representation. This arises from the fact that conventional definition of politics effectively excludes women from political life (Heywood, 2002, p. 11).

Quota policy can be regarded as a woman empowering tool. In the past quota system was not in use. There were very few women representatives. Due to proportionate division we can see women representatives in every field at present. It is still debatable that quota system has not been applied in an inclusive and representative way. Mala views that a women has to face a lot of challenges especially in rural area though quota is an opportunity for them. So called elite women of an urban area are seen in a front line to grab this opportunity.

Today we see quota being introduced where women historically have been almost excluded from politics, as in Jordan or Afghanistan. In such cases, gender quotas represent a kick-start for women to gain entry to politics. In other cases, quotas are introduced to consolidate and strengthen the gains women have made in.

The Beijing conference is another milestone for women. The conference was taken place 50 years after the United Nations set its global objectives, one of which was to obtain the equal rights of men and women. It is also be an opportunity to see how far we have travelled towards achieving the objectives for the advancement of women 20 years after the UN Mexico city conferences (1975) which launched the united nations decade for women and defined a first world plan for action to promote the equality of women and their contribution to development and peace (Hans & Pathri, 2006, p. 153). Thus, everyone praises the quota system and views that this has been a milestone for women's empowerment. Women could get chance to be in policy making level by quota system.

Being Here: Quota Policy and Question of Sustainability

From the above analysis I come to the conclusion that quota system can be regarded as an important tool for women's upliftment. One of my participants who is doing PhD. suggests that we need economic, educational and institutional reform to empower women. She further says quota system is good for short term period but it can't be enough for long term goal. Economic, educational and political reformation is not being exercised in our country. Another participant representing the member of constitutional assembly also focuses on social reformation for justifiable and equitable society. Thus quota system for women empowerment in Nepal is not an ultimate solution. The females since their schooling need to be socialized in such a way that

there should not be any discrimination on the basis of sex. Women representation should not be limited on quota system only.

Being There: Influence of Socio-Cultural Elements

About Nepalese culture, Nirmala expresses that it is dominated by patriarchal value belief system. I have also faced many obstacles in the process of building my career. Not only this, the political system of Nepal also revealed the patriarchal structure (Acharya, 2004, p. 1). This kind of social cultural boundaries has restricted the women to represent in the policy level. The prevailing gender attitudes in a nation also influence the percentage of women elected to its legislature (Viterna et al., 2008, p. 458). Therefore, women are not being represented in political arena. Women representatives of constitutional assembly express the view that women representation in politics is below margin and this is all because of obstacles in the public arena.

Being women we are grown and treated as we are not for the public affairs. Though I enjoy visiting the villages, the people of my neighbouring villages comment me why does she time and again come to visit the village? I do not take it negatively since it's all the result of existing socio- culture. Sometimes I feel depressed in such environment. People in the village blame me that I am misguiding their daughters if they are trained on women empowerment and awareness. Those kinds of belief systems have to be removed so that the next generation will understand the value of women empowerment. Besides this there is the misconception on people related to sex division, gender division, dual role, restriction on mobility, the gatherings of female with male etc. Being a woman I find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time to fulfil their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Not only this I have felt and faced cultural constraints such as sex segregation which try to stop my political representation. In my perspectives the political involvement requires

to be involved in various public meeting and interaction. Politics requires women's exposure to interact with male and female constituents and address public meeting (Conference of South Asian Women, 2009, p.41).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I discussed the encouraging and discouraging factors for the women to participate in politics. I have incorporated various views expressed by women of different sectors as well as my own experiences. Besides, I have mentioned my viewpoints on the issues. I have tried to compare and contrast the viewpoints of my participants and feminism made by various scholars. In this discussion, various factors were discussed like economic dependency to various legal systems. This shows that there are several things, which encourages and discourages women to participate in the political field and education as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AND IDENTITY OF WOMEN

Chapter Overview

In previous chapters, I have discussed on encouraging and discouraging factor of women involvement in political fields. In a way of presenting themselves in public arena, they say that it is very difficult for women to involve in politics. In this chapter, the identity and recognition of women in political field will be discussed.

The women in Nepalese society are ignored in political representation and social upliftment. "Nepal has in its history witnessed patriarchy, different forms of monarchy, and oligarchy. The culture thus shaped and nurtured hierarchical values and a gender based social construct" (Acharya, 2004, p.1). Under these circumstances it is necessary to explore how the women of political representation and non-representation feel their identity and recognition. Realizing this fact, I representing and living in this social structure, try to explore how women perceive their identity being a woman. I, as a feminist researcher, try to explore women identity.

This chapter specially gives information about identity formation of Nepalese women. One of my research questions is also associated to the identity of women. Therefore, I have taken an interview of various women both politically representative and non-representative. In the process of including their views, I have included my viewpoints as well on the question of women's identity.

In this chapter I have used narrative form of data representation. "Narrative researchers assemble storied texts that they analyse for the meaning they expresses" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p.479). As the views of participants and my own reflection I

have raised the issues of women representation. In this process I have taken an interview on women's identification. The feminist research principally raises question on women issues. So, I have analysed women's identity from the critical aspects. At first, part of "feminist criticism made the idea of sexual difference its main analytical reference, showing the androcentric sign of symbolic order, in which what is masculine is equal to what is universal, and what is feminine is banished into a different secondary position" (Cavarero, 1987, Irigaray, 1977, as cited Sanchez & Sevillano, 2006, p. 66). In this way they explained the inequality existing in relationships between men and women. "Male domination, social as well as symbolic, is insidiously rooted in ways of perceiving, desiring, feeling and valuing, both in men and women" (Sanchez & Sevillano, 2006, p. 66).There is also gender differences in the process of identity formation of women from the initial phase. In the process of raising the question of identity I have critically raised the question like what about the women identity formation, how they think about their identity in the process of leading life, what other factors are playing important role in the process of identity formation.

This research has also tried to address relation between identity and power relating to women. Various thinkers argue that differences existed among women are based on economic and socio cultural aspects. That affects how distress and male domination are being experienced by women. Thus, "their theoretical work acknowledges different arrays of relationships of power as part of the definition of a feminine subjectivity that would include race, class, age and sexual orientation" (Sanchez & Sevillano, 2006, p.66).

In this research I have revealed the identity of women from gender perspectives. The gender perspectives especially question on identification, socialization and work division of women in the particular circumstances.

