

**Research Article:****GENDER DISPARITIES IN THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, ENGINEERING,  
AND MATHEMATICS (STEM) PIPELINE IN GANDAKI PROVINCE,  
NEPAL: ENROLMENT AND FACULTY REPRESENTATION****Aarati KC<sup>a</sup>, Sharadha Hamal<sup>b</sup>, Bimala Sharma<sup>b</sup>, Prayan Pokharel<sup>a, c</sup>  
and Dhaka Ram Bhandari<sup>a, c\*</sup>**<sup>a</sup>Gandaki Province Academy of Science and Technology, Pokhara, Kaski, Nepal<sup>b</sup>Department of Community Medicine, Gandaki Medical College Teaching Hospital and Research  
Centre, Pokhara, Kaski, Nepal<sup>c</sup>Center for Environmental and Sustainable Agricultural Research, Pokhara, Kaski, Nepal

\*Corresponding author: dhakarambhandari@cesar.org.np

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/jafu.v7i1.95423>

Received date: 25 Feb 2026; Revised date: 27 Apr 2026; Accepted date: 27 May 2026; Published date: 10 Jun 2026

**ABSTRACT**

Women remain underrepresented in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education and careers, yet province-level evidence in Nepal is limited. This study examines women's participation in STEM in Gandaki Province and explores the barriers influencing their entry, retention, and progression. An explanatory sequential mixed-methods design was employed, combining institutional data from 20 STEM academic institutions with purposively selected key informant interviews (n = 10) involving experienced STEM faculty. Quantitative findings indicate substantial variation in female participation across disciplines, with higher representation in health-related fields and lower representation in technical and field-based disciplines. Qualitative findings reveal that, despite increasing enrolment, women continue to face structural barriers, including financial and geographic constraints, gender stereotypes, workplace bias, and the dual burden of professional and household responsibilities. These factors limit not only entry into STEM fields but also long-term retention and career progression. These findings highlight persistent discipline-specific inequalities and underscore the need for targeted, gender-responsive interventions that support not only access but also retention and advancement of women across the STEM pipeline.

**Keywords:** Gandaki province, gender equity, higher education, Nepal, women in STEM**INTRODUCTION**

Women have historically been underrepresented in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education and employment (Landivar, 2013; Varma, 2022). Globally, only 30% of STEM students in higher education are women (UNESCO, 2017), and women constitute less than a third (29.3%) of the scientific research and development workforce (Catalyst, 2020; Varma, 2022). The gap is even more visible in senior decision-making roles: women account for only 3% of chief executive officers (CEOs) and 20% of chief financial officers (CFOs) in technology industries worldwide (Catalyst, 2020; Varma, 2022). This persistent imbalance is not only an equity concern but also reflects structural inefficiencies in the full utilization of human capital within STEM systems. STEM organizations with homogeneous workforces risk missing creative ideas and may be less effective in diverse, rapidly changing environments (Pearson et al., 2015). Expanding women's access to STEM education and careers has therefore been framed as a way to make full use of the available pool of potential innovators while strengthening fairness and social justice (Pearson et al., 2015).

Evidence also shows that gender disparities are not uniform across STEM fields and educational levels. In vocational education and training (VET) STEM, female students accounted for 25% in 2010, and women represented 44% of STEM majors in higher education, compared to 56% across all fields (Marginson et al., 2013). When health sciences and nursing are excluded, the imbalance becomes more pronounced; for example, in 2010, female students comprised 14% of engineering students and 15% of information technology students (Marginson et al., 2013). Even at advanced levels, participation does not necessarily translate into parity: in 2008, women received 37% of all STEM PhD degrees (including health), while gender-based income inequalities remain a serious concern (Marginson et al., 2013). These patterns suggest that the "pipeline" is shaped by discipline-specific norms, access to opportunities, and workplace structures, not simply by overall educational participation.

