



A reform agenda for dynamic transformation

We in Nepal can achieve sustainable empowerment with its concomitants of poverty reduction and human development because our multi-party democracy has intrinsic mechanisms to correct the weaknesses of current policies and the shortcomings of our institutions. Winston Churchill once remarked with a smile that “democracy was the worst form of Government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.” That arch-conservative was referring to three of the cardinal traits of democracy, its tendencies to

- thwart exclusionary development;
- promote good governance; and
- enhance accountability.

More than half a century later, Amartya Sen argued that “the intensity of economic needs adds to – rather than subtracts from – the urgency of political freedoms”.¹

This sums up the rationale of the empowerment agenda to which this Report is devoted, for the following reasons:

- It has the revolutionary potential of deepening democracy for dynamic transformation through radical shifts in policies, priorities and institutions.
- It addresses the anomalies and asymmetries in society.
- Its implementation will help create a level playing field, where each individual has the option to develop and utilize his/her capabilities to lead the lives of their choice.

- It will thus reinforce the process of grassroots level initiatives to enhance political, social and economic empowerment of the poor and the most disadvantaged.

Nepal is currently undergoing the most painful period in its modern history. The ongoing conflict and political instability threaten the very foundation of democracy. The country’s most urgent priority is the need to make its institutions work for all people and to ensure the democratization of the three branches of government – the executive, the legislative and the judiciary.

This means, among other things, putting in place mechanisms that will institutionalize transparency and accountability to check corruption, to eliminate discriminations and to ensure that people’s voices are heard at all levels. To address the existing incongruities between social, economic and political empowerment, the rights-based approach – the central tenet of empowerment – must become the fulcrum of Nepal’s poverty reduction strategy.

Empowerment must drive the policy framework to attain pro-poor growth. This means fusing pro-poor macro policies with strong macro-micro linkages to attain widely-shared, equitable growth. Effective decentralization at the meso level, backed by strong organizational capacity at the grassroots, is essential to establishing these macro-micro linkages. The current crisis simply underscores the urgency of placing empowerment at the centre

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of our country's development agenda for the dynamic transformation of Nepalese society, particularly for those citizens excluded, marginalized or otherwise disadvantaged by history and by the country's incomplete efforts since 1990 to take their voices and choices into account in the newly democratic polity.

KEY FINDINGS

The key findings that have emerged from the analyses presented by this Report include the following:

- The Human Development Index and the overall empowerment index in the country are low, with considerable disparities across regions and districts. In the mid-western and the far western development regions and in many districts, mismatches between social, economic and political empowerment have provided fertile ground for the existing conflict. In and of themselves, these incongruities have made the empowerment process unsustainable. The armed conflict that has erupted obstructs the empowerment process further, but by no means destroys it.
- The Human Empowerment Index is an effective tool for identifying pockets of concentrated poverty, especially at the lower end of the development scale. It is an effective tool for devising appropriate interventions to reduce poverty and for monitoring the outcomes of those interventions. It provides policy signals not only as to the kinds of social, economic and political interventions essential to reducing disparities at the local level, but also the scale of such corrective measures.
- The country currently lacks an enabling environment for empowerment and poverty reduction because of the absence of equitable access to resources at different levels and people's control over these resources.
- Existing inter- and intra-sectoral policy asymmetries have contributed to policy and institutional failures that have re-

duced development effectiveness and have increased the vulnerability of the poor.

- The macro-micro linkages essential for broad-based growth, poverty reduction, empowerment and human development have been weakened by shortcomings in participatory policies and institutional reforms at the meso level.
- Aberrations in the democratic functioning of state institutions – including its constitutional organs, its bureaucratic structures, and its security apparatus – together with the separation of powers have obscured accountability and damaged it at all levels.
- Commissions on human rights, women, *Dalits* and indigenous people lack the legal authority to implement and enforce their decisions at the local level.
- Political institutions are mired in undemocratic practices that obstruct good governance and a fair representation system.
- The exclusionary biases of existing policy and the institutions that implement it have reinforced the wide disparities that hobble Nepal's development and reinforce historic discriminatory practices in society.
- Empowering the poor and the disadvantaged cannot take place without deeper and faster social, economic and political transformation towards the development of an equitable, non-exclusionary society and a democratic, rights-based polity.
- The devolution of authority, capacity-building and accountability to local bodies in accordance with the principle of local self-governance and the spirit of the Local Self-Governance Act 1999 has not occurred fast enough to consolidate the empowerment of people at the grassroots level and has thereby limited their scope for fulfilling their varied aspirations.
- The absence of an adequate social protection system has contributed significantly to the pervasive losses of marginalized and disadvantaged people in the reform process.
- The limitations of broad-based social mobilization in regard to strong resource back-up and partnership with local gov-

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ernment bodies have obstructed the delivery of services at the local level.