Being Here: Envisioning Myself in the Journey of Identity Formation

What is an identity? An individual can have several identities in the way of performing multiple roles. I find myself as a university student. I become a female when I will be in my society. When I go to my parent's village I will be recognized by the identity of my father or brother. My identity is wife and daughter- in- law in my husband's house. Sometimes I mess myself getting known by other's identity.

Can't a woman have her own identity? Why am I known by other's identity? When can I form my own identity so that I will be recognized as an independent individual? Various feminists view that women's identity is in crisis because our social structure is formed in such a way that a woman as an individual does not have recognition of her own. She has to depend on the identity of her father, brother, husband, son etc. Though a woman is capable of her own she is not recognized. I am a teacher and able to stand on my own. But I am not equally treated as my male colleagues at my office and male members at home. In the process of recognizing myself I have to cite my father, brothers, and husband. Education and the self development also come as a prime factor of identity formation which is taught me as I present myself in the society. I have tried a lot to build up my own identity but I failed in it even though I am struggling to form my own identity. Being women I felt that I need to give more initiation in the process of developing my identity.

Being There: Knowing the Name of Women

I would like to incorporate the viewpoints of my participants regarding the relation between women's identity and their political involvement in this section.

Firstly I have presented my conversation with one of the members of constitutional assembly, Parmila Prasai, regarding women's identity and their political involvement.

Me: Namaskar mam.

PramilaPrasai :Namaskar.(smiling)

Me: What are you doing now a days?

Parmila; I am busy in standing committee meeting of our party.

Me:How do male members of constitutional assembly response you?

Pramila : (showing her anger with them) we women members are treated as if we are not C.A. Members. Our voices are not listened there. We are supposed to be representatives for the sake of representative. Our decisions are not recognized. Our views are ignored. There is also discrimination though it's a policy making organism of government.

Me: How do you perceive your identity being a woman?

Parmila: We are ignored by male members. It may be because we are through quota representation. They feel that their decision is enough. There is prejudice of access on resources between male and female members. While talking about the identity I used to be recognized by the name of my father and brother. After I got married I used to be known by the name of my husband and father in law. I did not have my own identity independently. I wanted to form my identity so that I started politics. These days' people know me by my name. They come to me, respect me and ask for my help. I have done a lot of struggle to form my identity till this level. A woman in our society has to do a lot of struggle to form her identity. I have also faced many challenges regarding building of my identity in the society. I have listened to many voices but I never care on that and I move ahead in a process of building my own identity.

Being Here: Politics as a Means to Form Identity

My participant Parmila Parsai suggests that a woman's identity is counted by her father or brother before her marriage and husband and father- in -law after her marriage. A woman will not be able to have an independent identity if compared with her male counterpart. She is not recognized and is underestimated, no matter, whatever position she is. As she told me a woman needs to do a lot of struggle to make her independent identity if this is compared with her male counterpart. She also told me that politics gave her a solid platform to develop her identity. She feels a drastic change before and after her involvement in politics. She used to be known by the name of her father, brother; husband and father- in- law prior to her involvement in politics. On the other hand, she has made her independent identity after her involvement in politics. People have started to respect her and consider her as a respected member in the society. However, her struggle in politics has not yet been completed though she became a member of C.A. She is still doing struggle to survive in politics since there is female discrimination. I created this poem in the process of interpreting data of my participants.

> Prasai's Daughter Prasai's sister
>
> Got married at sixteen
>
> Still to play and still to study
>
> People's daughter- in- law and one's wife
>
> I got surname changed
>
> Hard time I had hard to live
>
> Though not disheartened
>
> All loved me I loved all
>
> My leadership among all

My name my fame

I got it.

May be this continues or not

I am always willing to keep it

But the society loaded with their notion

Again struggle for the name and the fame

Continuations of the struggle

I will grab one day and I will recognize with my name

This poem reflects the struggle of women for their identity. Being women, she was not able to build any particular identity herself. At the end of the day, a woman has been able to find her real identity. She further says that it was possible because she came into public sector and did not confine herself in the household activities.

Being There: Struggling for Identity Formation

I have included the conversation with my participant Mala, who is one of the members of C.A. It was such a coincident that there was a dispute between Mala and other male C.A. members when I met her in Singadarbar that day. She was having her arguments that she should be included and her views also should be prioritized in all issues related to Terai.

Mala: All the representatives do not listen to the voice of women.

Me: Namaskar Mam. How are you? I am a student performing research on the topic of women participation and education. I want your precise time and information. I think you will grant me your time and information.

Mala; I was attending the meeting on how to form the government. So called big parties underestimate us that we are small and Terai based.

Me: Do you feel discriminated being a Terai based woman representative?

Mala: You are right. The so called big parties always dominate the Terai based small parties. The case is even critical being a woman represented through quota system. They don't consider women C.A members as C.A. members. I am a Terrain woman. I was grown up there. I mostly use Maithili language over there. I am dominated in terms of caste, sex, language, region and the way we are elected.

Me: How do you cope up with this critical situation?

Mala: I don't feel dominated though they dominate me. I have a capacity and courage being a C.A member which is the result of my struggle. It's neither the god blessing nor the blessing of male.

Me: Mam, I never thought that there is such discrimination in Constitutional Assembly as well. Do you think the political participation has helped you to build up your identity?

Mala: I am proud to be a woman, Terrain and the representative from the quota system. All these are my identity. Though my male counterparts dominate me I am on the way to develop my identity through politics. I have done a lot of struggle on it. My identity has been changed before and after my involvement in politics.

Me: How are you recognized by the people in your home town?

Mala: I used to be known by my father's name before my marriage. People started to recognize me as the wife of my husband after my marriage. By my husband's support I started to involve in politics. I didn't know much about politics. I could learn it from my husband. I am indebted to my husband. I got different identity after my involvement in politics. Many people started to recognize me as a leader. I started to be known by my name rather than the name of my father and husband.

Being There: Role of Family Support and Identity Formation

Family support especially the support of husband for a woman has been a milestone to form an independent identity in the case of my participant, Mala. As Mala told me:

My identity, as a daughter, a wife and a daughter- in- law, has been changed into a member of C.A. Through socialization process which continues to be extremely powerful. "Right from their earliest years, boys and girls are brought up to know that they are different from each other and this differentiation is strengthened in every way possible through language forms, modes of behaviour of labour etc" (Jain & Rajput, 2003, p. 58).