In Nepal, the problem of unequal participation in STEM intersects with broader trends in education and social norms. A study on science and technology (S&T) in Nepal reported an overall decline in student enrolment in S&T courses, with a similar decline among female students (Dhamala et al., 2021). The barriers affecting girls and women begin early and can accumulate over time. Socialization processes in families and educational settings may reinforce gender-stereotyped roles for girls, shaping which subjects they consider "appropriate," the careers they become interested in, and the confidence they bring to higher education and professional life (Mim, 2019). In Nepal, this is reflected in patterns of aspiration: many young females show interest in mathematics and science during elementary and secondary education, but this interest sharply decreases as they reach high school. Access to relevant skills is also limited; a Nepal Telecommunication Authority survey reported that only 12% of girls and women have e-skills in STEM subjects. Such findings align with patriarchal social norms that can promote beliefs such as "technology is not for women," discouraging sustained engagement and limiting pathways into STEM learning and work (Varma, 2022).

Within Gandaki Province, the need for systematic, local evidence became especially clear during an interaction program held at the Provincial Policy Planning Commission on 11 February 2023, which involved female academics, researchers, and policymakers and was structured around the theme "Women and girls in STEM." The program reviewed the current situation of women and girls in STEM in Nepal, discussed policies and programs that promote access and participation, identified barriers to entering STEM, and considered strategies to increase the diversity of women in STEM. A central conclusion from this discussion was the lack of reliable, province-level data on actual female student enrolment and women's participation in STEM subjects in Gandaki Province, a finding that directly informed the conceptualization of the present study.

Despite increasing attention to gender disparities in STEM, most studies in Nepal have focused on national-level patterns, with limited attention to subnational or provincial dynamics. This limits understanding of how institutional, geographic, and socio-cultural factors interact at the local level to shape women's participation across STEM disciplines. This study is guided by the concept of the 'STEM pipeline,' which emphasizes how participation is shaped by cumulative transitions across education and employment, and how barriers at different stages influence long-term outcomes. Accordingly, this study was designed to assess the status of women's participation in STEM fields in Gandaki Province, Nepal, and to explore the structural and socio-cultural barriers influencing their entry, retention, and progression. The study addresses two key research questions: (1) What is the status of women's participation across STEM disciplines in Gandaki Province? and (2) What barriers influence women's participation and career progression in STEM fields? To address the study questions with both breadth and depth, a mixed-methods

approach was used to integrate institutional records with stakeholder perspectives. This integrated approach provides province-level evidence on women's participation in STEM and enables a more nuanced understanding of the structural and socio-cultural factors shaping their trajectories.

## RESEARCH METHODS

### Study design and setting

This study employed an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design, in which quantitative data collection and analysis were followed by qualitative inquiry to further explain and contextualize the findings. A comprehensive list of STEM academic institutions in Gandaki Province was compiled, and all institutions offering bachelor's- and master's-level programs were approached. Participation was based on institutional willingness to provide data.

### Data collection

Quantitative data were collected from academic institutions in Gandaki Province across seven STEM disciplines: agriculture, allied health sciences, engineering, forestry, information technology, medicine, and nursing. Two types of institutional information were compiled: (i) the total number of faculty members (male and female) currently working in STEM disciplines and (ii) the total number of male and female students enrolled in STEM subjects over five academic years (2075 BS to 2079 BS). The inclusion of approximately 20 institutions was intended to capture the majority of STEM program providers in the province and ensure representation across disciplines. Institutional approval for data collection was obtained, and participation was voluntary; institutions that did not provide the requested information were excluded. The Gandaki Province Academy of Science and Technology (GPAST) contacted institutions via formal letters, shared a structured data-collection format via official email, and obtained data from institutional responses.

Qualitative data collection followed the initial quantitative analysis, and findings from the quantitative phase informed the qualitative inquiry. Key informant interviews were conducted with 10 experts using purposive sampling, based on their experience, disciplinary representation, and involvement in STEM education and professional practice. The sample size was considered sufficient to capture diverse perspectives across disciplines while allowing in-depth qualitative exploration. Female faculty members from academic institutions in Gandaki Province with at least one year of experience in STEM fields were eligible for inclusion, and participation was voluntary. An interview guideline was developed around themes related to perceived barriers to entering STEM fields. Before interviews, both verbal and written informed consent were obtained. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any stage, and all responses were anonymized to ensure confidentiality. A trained public health researcher conducted all interviews. Audio recordings and field notes were transcribed and translated into English for analysis.