All in all, a lack of wide, meaningful and active representation and participation in decision-making processes at different levels has impeded the deepening of multi-party democracy as well as the enhancement of the well-being of Nepal's poor and disadvantaged citizens.

THE REFORM AGENDA

The reform agenda set out in the paragraphs that follow seeks a dynamic transformation of Nepalese society and governance by trying to address the various contradictions that have led to the weakening of democratic and political institutions and the persistence of poverty.

DEEPENING DEMOCRACY

Deepening democracy requires the creation of democratic institutions and the promotion of transparent, responsive, participatory, inclusive and accountable governance systems. This Report can suggest only key elements for realizing these goals in Nepal today. Its readers and discussants will doubtless have other suggestions – if for no reason other than the fact that the deepening of democracy is an endless process in which each step leads to another. But the first steps or the very fact of defining them are all-important.

- Public hearings should become an integral element of the process of appointing individuals to fill key positions in constitutional bodies to ensure the honesty and qualifications of nominees.
- Because the protection of human rights can be realized only through the efficient dispensation of justice, an autonomous, effective and efficient judiciary must be provided.
- Because adherence to human rights principles is essential to deepening democracy, an autonomous human rights body,

such as the Commission on Human Rights, with a strong network spread throughout the country, can play a considerable role in ensuring that fundamental rights are protected and guaranteed.

- The best approach to guaranteeing human rights is institutionalizing the rights-based approach to development, which guarantees the right to lead a life of dignity. The Commissions on Women, *Dalits* and Indigenous People should therefore be made constitutional bodies to safeguard the dignity of citizens within these broad groups.
- Electoral reforms are necessary not only for free and fair elections but also for ensuring fair representation of all socio-cultural groups in the political processes.

Further, Nepal's Parliament has to evolve as an effective policy and rule-making body; major policy decisions require its approval. To this end:

- A mechanism has to be in place to bring political consensus and policy consistency and continuity in major issues of national importance between the parliamentary parties. This is crucial to addressing social contradictions, maintaining political stability and creating strong and effective institutions.
- The State Council, too, calls for restructuring to ensure adequate representation of women, *Dalits*, and indigenous people.

One must also bear in mind the following principles:

- The democratization of security-related institutions is essential to deepening democracy.
- Openness, fairness and predictability in the decision-making of civil service institutions are pre-conditions to enhancing efficiency in resource use and to ensuring better delivery of services.
- The civil service must be depoliticized to enhance performance and bring about stability at the institutional level.
- Governance reforms must also embrace the inclusion of all disadvantaged groups in state institutions, both at the

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national and the local level. The current administrative structure – in the form of zones, districts and villages – needs a literal re-formation, a restructuring that will make them viable and efficient administrative units for the devolution of authority to strengthen local governance. Conflicting laws must also be corrected so as to reinforce the Local Self-Governance Act 1999. For effective decentralization at the local level, there is a need to introduce:

- local civil service cadres;
- fiscal decentralization; and
- an effective monitoring system to track progress in poverty reduction and human development.

Decentralization can become effective only when local organizational capacity-building through social mobilization is coordinated with the local bodies.

REMOVING DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND PRACTICES

Discriminations in the existing National Country Code must be eliminated, especially in respect of property rights, citizenship on a hereditary basis, and reproductive health, including abortion. To abolish all forms of discriminatory practice, Nepal must develop a mechanism to ensure that the National Country Code and other inter-related acts, including international commitments, are enforced. To this end, this Report recommends:

- Establishing vigilance committees at the grassroots level and their organic interface with similar organizations at the national level.
- Decentralizing the writ jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to the Appellate Courts and establishing separate benches for civil and criminal cases in the district courts so as to enhance access to legal services and enforce anti-discriminatory rules and regulations.
- Including basic legal education in the cur-

riculum of secondary-level schools to enhance the legal empowerment of all citizens.