Though I agree that being a woman C.A. member has to face a lot of challenges among colleagues, I have a good name and fame among people in my locality. I agree that my husband's contribution has played a great role in the formation of my identity. It can be told that family's contribution can have a significant role in forming a woman's identity. In the context of Nepalese women as well they can have an independent identity on their own if family is supportive.

Furthermore, one's identity is revealed in terms of language, caste, culture, gender as well. As Singhs (2006) suggested, post structuralism feminists view women's identities are reflecting the relationship between language, power and subjectivity in social discourses. I have to face difficulties in attending seminars, meetings etc. Because people start dominating me in the name of language, gender, caste, culture etc. I do not feel dominated in those circumstances. I am proud to be a woman of Terai based culture having my own typical language. I feel that these are my identities.

Being There: Education to Form Identity

I have incorporated my conversation with one of my participants, Tula Mai, on several ways of forming an identity of a woman. In course of discussion with her she says:

Tula Mai: I am struggling for existence. It is very difficult for an uneducated woman to build up her identity. I don't have any formal education. Because of this I could not involve in politics though I want to build up my identity through politics. People used to recognize me by my father's name before my marriage. I used to be known by my husband's name after I got married. Now a day's people know me by my son's name. I don't like to be known by other's identity at all. I want to build up my own identity but I can't because I am uneducated.

Me: Why do you think women are identified after the male's name?

Tula Mai: This is the result of patriarchal social structure. This demonstration of feminist politics was compelling because it clearly articulated what women's experience told them – that social inequality was a consequence not only of women's lack of access to positions of power in public life, but an effect of living one's personal and private life under the surveillance of oppressive cultural norms and ideals. "Questions of women's negative self-esteem and lack of self-love were central political questions for feminism" (Taylor, 2005, p. 32).We gives extra importance to males. We are very loyal to them. We have to unite for our identity otherwise we will get lost in this male headed society.

Being Here: Identity Crisis

Tula Mai is of the view that patriarchal structure is the main barrier in the identity formation of women. She further expresses that education is regarded as a means to build up identity of a woman. Since Tula Mai is uneducated she has been

failed to be involved in politics. As she told she is failed to build up her identity because she is not involved in politics. She also focuses on the unification of women and destroys the existing patriarchal structure so that women can be able to form their independent identity. She says that since her childhood to this old age she is not recognized by her own identity. She is recognized with the identity associated with her male member of her house.

Un/Conscious Formation of Identity: Issues of Identity

Talking about the women identity in the cases of the Nepalese women we find that Nepalese women are in a ways of searching their identity in the political sphere. In this process I have tried to see the cases of identity from various women. The women representation in the parliament specially talks about the voices of identity formation. The women who are in political representation are one step forward in a process of identity searching. Living in certain social as well as cultural structure, women of Nepal have developed certain identity. As one woman who is always willing to involve in politics shares about her identity. She shares her identity in a way of leading life is shaped by others' identity as societal value system make her identity she sometimes is known by her father, husband and son. Specially dealing on identity the women who are in politics give more concern link their identity with others. "When we shift our attention from the notion of being identical to oneself to the sharing an identity with others of a particular group which is the form the idea of social identity very often takes. The complexity increases further" (Sen, 2007, p.xii).

Linking the Aspects of Identity to the Religion

In the aspects of analysis the identity of women I incorporated the views mentioned in the religious mythology. Talking and discussing in the matter of identity, I think the religious belief and the value system also give some kinds of

reflection towards identity of the women of our society. Nepalese society is predominated by religion. I asked certain questions related to women recognition and identity. Who do the women represent? There are relation between the religion and identity. In Hindu religion there is a certain responses towards women and their identity on this (Woodroofe, 2008, as cited in Seth, 2001) says that:

> According to the Hindu methodology women are categorized as the "shakti" means the power The Goddess (Devi) is the great sakti. She is Maya for her the maya which produces the saṃsarais As Lord of Maya She is Mahayana. Women in the Hindu philosophy Devi is avidya (nescience) because She binds and vidya (knowledge) because She liberates and destroys the samsara. She is Prakriti, and as existing before creation is the adya (primordial) Shakti. The atman should be contemplated as Devi. Sakti or Devi is thus the Brahman revealed in Its mother aspect (srimata) as Creatrix and Nourisher of the worlds. Kali says of herself in Yogini-Tantra: "Saccid as in the pro viadic period there. (p. 13)

But in the practical ground according to my participants and my views we lack in praising our identification. Tula Mai, one of my respondents, expresses that it would be better to be a women in the Vaidic period because there was recognition of women's contribution. But in the modern age I am neglected. Being women I need to perform all the activities as my male member of the family but when the turn of the recognition comes then we lack it as if we have not performed any kinds of activities. In the political field also I am facing various challenges. I am in the district, working with the people and helping them. When the time of election comes then the male members from the city will come and they will get the permission for the

representation. There is no any recognition of women even if she has contributed a
lot.

Relating with the Buddhism and Jainism also kept women in upper level
according to Seth (2001). It has described in the following ways:

 Accepted female as a bhishuni (nuns), but lay female devotees were accepted
like the males. Tara comes into existence a few centuries after the Buddha.
She holds the same place in Buddhism as Durga in Hinduism. In all the
religion Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, in philosophic, religious and
anthropomorphic from, raised women to the highest status as beneficial
goddesses and finally powerful goddess Mahamaya who is the creative force
of the universe as well as protector of the god and the destroyer of evil. (p.16)

After the development of family structure and power structure the
methodology is defined in other way. "The principal of the patriarchy was
strengthened in later Vedic thought through the emergence of an all-powerful trinity
gods- Brahma, representing creation, Vishnu the nurturing aspects, and Shiva as the
destroyer and the evil and upholder of righteousness" (Seth, 2001, p. 11). In that time
education of women is defined that "As far as education is concerned, some girls of
Mughal class received education but the poor were mostly illiterate. Middle class
women had enough education to be able to read the Quran" (Seth, 2001, p.30). In
further discussion a woman Mala expresses that in the process of gaining education I
am deprived. She says that education became the resource of resourceful people. As
in the Mughal class only selected group gets an opportunity of education. In these
aspects this tendency is repeated again in the modern time. Talking about education
the women who represent schedule caste and who are from lower class did not get
opportunity to participate in higher education. Within the women there is also some

sort of classification from the ancient time to modern. Seth further expresses that in mythology belief that women have the power of holding the world therefore she is known as the winner of the world.