The study included approximately 20 academic institutions, faculty data ( $n = 675$ ), and student enrolment records over five academic years ( $n = 8,348$ ), which were analyzed descriptively. The qualitative phase involved the purposive selection of participants, interviews, thematic coding, and the integration of qualitative and quantitative findings to support interpretation and conclusions. To enhance qualitative rigor, triangulation was applied by comparing qualitative insights with quantitative findings, and thematic consistency was strengthened through repeated reading, coding, and review of interview transcripts.

### Data management and analysis

Quantitative data were checked for completeness and accuracy before being entered into SPSS (version 26) for analysis. Descriptive statistics were generated and presented using percentages, tables, and graphical representations prepared in Microsoft Excel. For qualitative data, transcripts were analyzed using thematic analysis. Texts were read repeatedly to identify patterns, and codes were organized into themes and categories. Findings were structured into three major areas: (i) context and situation, (ii) barriers and challenges, and (iii) strategies and recommendations. Integration of quantitative and qualitative findings was conducted to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the results.

### Inclusion, exclusion, and study limitations

The study included STEM institutions in Gandaki Province that agreed to participate, excluding those that did not provide data. A key limitation is that quantitative results depend on institutional reporting, and some institutions provided incomplete data. Additionally, the zero enrolment value for medicine in the academic year 2078 BS was excluded due to delayed enrolment during the COVID-19 period.

## RESULTS

### Quantitative results

A total of 675 faculty members were recorded across seven STEM disciplines in Gandaki Province. Faculty distribution was concentrated in Allied Health Sciences, Engineering, and Information Technology, whereas Agriculture and Nursing accounted for comparatively smaller shares. Female faculty representation varied across disciplines, with higher representation in Nursing and Agriculture, moderate representation in Information Technology and Engineering, and lower representation in Medicine, Allied Health Sciences, and Forestry (Table 1).

**Table 1. Faculty distribution and female representation by STEM discipline in Gandaki Province, academic year 2079 BS (n = 675)**

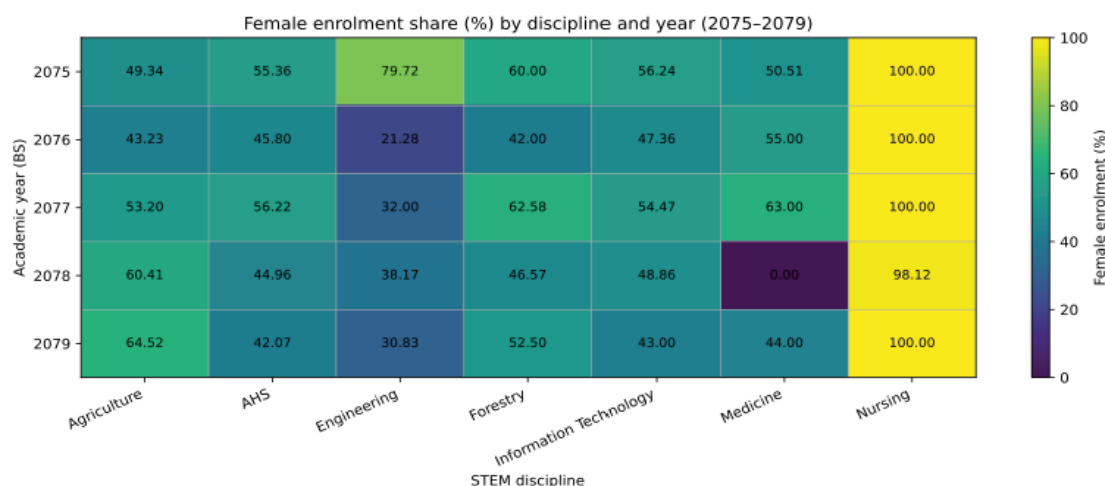
STEM Discipline	Total Faculty	Female Faculty	Female (%)
Agriculture	27	24	88.89
Allied Health Sciences (AHS)	167	40	23.96
Engineering	148	60	40.55
Forestry	69	15	21.74
Information Technology	124	71	57.26
Medicine	95	29	30.53
Nursing	45	44	97.78
Total	675	—	—

Over the five academic years, total enrolment in STEM programs fluctuated, with the highest in 2076 BS and the lowest in 2079 BS (Table 2). The relative contribution of disciplines varied across years. Allied Health Sciences and Information Technology accounted for substantial shares across multiple years, whereas Engineering accounted for the largest share in 2078 BS and 2079. Medicine enrolment was recorded as NA in 2078 BS due to delayed enrolment during the COVID-19 period.