Given the history of implementation and enforcement, particularly during the current crisis, laws in themselves will not democratize Nepalese society unless the existing institutional culture is transformed to make them more responsive to the people. Without universal access to information, existing attitudinal barriers cannot be removed. Although legal changes and support for greater access to information are vital to democratization, changing the long-standing institutional culture that governs the decision-making process simply will not take place without radical changes in the mindsets of those who work within them.

Despite conventional wisdom to the contrary, this process need not take generations. As new information technology has begun transforming the topography of knowledge worldwide, it has also contributed massively to changes in attitudes and behaviours. There is simply no reason to believe that the country that gave the world the transformative experience of Buddhism in the 5th century BCE cannot mobilize the indigenous capacities of its diverse people to transform mindsets legally sanctioned only in the 20th century CE. Similarly, many elements of Nepal's diverse religious traditions augur well for transformations of the current status of women and other groups that cut across caste lines.

MAKING MACRO POLICY REFORMS PRO-POOR

Poverty has persisted in Nepal because policies have not been adequately pro-poor. An evaluation of the policy content of the PRSP reveals a number of points for orienting existing policies and programmes better to meet the needs of the poor. Neither the concept nor content of current pro-poor poli-

cies focuses sharply enough on addressing the problems of exclusion, discrimination and disempowerment effectively. As this Report has argued earlier, empowerment must drive the policy framework for attaining pro-poor growth.

Growth becomes pro-poor if

- it uses the assets that the poor own;
- it favours the sectors where the poor work; and
- it takes place in areas where the poor live.

These obvious points can inform detailed reforms to make policies pro-poor in practice. The following desirable outcomes can serve as reference points:

- Pro-poor growth occurs when the poor benefit more from growth than the rest of the population or when the pace of development is faster for the poor than for others.
- Social and economic indicators for poor people have to improve more rapidly than those for the rest of society under pro-poor policies. Indicators for these outcomes are necessary but not sufficient for realizing a pro-poor development framework. They must improve at a faster pace for the poor, especially the ultra-poor, because absolute poverty always has a relative dimension. The policy framework therefore needs a thorough examination and reorientation.
- Policies to reduce inequalities should receive as much attention as growth-oriented policies in order to increase the impact of growth on poverty. When growth becomes pro-poor, the growth elasticity of poverty rises. The high degree of income inequality in Nepal has limited the impact of growth on poverty. The determinants of the dimensions of inequality must consequently be unraveled and specifically addressed to increase the growth elasticity of poverty.
- The determinants of inequality are fundamentally the ownership of physical and human assets; dualism in the economy; and factor market distortions. Credit market failures constrain the pros-

pects of the poor for participating in the growth process. Low educational attainments also limit their participation in skill-based non-farm employment. We must therefore address these dimensions of inequality simultaneously so that they complement one another and result in pro-poor growth.

- One important tool for attaining equity in the process of promoting growth is the development of strong linkages between pro-poor macro policies with strong linkages to the micro level. But we cannot develop macro-micro linkages without effective decentralization at the meso level backed by strong organizational capacity at the grassroots.
- The content, processes and sequencing of economic reforms should be broad-based, encompassing all major sectors and harmonizing intra- and inter-sectoral macro policies to discourage misalignments in relative prices and foster pro-poor growth. The deregulation of input and output prices in the agriculture sector should therefore be compatible with border prices so as to ensure broad-based growth and competitiveness.
- Broad-based, people-centered, and equitable economic growth and development calls for major structural reforms to ensure access to productive assets for the poorest of the poor and disadvantaged and control over these productive assets. Employment needs to be considered as a critical aspect of economic growth strategy. This must be supported by enhancing the effective implementation of the Agriculture Perspective Plan, focusing on agricultural roads, markets, irrigation, inputs and technology.
- To expand credit outreach, Nepal must foster competition within its financial system and strengthen the current targeted credit programmes of the banks and other financial institution by introducing cost-effective branches of the country's banks and expanding micro-credit institutions, including cooperatives. To mainstream the micro-credit institutions, it is impor-

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tant to link them with the formal financial institutions.