> In the Prana Devi's creation was supposed to be secret, known only to Brahma himself. She is described as "Nityasavarupa" the whole world is her form and she holds the universe in herself. She talks her physical forms to help the god. (as cited in Seth, 2001, p.13)

The women destroyed the two asuras for the preservation of deva. Analysing the Hindu literature we can find that women are praised in the process of gaining some sort of identity and they have also developed certain courage to destroy the evil. According to my participant Parmila she expresses that in this modern ere we, being the women, are far from all the facilities and are not recognized in the society.

As we go through early Hindu mythology we don't find discrimination on the basis of sex. "The Rig Veda praises the nari women we cannot see any kind of discrimination on the basis of the sex. It is clear that there was no difference between children of different sexes" (Seth, 2001, p. 16). What is the present context? I question to myself. Do women of this age praise or give certain facilities? The answer in these questions comes as no. Being a woman myself, I am not getting any kinds of privilege and not recognized despite my contributory role in the family, society and the nation.

On the other hand, Manu's description on the status of women is discriminatory. Women are treated there as second class people. The entire concept of the manuscript was to lay dawn a code of conduct for the man preservation of jati and race, how to conduct him in four ashrams, what the rules of daily living should be, and the laws that the king should follow to provide justice. The 'Manusmriti' is

not a text on the right of the women (p. 26). As our family and society also seems to move ahead with the notion of the Manu Smriti. Our patriarchal value belief system is represented and guided by Manu Smriti which we can see in our day to day practices.

Tula Mai expresses that we women are bound to certain situation. We are the slave of the situation and the society. She further expresses that I am a woman and I have lost my husband. In this context I am becoming one of the victims of this society. Everyone treats me as if I have no one in this world. To live a life without husband becomes so much hurting for me. Every one of the village and family treats me in a bad manner. But, forgetting all these I want to move ahead and build up my capacity. People say how can anyone be secured without preservation of husband? It is very difficult for me to move on.

Seth in her writing not only discussed on the Hindu mythology but on religions like Islam and Jainism. She said that there are responses and the recognition of women. On the other hand, there are some differences between women of upper class and lower class in the Mugal time. Seth (2001) further discussed that:

> In Islam, men and women are equal in the eyes of god and both have the religious right Women of middle and lower classes had a tougher time than the princesses, queens and begins the aristocratic. They were married at a young age, had many children and as far as employment concerned they work as a domestic servants of the rich hakims as well as singers and dancers. Talking about the education in the time of the Rajput from records of Rajput families as well as Smritis we know that girls were married at the very young age to preserve their purity and to keep them away from abduction by foreigners. Akbar banned this practice but without much effect. This had an adverse impact on women's education; most of the poor girl did not get the education.

It seems however to be true that women of middle classes were equipped to read religious literature, specially the Mahabharat, the Ramayana and the Bhagwat Gita and also to do elementary writing Many Hindu poetesses like Indramati, wife of Premnath, Gangajamuna, disciples of Hitji, Ganga bai, Somkumari, Taj, Parveenrai, Roopmati, Teentarang, Rangrezji, Kairanichaube and of course Mirabai become famous during the time of Mughals. (Seth, 2001, p. 31)

As the development of the society passes on, there arouse different perception of the women. As the "Vedas were translated by the various Brahmans they define the women in their own favourable conditioning as Manu defined that the devoted wife should serve even a bad and adulterous husband as a god" (Seth, 2001, p. 25).

In relation of the Vedic period we see freedom. There was no stratification relating to the men and women. But in the phase of development we can see the patriarchy as a dominant ideology in the various sectors like political, educational and other structure of the society.

Talking about the identity of women the Hindu mythology, in particular, deals with the identity of women in the Manu interpretation. According to the "Manu's interpretation women are classified with the following description, By selective quotation of some of Manu's dicta, such as his famous statement that the gods reside where women are honoured, one group argues that the Manu Smriti exalt women" (Vanita, 2003, p. 77).

In this quotation the Hindu mythology has presented that there should be women recognition to make the prosperous society but people under the society treat that women are second grade citizen. They have no right and the authority. Not only this they are ignored in all aspects of life as the women from non representative say

that I am ignored in the process of making decision in any particular topic. We can conclude that there are the practices of patriarchy in all aspects of our life. The women are not treated as a human. They do not have any rights and decision.

By equally selective quotation of others of his dictum, such as his famous pronouncement that a woman should never be independent but should be under the protection of her father in youth, husband in adulthood, and son in old age. The other group argues that the Manusmriti is the source of gender oppression in India which also reflects the Hindu myth in relation to Nepal. Both groups agree in projecting Manu as the source of Hindu law. Thus, "when admirers of Manu installed a statue of him in the precincts of the high court in Rajasthan, western India, his detractors protested, and burnt copies of the Manusmriti" (Kishwar 2000, p. 3, as cited in Vanita, 2003, p. 77).

By this I can say that there is minimal justice for women. The patriarchal value system is also reflected in the Hindu religion. Thus, religious interpretation is not in favour of women. It also reflects the domination of male in all aspects of life. There is a dual interpretation in the cases of women liberation and recognition. In one hand it says that women are praised in various forms and on the other hand, it expresses that women should be in the peripheral of the area which is allocated by male. So, the myth itself does not seem to be clear in the cases of women liberation.

Being There: Constructing My Own Identity Through Religion

In the process of constructing my own identity I always raise the question to myself. Where do I lie in the process of constructing the identity and the voice? I sometimes question to the social structure. I sometimes accept the existing situation. I sometimes raise the voice of equal existence and recognition in the society. So, I have tried to see the cases of identity by raising the voices from various theoretical lenses

as well. In this section I have tried to capture various theoretical perspectives. Identity construction is linked with gender identity, "gender identity refers to the individual's own feeling of being a man or a women, but this feeling may be defined in a rudimentary scene of having conviction that one's sex assignment at birth was 'anatomically and the psychologically' correct" (Stoller, 1985, p. 11) or more expansively it is also defined as a patterned subjectivity that bears some relation to cultural conception of masculinity/femininity. Rising with the identity of women in the case of Nepal we found women of Nepal are grown with the labelled identity which can be reflected from various views from the participants and myself as set by the patriarchal value belief system.