**Table 2. Discipline-wise distribution of student enrolment in STEM programs in Gandaki Province, 2075–2079 BS**

Year	Total	Agriculture (%)	AHS (%)	Engineering (%)	Forestry (%)	IT (%)	Medicine (%)	Nursing (%)
2075	1725	8.69	25.44	24.00	6.38	21.85	5.73	7.88
2076	1896	8.18	26.37	24.78	7.91	20.93	5.27	6.54
2077	1548	9.10	24.94	16.14	11.04	28.94	6.45	3.30
2078	1660	8.98	27.46	34.09	7.89	18.37	NA	3.19
2079	1483	10.46	24.20	28.65	5.39	21.64	6.74	2.89

Female enrolment shares varied by discipline and academic year (Fig. 1). Nursing consistently recorded the highest female participation throughout the study period. Agriculture and Forestry showed relatively higher female participation in several years, whereas Engineering showed comparatively lower participation across most years. Information Technology and Allied Health Sciences showed variation in female enrolment over time.



Note: Medicine in 2078 recorded 0 enrolment due to delayed enrolment during the COVID period (as reported in the source table).

**Fig. 1. Female enrolment share (%) by STEM discipline and academic year in Gandaki Province, 2075–2079 BS.**

Note: The zero value for Medicine in 2078 BS reflects delayed enrolment during the COVID-19 period, as reported by participating institutions.

## Qualitative analysis

### Participation of women in STEM

Qualitative findings indicate that women's participation in STEM education has increased over time, although gaps remain in workforce participation and continuity. Participants reported rising female enrolment across several disciplines, particularly in health-related fields, and, in some cases, described a shift toward near-gender parity in classrooms.

“About one decade ago, there was only one girl among 40 students. Now, the ratio is close to 50–50.” (Participant, Engineering)

Participants also reported changes in educational culture, including increased awareness of gender equality, delayed marriage, and growing acceptance of women's professional roles. Some participants noted that increases in female enrolment coincided with declining male enrolment in certain fields. Participants also reported that women's participation in STEM careers remains limited despite improvements in enrolment.

“Female participation is higher than before, but still not at a satisfactory level.” (Participant, Agriculture)

Participants further emphasized challenges related to continuity in STEM fields, particularly regarding workplace demands and gender roles.

**Table 3. Summary of themes on women’s participation in STEM**

Theme	Key Findings
Increasing enrolment	Female enrolment rising across disciplines, especially in health sciences
Changing education culture	Greater awareness, gender equality, delayed marriage
Declining male enrolment	Some fields show reduced male participation
Limited workforce participation	Women underrepresented in STEM jobs
Continuity challenges	Retention and career progression remain key issues

### Perceived barriers and opportunities

Participants identified multiple barriers affecting women’s participation in STEM, including financial, geographic, and socio-cultural constraints. Limited access to STEM education was reported for women from rural and low-income backgrounds. Gender stereotypes were also frequently reported, particularly perceptions that certain STEM fields are more suitable for men.

“Even now, people think fields like engineering or forestry are not for women.”

Participants described expectations related to household responsibilities, including the need to balance professional and domestic roles.

“We have to manage both household work and professional responsibilities at the same time.”

Participants also reported missing professional opportunities due to childcare and family obligations. Workplace-related concerns were also noted, including recognition and participation in professional activities. Some participants reported equal treatment within institutions, while others described differences in experience. Participants also identified several opportunities and strategies to improve women’s participation in STEM. These included increased awareness, mentorship, early exposure to STEM education, and supportive family and institutional environments. Government support mechanisms, including quotas and scholarships, were also mentioned.