- Agriculture, forestry, livestock and handicraft-related export have to be promoted through institutional support (including technology and marketing). Similarly, a new Act should be introduced to provide an incentive structure for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) to enhance the income and employment opportunities of rural people. Information technology (IT) has to be disseminated to SMEs through state initiatives.

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From an empowerment perspective, the voices of all the country's citizens must not only be heard, but also listened to. All national stakeholders must therefore contribute to formulating policies and setting the direction of the country's development. This requires the perspectives of the poor and the disadvantaged in national debate. The current conflict provides an excellent opportunity to reexamine the development agenda so as to make it inclusive and non-discriminatory, the beginnings of a mainstreaming of all segments of Nepal's population into the national development process. This has enormous ramifications for mitigating the conflict – even for making it an instrument of attaining balanced, equitable and accelerated development outcomes.

TRANSFORMING AGRICULTURE

Nepal has to pursue agriculture-led growth to address poverty successfully; 90% of the poor are concentrated in the agriculture sector. Although the Tenth Plan and the PRSP stress the primary role of agriculture as a key to broad-based and pro-poor growth, neither can be realized without full implementation of the Agriculture Perspective Plan. In short, although growth has to be led by agriculture, the sector itself must undergo a structural transformation in order to play this key role.

Nepal's agriculture sector is marked by subsistence production with pervasive under-employment. Landlessness is increasing at an alarming rate; 29% of rural households now own no land, making their poverty almost intractable. The fragmentation of holdings, another major problem, results in the inter-generational downsizing of parcels that are already unviable economically. Consequently, without restructuring the production system in agriculture, poverty will continue to persist to the point where empowering the poor and disadvantaged will become virtually impossible. Agriculture must therefore undergo land reforms, which should be guided by market realities:

- This calls for the introduction of community-driven land reforms on the demand side and for state creation of a land bank on the supply side to fund land acquisitions in agriculture.
- Though the landless need a special package, its content and form should, again, be shaped by market realities. Landless households that would like to take up agriculture as their occupation should have easy access to the land bank, along with credit from the bank, pledging the purchased land as collateral. As most of the landless comprise poor people and disadvantaged groups, such a package will help address equity and, at the same time, contribute to empowering the people it benefits.
- The state must create an enabling environment to encourage the rural population both to commercialize agriculture and to leave agriculture for other production sectors. This requires a redistribution of land and a substantial enlargement of employment opportunities through the rapid expansion of the manufacturing and service sectors fostering strong backward linkages. With the restructuring of agriculture will come a substantial expansion in employment opportunities, with direct impact on enhancing empowerment.

Such a transformation depends essentially on enhancing capabilities and enlarging opportunities. These improvements, in turn, hinge on an efficient institutional mechanism for the delivery of basic services – not just basic social services, but also extension, technology, markets and credit. Promoting transparency and community management of these services and ensuring a fair representation of all groups in their management committees will lead to the benefit of all from growth and development. It is equally important to build an equity element into the delivery system with special targeting of the vulnerable groups.

EXPANDING EQUITABLE EDUCATION AND HEALTH FACILITIES

The state must guarantee the right to basic education and healthcare so as to protect human rights and enhance human capabilities. Along with the agriculture sector, the education system should undergo a restructuring that emphasizes technical and vocational education at the secondary and higher secondary levels.

- Education should become compulsory at the primary level for both girls and boys.
- The mandates of teaching and management committees should make provision for adequate representation of the disadvantaged groups.
- At the secondary and higher levels of education, the government should establish quotas for the *Dalits*, disadvantaged ethnic groups, women and the poor in general.

Universal primary health must be the fundamental goal of the healthcare system:

- Primary health care should be available to every citizen so as to ensure accessible, affordable, quality health services.
- These should include both preventive and curative medicine; primary, secondary and tertiary health care systems; both traditional and modern care; public health and hygiene; population plan-

ning and a comprehensive maternal (reproductive health) and childcare system.

- The effectiveness of local institutions for the promotion of primary health care requires empowering local bodies through the devolution of power and the provision of other necessary support.

BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE

Expanding the outreach of economic infrastructure – roads, electricity and communications – has become an urgent priority, along with ensuring the affordability, quality and sustainability of these facilities. To this end, the government must:

- Introduce a clear policy for hydropower development, delineating the respective roles of the public and private sectors and prepare an inventory to facilitate the prioritization and sequencing of projects in terms of cost, multiple benefits and the overall development objectives of the country.
- Correct the ambiguities in the construction of various types of roads at the central, district, local, and user levels with clear-cut policies on the roles of each of the institutions involved. The construction of roads should be backed by investment programmes to enhance economic benefits.
- Give high priority to the rural telecommunication programme so as to expand outreach in the remote areas and enhance the flow of information as a critical element of empowerment. Prudent policies and appropriate institutional arrangements for incentives are essential to attracting private sector involvement to ensure the timely availability and affordability of telecommunication services.

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CREATING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

In line with the rights-based approach, the principle of right to work has to be introduced; employment must take centre stage in the state's policy and resource allocation agenda. This policy should also encourage

and guide the private sector in creating job opportunities for the growing labour force. The structural transformation of agriculture demands expanding the outreach of technical and vocational training facilities to provide the skills required by the market.

- Various training programmes of government ministries and departments call for overhauling and better coordination to avoid duplications and enhance effectiveness. Training programmes should be guided by labour market demand in both the formal and informal sectors. Private sector training or vocational education programmes also need uniform and standard policy guidance for fulfilling the qualitative demands of the labour market.
- For people willing to leave land-based occupations, job-related skill development training should be provided early – just before they join the labour force outside agriculture. Training on modern farming and technological adaptation for commercialized agriculture should also be provided to those who choose to remain in the sector. For the displaced agricultural labourers, it will also be increasingly important to provide skills development training to enhance their productivity and to ensure that they enter the employment market as skilled workers. Upgrading skills usually results in a significant expansion in agricultural employment.
- Labour-intensive techniques need encouragement in both the production and the service sectors. In addition to cottage and small-scale industries, small business promotion programmes should be devised to focus on the remote and less-developed rural areas. Village development through small town development programmes need to be introduced and expanded, initially from peri-urban and semi-urban areas, aiming at the integration of these types of population clusters with surrounding villages.
- Formalizing the informal sectors is essential to improving labour market conditions. Expanding formal sector employment is important not only to pro-

vide decent work, but also to ensure that policy and institutional reforms are inclusive and benefit all segments of the population. To do this, even agriculture has to be integrated into the formal sector. This process will help expand formal sector employment in a country where almost 90% of employment remains concentrated in the informal sector – which, for the most part, is exploitative in nature without adequate social security.

- Ensuring a minimum wage and social security for informal workers both within and outside agriculture, is essential to increase labour productivity. As the country moves towards flexible labour policy, labour productivity issues have to be addressed in tandem with job training and skill enhancement programmes – as elements intrinsic to such a policy shift. Special employment programmes for the disadvantaged have to be introduced and expanded. Last but not least, gender-biased policies and wage discrimination practices have to be strictly prohibited through better enforcement of rules and regulations.
- As social protection also helps prevent civil and ethnic conflicts by minimizing insecurity, Nepal urgently needs to forge ahead with such programmes so that the recent upsurge of social unrest can be addressed.

Remittances from abroad have become an increasingly important contribution to Gross National Product (GNP) in recent years. It is, therefore, necessary to promote the foreign labour market as a means of social protection in the rural areas by facilitating the access of the poor, the deprived and women to decent and dignified job opportunities abroad. To this end, the Report recommends:

- A thorough assessment of the international labour market to identify potential employment opportunities;
- The formulation of appropriate policies to protect the rights and welfare of those who work abroad;
- The establishment of job-related training institutions to enable people to ad-

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just easily to a foreign environment during the short- and medium-term, as the economy is currently unable to create significant opportunities at home;

- A special package for the poor and disadvantaged groups to take advantage of foreign employment offerings.

EMPOWERING THE DISADVANTAGED AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS

In both policy-making and institution-building processes, the poor and the disadvantaged are generally bypassed; they need special treatment to protect them from social and economic insecurities. This premise must underlie far-sighted reforms in policy and in institutions to ensure the equitable representation of citizens in these groups at different levels of state and local organs.