Giddens (2000) holds the view that human existence is the product of their social structure. The expression of Parmila reveals the same as that of Giddens. She asserts that this aspect is guided by the social structure as Giddens (2000) holds the view that talking in the social structure that all our existence is the product of our structure. Talking about the political participation of women they labelled their identity with others. But After entering the political field they try to make their identity themselves. They are recognized by their name in the public domain so as to establish one's identity. One has to challenge the structure. Relating to issues of the identity there is the predominant of the religion in our social system. Talking about the issue of the religion we found that the identity is shaped by the religion which we follow since years. To make one's identity one has to go through various struggle. So, education plays an important role. The cultural views as well as the dominant ideologies make compulsion us to bind on certain frame which lastly excluded some social group. Women were excluded and treated as less preference in the family and social system.

Ultimately it brings less result in political, social and economic participation in a long turn return. In this matter the socialist feminism also expresses these views. The ideological differences also affect the Hindu women. Writing on the Hindu women; Allen reduces the fourfold goal of Moksa, Dharma, Artha and Kama to a dialogue between the renounce and the man in the world. Similarly, Allen (1982) argues that:

> A Hindu women can be alternatively viewed as pure impure, sinister-benign, creative destructive, ally opponent, goddess-witch. These structural categories also give rise to several female stereotypes such as pure virgin, voluptuous temptress, obedient wife, honoured mother, etc. (as cited in Rege, 2003, p. 291)

These kinds of dominant ideologies also lack women in our culture to perform well in the public domain.

Parents as well as the culture always go for this kind of bondage. So they are always compelled to bind themselves in the role performing activities to limit their identity with certain periphery. Relating to women identity they are within the four walls of the house. Talking about Nepalese women they are not enjoying the opportunity at national level. As Foucault expresses in the definition of power that "individual are judged condemned, classified, determined in their undertaking and destined to a certain mode of living or dying as a function of the true discourses which are the bearers of the specific effects of power" (Murshed, 2003, p. 401). As women representative (Parmila) expresses that women of Nepal are compelled to involve in the household and child care activities only.

Our culture and value system loaded to us has bond us in such a way that we cannot escape out of it. We never think to come out in the public domain. Moreover,

we are dominated by the power. As Foucault's conception of "power always simultaneously undergo and exercise power. As his expression that the do and don't for the individual which is simultaneously the vehicles of its domination" (Murshed, 2003, p. 401). The middle class women still try to escape from the household and try to come in the public sphere. Talking about the women having sufficient economy and resources of their husband and parents never thinks to establish own identity. They always enjoy the identity labelled in their name. In this scenario the exercise of power in the identification of women will remain not only the exercise that we have seen in the power and politics from the state mechanism as Foucault's description that power is not exchanged or recovered as is also argued by the classic theory. The relevance of an analysis of power is at its point of application. In Foucault's schema, power does not descend from the state to the different group and institution of society below, rather the nature of power is ascending. It is the exercise of power at the micro mechanism level of society that contributes to the concentration and upholding of power in the state and its various institutions (Murshed, 2003, p. 400). As expressed by Foucault we can also express that the women of Nepalese society also reveal the micro mechanism of power where there is exercise of power in the micro level instead of macro level. It ignores the state level of politics and goes through the ground reality. As Foucault theory of power we can also see politics of Nepalese women in the micro level.

Domination is not unitary. There are various forms of dominations that can be implemented within society (Murshed, 2003, p. 400). As we go to see the identity structure of Nepalese women, we can see that they also go for this ideology in the division of women. Self identity in various forms by going through the analysis of social structure, the illiterate women in the political sphere speak that women are

classified with various label of identity. The birth of daughter in itself is a challenge for the family. From her date of birth in the family she is compelled to obey the social norms, values and other system of the society. More than this, after her grow up as compared to male child; there are so many restrictions on her activities. In this specific framework she gets married and has to obey the rules and regulation totally new for her. In course of time she needs to perform her duty as a daughter, wife, mother, sister in law and so on. She forgets her own desires in the juncture of duties and responsibilities.

I have visited many villages in order to perform political and other awareness activities. People question me as if I have done a blunder mistake. They used to look at me with full of question in their eyes. They ask me what I am searching in the villages. I am identified as a sophisticated lady with good family and not having any scarcity in life. In this context, what is my purpose of running to villages meeting poor and uneducated ladies? I think it's all because of our social structure.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have discussed and raised the issues of identity of women. Women of Nepal seem to be identified by others' identity. They seem that they have no their identity. In the process of discussion, my participants also seem struggling for their identity. They are in the way of constructing their own identity. Women in politics seem to be one step ahead in constructing their identity. According to their views the political career has provided them certain identity. Otherwise, they will have to depend on other's identity. In the case of illiterate women, they desire to form their identity but they are in the critical stage. They are accepting other's identity and leading their life. Hence, I found that women identity is in crisis.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF NEPALESE WOMEN

Chapter Overview

In previous chapters, I have discussed on identity recognition of women who are in politics. In a way of recognizing themselves in society and the public realm it is very difficult for them to involve in politics. In this chapter the political involvement and identity of women have been discussed.

Assessing Their Political Participation Through Milbraith's Model

This chapter deals with the political participation of Nepalese women. I want to evaluate political participation of Nepalese women through some parameter developed by Milbraiths (Baiden, 2007,p. 1). Here Milbraith's "model of participation" is supposed to be the standard format to assess the political participation of Nepalese women. In recent times, "the status of women in politics has captured the imagination of spectators around the world" (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010, p. 5). This section is fully based on women involvement in politics and the issues of participation. To participate in politics being women has become a great challenge for all my participants both politically involved and out of political involvement.

Holding Party and Public Office

My attempt here is to see whether the social structure is encouraging women to participate in public arena and to what extent they are involving. One of my participants, Mala, views that the entire structure is dominated by male which they want to continue in a long run. Leftists view that capitalists are bourgeoisie. In the same way male also represents that character. Attending meeting, seminars for a

woman, as Mala told me, is for the sake of representation. Male does not want to provide decisive role to female. In the same way another participant, Parmila, says that her party's general assembly is coming and she is waiting the day how the male head of the party will select the members for central committee. She predicts that they will not provide decisive role to women. They are trying to exclude the women. So, she says, they are being unified to pressurize the concerned group. Here the women want to secure their representative though it is a challenging task.

Similarly, another participant, Tula Mai, appeals women to unite. She thinks that politics has been the job of male only and they are getting opportunities as well. She wishes to get the ticket for the election on the basis of her contribution in the party. But she is not sure on that. She has been working in the party for a long time though she does not have any position in it. In the same way another participant, Nirmala, says that she does not have membership of any party. She wants to involve in the open discussion of political parties after her higher education. She did not hold any decisive position while studying colleges and university.

Being a Candidate for Office

In the process of discussing second stage of Malberth's level of participation (Baiden, 2007, p.3), I asked some women members of CA how they feel being the candidate of their office. They say that male members do not recognize them and they are not treated as members of CA. They question me why they are selected as CA members if they are not given the role of decision making? Being a CA member is taking part in decision making. They also say that they are not there to complete the corium. They also feel that they are not recognized by bureaucrats as well. They always go to CA office to do public work but they are not able to do such works as their expectation. One of my participants, Tula Mai, shared that women have nothing

to do more than fulfilling the corium in political party. Women are excluded from decision making. They visit party office regularly but they are not appreciated by their male colleagues. They cannot play any decisive role.

Solicit Political Funds

In the process of analysing third indicator I had asked women members of C.A. about the difficulties they are facing in course of soliciting political funds. They view that participation does not only mean physical presence but their decisive role. They have bitter experiences while asking for fund. They are ignored by bureaucrats as well. In a way of discussion I have interpreted a poem which tries to capture the sentiment of data presented by participants.

Me as a volunteer social servant

To construct a bridge in Parsa

Asked for budget

So many calls, so many visit though I make

Oh bureaucrats! You have no response

Because I am a woman

A member of CA though

And you, a brave man

Name and fame you have

One of the CA female members said that she has worked and bargained with the bureaucrats. She had to return with bear hands .She does not have decisive role in political arena. But if they are asked by her male counterparts' bureaucrats do that promptly. She also says that she wishes to do a lot of things but people always ignore her. Because, she says, she is a woman. My participant, Tula Mai, also has expressed that she appeals to work for women's welfare. But the condition is that they are

ignored. She further says that male can get resources easily. And those male who are in decisive level do not like to allocate budget for women since they are provided with sufficient resources by the government.

As the liberal feminist thinkers such as Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan (2001) provided women frameworks and language to express their economic, social, political and sexual subordination to men. "These thinkers became beacons of second wave feminism determined to fight for and achieve equality for women as a social class with men in western advanced industrial societies" (Changfoot, 2009, p. 13).

Attending a Caucus or Strategy Meeting

One of the representatives of CA, Parmila says that she always attends meetings of different kinds but her views are not included into the agenda of the meetings. People ask her about recent political development in the country. But she is never informed. Top level and elected leaders exclude them. Women members are seen as if they are to observe the power game. Another representative of CA, Mala says that she is participated in the meeting and discusses on the agenda. But the decision of meeting seems to be different. Another representative of CA, Sarmila has different views on this subject. She claims that the situation has been different and changed a lot. She says that she will have a good sharing and discussion of ideas with her male colleagues as well. She has been, she says, very popular among her colleagues.

Becoming an Active Meeting Member of a Party

I have involved the views of politically involved and none involved, higher educated and illiterate women under this topic. Educated women do not have the membership on any parties. An illiterate woman has a great contribution in the society

and joins the public meeting. But she does not have any involvement in any position of the parties. She seems to be interested in the welfare of public.

Contribution Time to Political Campaigns

Attending political campaigns is essential for a politician. And female politicians as male equally participate in such political campaigns. Non representative women say that they are not informed in so many campaigns in central and district levels. She also views that she is far from centre and can't be able to participate in such campaigns. She generally goes to district level campaigns on her own initiative. The quota representative women invest their full time in several meetings. But, decision is not brought out in their favour. It has been the scheduled routine of male and women are compelled to consider such things.

Attending Political Meeting or Rally

One of my participants and a CA member Parmila says that she was actively involved in political activities since her early age. She actively took part in people's demonstration in 2006 demanding democracy in Nepal. She got so many clashes with the police. She had a life threaten from the state authority at that time. On the other hand, the women out of political representation view that they are neither informed nor do they attend themselves.

Monetary Contribution to a Party or Candidate

Politics is that activity wherein public welfare is sought. It seems that one involving in politics should pay his/her attention for public betterment. This is an idealist approach. On the contrary, politics is people's welfare. All the political ideologies will address the public necessities. The political leaders and political parties need a huge monetary contribution so that they can invest in public activities. Under such circumstances women are deprived of resources and their political

activities do not seem to be that much efficient. The women members of CA express that economy plays a vital role in politics. The political leaders will not have any time to involve in economy generating activities. They need resources to develop their political career. They have to invest a lot to continue their political career. The women representatives in CA who are selected from quota have been agreed that the fund donation is one of the challenging tasks. The female members of CA agree that all the resources will be finished by caring and raring of children. How can the female CA members invest in politics depending upon salary? In this aspects especially lack this kind of opportunity because, women rarely achieved the higher socioeconomic status that forms the "eligibility pool" for elective office, because practices of sex segregation in most countries channel women into female-dominated, low-paying occupations such as nursing and education and men into male-dominated, high-paying occupations like law and management (Jalalzai & Krook, p.10).

Contacting a Public or Party Candidate

Public relation is the base of politics. Women CA members consider it as their duty. Public relation means to visit people, pay attention to their problems and try to solve their problems. As people's representatives have to play the role of mediator between people and bureaucratic mechanism. While doing so they have to face a lot of challenges. Women who are representatives are also involved in public welfare activities. One of my participants, Tina, says that she does not have any time to involve in any activities like visiting people, talking to them, discussing on their problem etc because she has to involve in her household activities and teaching as well. She suggests that all women should be united and should bring their problems in public. Women have to start agitation for doing so. She further says that women are confined within household works, taking care of children and other domestic works.

Women face problems to conduct gatherings, meetings at night time. They have to face number of difficulties to participate in such public meetings which the male generally do not face. They are facilitated from the home environment as well. She likes to get birth as a son if there exists rebirth.

Attempting to Persuade Others to Vote in Certain Way

Because of being involved in politics, C.A. women say, they have to convince people for voting. People's vote plays the decisive role to run the country in democracy. So, they say they have to involve in pursuing people to vote. These kinds of activities mostly take place during election. They claim they go to people door to door so as to convince them for casting their valuable vote.

Voting

Voting is the base of democracy. Those women who started women movement had brought up the issues of voting. Because women did not have voting right till 19th century in west. Liberal feminists had raised this issue. CA members say that Nepalese women were never deprived of voting. One of my participants has also never casted the vote. Tula Mai, an illiterate woman says that she has not misused the voting right. She further puts her argument that we don't have to ignore this opportunity being a conscious citizen. As she says voting is a means by which we can express our voices and right to the concerned authority. She says we have to motivate people to cast the vote.