- Major initiatives have to be taken to eliminate all forms of discrimination against the disadvantaged and the poor based on gender, race, caste/ethnicity, culture, language and religion by enforcing strong rules and regulations in the spirit of the National Country Code of 1963 and the Constitution of 1990.
- Discriminatory practices at any level should be firmly dealt with through legal provisions. Women's property rights concerning parental property must be guaranteed by amending the existing law.
- Fair representation of women, *Dalits* and disadvantaged indigenous people in Parliament and in local bodies has to be guaranteed to mainstream them in the political process.
- The empowerment of marginalized and disadvantaged groups must be enhanced by the provision of income-generating opportunities, coupled with education and skills training, so as to promote awareness about education, health, sanitation, environment, human rights and legal protections.
- Arrangements have to be made to eliminate domestic violence against women and children; these involve not only

changing legal codes and furnishing legal aid, but striking at the root causes of domestic violence through broad-based awareness campaigns.

- Stringent legal and administrative measures must halt the trafficking of girls and women to India and other countries.
- The state must recognize the cultural and linguistic rights of indigenous people and take measures to preserve and promote their cultural legacies. This will necessarily include special provisions for primary and non-formal instruction in the indigenous languages. A special law should also be enacted for the protection of indigenous knowledge. Similarly, ethnologists should work with the most disadvantaged indigenous groups to identify them properly and to develop and launch special integrated programmes to enhance their empowerment.
- Preventive and curative health services, including free medical treatment facilities, have to be provided to physically disadvantaged people, along with financial and technical support to strengthen their self-help organizations.
- The elderly must receive social and economic safeguards through family and community care, social and legal services, pensions, allowances, insurance, health care and old age homes for their protection and rehabilitation.
- Children's rights must be protected through special programmes that address the problems associated with different forms of child labour. The extreme poverty and socio-cultural barriers that prevail in Nepal force many parents to keep their children out of school and send those of school age into various paid and unpaid work activities. Since poverty begins with children, eliminating child labour through universal education for all children aged 6-14 is the sole means of overcoming the intergenerational transmission of poverty. This calls for making basic education compulsory and reducing the opportunity costs of school attendance to poor households. More aggressive

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programmes against child labour are essential not only for humanitarian reasons, but also for overcoming the perpetuation of poverty from one generation to another. By investing in children even before their birth, through prenatal as well as antenatal care, one attacks the roots of poverty directly.

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Nepal has signed various United Nations conventions that aim at protecting and promoting the rights of women, children, disabled, and indigenous people and has made numerous commitments to uphold these binding instruments. These texts can now be supplemented by the Millennium Development Goals to translate our commitments to date into time-bound, result-oriented actions of the state. The reform measures outlined above also support the reduction of vulnerability. Nonetheless, vulnerable groups will require additional social security measures to ensure that they are not left out of the reform process – the more so because reforms have tended to bypass the vulnerable as well as the poor.

INVESTING IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY OF THE POOR

If decentralization is to deliver on its promises to local populations, people's organizational capacity for effective bargaining has to be strengthened. Partnerships and other forms of collaboration, both horizontal and vertical, are critical to ensuring that the voices and choices of the poor penetrate decision-making beyond their immediate communities. Here again, the uses of building targeted programmes into holistic social mobilization efforts become pertinent. While

this kind of approach cannot guarantee sustainability, it strengthens community empowerment significantly because it addresses social exclusion and tensions within local groups. Coupled with the country-wide horizontal and vertical linkages discussed at many points in this Report, this dual approach has so far proved the most effective spearhead of empowerment at the local level. Backed by sufficient resources and partnership with local government bodies, broad-based social mobilization can catalyze transformations in the power relations of entire societies.

From a policy perspective, therefore, Nepal faces a major challenge in replicating and upscaling the most successful practice models. Although some donor-supported social mobilization programmes, such as the UNDP-supported VDP, are thinly spread in many districts, they could be used as "motherboards" to upload current and future vertical programmes, so as to provide services at low – even zero – marginal cost.

As Nepal's 2001 Human Development Report stated, "Social mobilization existed in Nepal long before the concept was articulated in [contemporary] terms." If human development flourishes best when it draws upon the indigenous capabilities of a country, Nepal has a rich source to mine. It is therefore incumbent upon citizens to replicate and upscale the best practice models so far developed with in-built transparency, accountability, inclusiveness and effective organizational and programme development packages. These certainly will not be the last word in social mobilization, simply because societies continue to evolve – as does the concept of human development itself.