Exposing Oneself to Political Stimulus

Politically representative women say that they influence people by doing work themselves. They organize formal and informal gatherings, meetings on women issues so that the women can be politically motivated. They motivate the students at colleges and universities to involve in politics. They say that they are interested in doing

works with people. They also hope that the higher educated women will contribute the nation by leading in decision making level. On the other hand, the women out of politics say that they don't have anything to stimulate the women in politics.

Incorporating My Own Experience

Talking about myself I also wish to involve in politics and build up my career as a politician though I have not made any plan. I found the above mentioned 12 point Milbraith's level of participation not applicable to me. I have not done any significant work in the name of women welfare. I agree that women should be actively involved in political activities for justifiable society. But I have not done any significant contribution for this. My present research, I think, will be a strong means to raise women issues in academic field by the help of which the women participation in politics will be discussed later in academics and in the field as well. Though my friends view that a lot of improvements can be observed in women's political participation, I view that lot many things have to be done in their participation. They are still deprived in decision making level of state mechanism. The data presented by one political research shows that there are still many things need to be done for the improvement of the Nepalese women to bring in the public domain. The level of participation of women in relation to the indicator shows that the condition is still to be improved (Renaissance Society Nepal, 2008, p. 81).

Still Long Way to Go

The women participation both in political and non political sector seems to be increased now a day. Various women welfare activities are being done to empower them though there exists some gaps. One of my participants has told me that she has not casted vote in election. This shows that women's participation is very poor in politics even an educated woman was away from election. A research done on

women's participation in politics by Renaissance Society Nepal shows that 48% of women view that raising women's issues in public is women participation in politics, 22% views on organizational development, 10% views on policy development, 4% views on economic management, 7% views on social development and 9 % views on women empowerment. This research shows that women participation in politics is also marginalized.

Socialization of Women and Participation in Politics

Feminists claim that women are not in public arena. Second wave of feminists believe that personnel is political. The feminist approach to political socialization in general is based on the discrimination where there are certain contention that women see things differently than men, have different ways of learning and different ways of describing giving meaning for the situation meaning. "Because of the centuries forced accept a looser status in the political sphere, feminist oriented socialization has been developed as a tool to help women in their emancipation effort" (Malla, 2011, p. 26). A group of radical feminists has a view that women are more in personal sphere rather than public sphere. That's why radical feminist raises the voice of women in public participation. Why are women so bound in personal atmosphere? It is because of gender specific socialization.

In this way radical feminists claim that "social inequality was a consequence not only of women's lack of access to positions of power in public life, but an effect of living one's personal and private life under the surveillance of oppressive cultural norms and ideals" (Tylor, 2006, p. 31). Feminists want to see women in external atmosphere and challenge the traditional belief of feminine quality. But one of my participants views that political parties are biased while selecting the representatives. They prefer male as their representatives. A voice of opposition by political parties

was raised during the selection of her as a representative for CA. She further says that her husband's contribution is significant in the process of selecting her as a CA member. Another CA member says that her male cadres helped a lot in her selection as CA member. She further says males are necessary for women's upliftment. She says women are socialized in such a way that politics is not their arena. Women are restricted from public sphere since their childhood. As a result they lie on backward.

Analysis of Women's Political Participation From Poststructuralist Feminist Approach

Poststructuralists emphasize on the structure. In the process of analysing data I have incorporated poststructuralist view. Social theory asserts that social structure moulds behaviour, activities, identity of social actor. As their views if we go through the analysis it from the "poststructuralism feminist approach, according this approach, social actors construct their identities in organizations through discursive practices, specifically, through the rules, behaviours, and meaning systems that become everyday occurrences" (Martin,1990; Weedon, 1987, as cited in Mumby & Putnam,1998, p. 466) . As poststructuralist theory's advocacy is that the behavior of my participants is also shaped by social structure. This theory asserts that women are in a marginalized position and supporting the organization. They don't have an active representation in any organization. They are being only the secondary need of an organization not the desired need. The situation of women in our politics is also seen as advocated by poststructuralist theory. Masculinity and male behaviour is taken for granted but the issues and problem of women is taken as other supporting agent. Also, post structuralist feminist theorist contends that organization practices construct the identities of men and women very differently, with women cast as marginalized actors who participate in only certain dimensions of organizational life (i.e. those associated

with support services nurturance, and human relation). Thus the traits associated with masculinity are treated as a "given" (and taken for granted), whereas the traits defined as feminine are constituted as "other", or as supporting but not essential to organizational life. Hence while seeing the women participation in politics a gradual change can be felt.

Analysis of Women Participation in Politics From Socialist Feminism Point of View

Analysing women's participation in politics from socialist feminist point of view, women are said to have economic challenges and they can't involve in politics due to the lack of the resources. My participants who are the members of CA agree with this view. While participating in politics, they say, they have to face challenges because of the lack of economic resources. Eisenstein (1999) describes that Marxism ideology has given full length on class structure and elimination from all level of exploitation. He further expresses that:

> Marxist analysis to the study of women's oppression is two-fold. First, it
> provides a necessary class analysis for the study of power. Second, it provides
> a method of analysis which is historical and dialectical. Although the dialectic
> (as method) is most often connected to the study of class and class conflict, it
> can also be used to articulate the patriarchal relations of women's existence
> and hence their revolutionary potential. (p.197)

By this view male are resourceful and female are in classless position so that they don't have resources and can't involve in politics. Thus, the situation of male and female in society is dialectical. They are in conflicting situation and women are in bargaining situation. In this sense female are proletariat and male are bourgeoisie. According to Karl Marx, the conflict between male and female is caused by resources,

where male dominates female in terms of economic resources. This theory motivates women to start revolution. My participants also challenge the existing structure through female unification.

Chapter Summary

I have tried to raise the issue of women political participation. I tried to see women's political participation through Milbraiths 12 point participation level. While analysing the data some women are found actively participative in politics and some have not even casted the vote. I think women should do struggle for their full participation. They are not showing their actual participation but participation in the name of participation. They still need to fight against the existing structure for their right and authority. They are having injustice and we can hope this will be changed and equitable society will be constructed in future.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I have tried to incorporate the conclusion of my study with findings based on the data collected from target study area of women group and the understanding, experience and belief of myself on the issues related to impact of women education on their political involvement. As my epistemological understanding is based on the women both actively involved and indifferent in politics the source of my knowledge is associated with their perception, understanding, knowledge and experience related to political participation and education.

Feminist researchers express that experience is the basis of consciousness rising, which Catharine A. Mackinnon suggests, is the major technique of analysis, structure of organization, method of practice, and theory of social changes of the women's movement. This is similar to the concept borrowed from the Paolo Freire (1972) and used by Maria Miles to describe the process by which women come to appropriate "their history as subjects and collectivize their own experiences" (Hawthorne, 2008). In the process of further discussion, it says that sharing the experience and analysis from the research experience the research will give more concentrate in the interpretation of the women's actual life. In this process, this kind of interpretation encourages responsible and respectful scholarship, which is grounded in the real world rather than only being of relevance within. In the process of data generating I have developed findings, which I have mentioned below.

Summary of the Research

I have classified this dissertation into seven chapters. I have gone through raising the questions of my participants from the initial phase of my writing. In the first chapter, I have raised the issues of political participation of the women from my own representation. In the process of discussion, I have stood and questioned myself. This is how I stand in various roles and show my real environment how I am chained and circulated in this society. I assume that my representation also appears as a prime representation of the women of Nepalese society.

In the second chapter, I have discussed various literatures regarding to my research. In this section I have also tried to bring out theoretical, policy and thematic literature. All this literature, later on, has tried to discuss the participants' views.

In the third chapter, I have discussed on ontology and epistemology on the basis of my research paradigm and established the relationship with my research participants. I also have mentioned feminist theories related to my study. This research paradigm and the theories have further guided me in the research. According to these guidelines, I have tried to bring out all the dates and its logical interpretation for the further discussion.

In the fourth chapter, I have tried to analyse the perception level of women on education. I have raised questions on the understanding of women in education. Likewise, I have mentioned their perception in education, which is directly linked to their participation with politics.

The fifth chapter discusses the challenges of women in political fields. Based on their participation they express that there are various encouraging as well as the discouraging factors, which determine their involvement in political fields. As a

feminist researcher, I have brought some micro as well as macro perspectives in the participation of women in political field.

The sixth chapter deals with the identity issues of women. In the process of bringing the issues of identity, I have explored women's self-identity in a way of living in family and society which I have linked with political participation.

The seventh chapter deals with the issues of participation in a political sector. In this section, I have presented certain indicators of representation as developed by Milbraiths. The views of my participants are measured based on those indicators. Thus, I have brought all the issues of women representation in the political sector and influence of education in participation.

The women participating and non participating in the political discourses is selected. Along with myself, I have presented these women data to reflect the real social- cultural construct of Nepalese society. This style of presentation may maintain the quality standard of my research plea.

Envisioning the Future: How Should the World Be in Future?

I appeal to all for the equitable society. We still see the gender discrimination in our society. This discrimination is not the recent practice but prevalent for several years. This research assumes that women will have better condition in upcoming days.

What I Expected to Learn Before Being Involved in This Research

Research is a learning process in the realm of knowledge. I had expected to learn a lot through this research. My expectation through this research was to develop my understanding on certain paradigms. There are still so many issues to discuss which are related to social and economic minorities in our society. As a researcher I was interested in bringing out such issues in an academic discussion which, in a long run, will be addressed in policy making level. I hope the research of this type will be

the milestone to accomplish my wish. Being involved in this research, I want to develop a sort of research quality in an issue.

What I Learnt Involving in This Research

As provided to me by my supervisor, rigorous feedback and theoretical framework are the base of my research. I had a rigid framework of knowledge which I found modified and changed. It provided me a lens to see this society from different angles. I was unknown about feminism before I started this research. I could understand this society and sufferings of women using the lens of feminism. I could find differences between the view I had before and the view I have now. Now a days I do not take things for granted. I minutely observe an incident and only then I interpret out of that.

Application and Challenges of Western Feminism

I tried to apply feminist method in this research. The influence of western feminism, liberal feminism and socialist feminism is seen during my research work. But so far as radical feminism is concerned my participants are not reached at the level of radical feminism. My participants argued about women's unity for their rights. But they have not expressed exclusion of male in a society which radical feminist believes. The feminists from United States and Europe have defined their experiences as universal to all women. What is known as liberal feminism in the west was assumed to have one solution to the issues of patriarchy. But the women in our context are facing the problem related to basic needs. I learnt that we need the feminism suitable to our context as advocated by third world feminism. But in this research, I have adopted both western and the third world feminism in the process of analysing the data.

Paradigm Shift: Implication for Others and Myself

Talking about the implication to myself in this research I found this research became one of the platforms for me where I could express all the unjustifiable laws practiced in entire sectors. The paradigmatic shift in the research has provided me a great opportunity to raise the issues of the excluded people. Rising about the issues of the gender and the role of women if we go through the objectivity, I think, I am not able to address the issues of the discrimination that we are feeling being a woman. The critical paradigm has provided me a lens to see these issues with the feminist method. Without this method, I think, the essence of my research seems to be unfulfilled.

Findings of My Research

In a way of concluding the findings of my research work, I have presented various facts and factors that had been shared by some of the representative women of Nepal. In this process, I have presented my worldviews and experiences to make it more specific. However, some of these ideas are contradictory where women's way of living and status plays a vital role. The reality is that women of Nepal have the political representation to some extent although they have been struggling for many years for the minimal rights. Both literate and illiterate women need much struggle for their basic rights in our context. In this realm, neither they can destroy the existing situation nor can they create an alternative situation. It seems that this is the transitional phase for the women of Nepal. The political representation and higher education for women of Nepal seems impossible to achieve without the proper planning of the Government of Nepal.

Nepalese women are still involving in the domestic and household works. It is required to promote them for the better and quality education. They must get proper

chance to involve in decision-making process so that they feel secured in their life. Many legal and political reservations are to be granted for the upliftment of women in our context though some minimal reservations in favour of women are in our practice. Through the help of this dissertation, I conclude that serious implementation of the Government's decision is a must. If this is not implemented, women's life in Nepal will not be improved. A well made planning and its implementation for women's development is required to cope up with the existing situations. Women's participation in developmental works rather than the household works are required. Similarly the family culture, socialization and awareness of people need to be reformed at the prevailing conditions. There should be an ample of research on this issue and the plan and policy suit to the soil of Nepal should be implemented. Therefore, bringing changes in women's condition is the only way for the equitable society. This research, I hope, will play a role in shaping the thinking of an individual. Such thinking may be fruitful in establishing women's participation in decision-making processes and their political empowerment. To get into the proper goals and destinations in women's development, reformation from the grass-root level is essential.

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