**Table 4. Key barriers affecting women’s participation in STEM**

Theme	Key Barriers
Accessibility constraints	Financial, geographic, and institutional access limitations
Gender stereotypes	Perceptions of STEM as male-dominated
Household responsibilities	Double burden of family and professional work
Missed opportunities	Limited participation in training, leadership, and research
Workplace bias	Recognition gaps and subtle discrimination
Mixed institutional experience	Some report equality, others perceive bias

### Strategies to improve participation

Participants proposed several strategies to improve women’s participation in STEM. Key recommendations included increasing career awareness, mentorship, and early exposure to STEM fields at the school level. Participants emphasized the role of family support and encouragement in shaping educational and career choices. Government support mechanisms,

including quotas, scholarships, and policy interventions, were also identified as important strategies. Participants also highlighted the need for supportive institutional environments, including equal opportunities, training, and professional development. Participants further emphasized the importance of female role models and mentorship networks to encourage girls and women to pursue STEM education and careers.

**Table 5. Strategies to promote women’s participation in STEM**

Theme	Key Strategies
Awareness and mentoring	Career guidance and role models
Policy support	Quotas, scholarships, institutional policies
Family support	Encouragement and resource support
School-level intervention	Early exposure and inclusion
Female mentorship	Role models and networks
Workplace empowerment	Leadership opportunities and equal treatment

## DISCUSSION

This study provides province-level evidence on women’s participation in STEM in Gandaki Province, integrating institutional data on student enrolment (2075–2079 BS) and faculty composition (2079 BS) with qualitative insights on barriers and enabling conditions. The findings point to two interrelated conclusions: women’s participation is increasing in selected contexts, but remains highly uneven across disciplines and constrained by structural and socio-cultural barriers that affect not only entry but also continuation and progression.

A central finding of this study is that aggregate measures of female participation obscure substantial variation across disciplines. Faculty data show very high female representation in nursing and agriculture, moderate representation in information technology and engineering, and comparatively low representation in forestry, allied health sciences, and medicine. This uneven distribution reflects broader patterns reported in the literature, in which gender disparities vary significantly across STEM fields and are shaped by disciplinary cultures, stereotypes, and perceptions of belonging (Cheryan et al., 2017).

Student enrolment varied across the five academic years, with fluctuations in total enrolment and shifting discipline-wise distributions. These changes indicate that participation patterns evolve within dynamic institutional and social contexts, rather than following a stable trajectory. The observed variation in female enrolment shares across years, particularly the decline in engineering after initially high representation, suggests that short-term trends may not accurately reflect long-term patterns of participation. This reinforces the importance of examining multi-year trends, as recommended in international research highlighting the influence of social and environmental factors on women’s participation trajectories (Hill et al., 2010).

Qualitative findings provide important context for understanding these patterns. Participants consistently reported increasing female enrolment, particularly in health-related disciplines, and in some cases, movement toward gender parity in classrooms. These trends reflect broader shifts in educational access, awareness, and societal acceptance of women’s participation in higher education (UNESCO, 2017; Varma, 2022). However, participants clearly distinguished between enrolment and sustained participation, emphasizing that increased access to education does not necessarily translate into long-term engagement in STEM careers. This aligns with the “leaky pipeline” framework, which suggests that women exit STEM pathways at multiple

stages due to interacting structural, institutional, and socio-cultural constraints (Blickenstaff, 2005).

An important concern raised by participants is that rising female proportions in some cohorts may partly reflect declining male enrolment rather than substantial absolute increases in female participation. This highlights the need to interpret gender representation using both proportional and absolute measures, disaggregated by discipline, to avoid misleading conclusions about progress.

The study identifies three broad categories of barriers influencing women's participation in STEM. First, access-related constraints, including financial limitations, geographic barriers, and limited information, continue to restrict opportunities for girls and women, particularly those from rural and low-income backgrounds. These findings are consistent with evidence that participation is shaped by structural opportunity conditions rather than individual ability alone (UNESCO, 2017). Second, gender stereotypes and perceptions of "fit" remain influential. Participants reported persistent beliefs that certain STEM fields, particularly those involving physical work or technical complexity, are not suitable for women. Such perceptions are known to reduce interest and sense of belonging in male-dominated fields (Master et al., 2016; Cheryan et al., 2017). Third, time constraints, workplace environments, and barriers to progression significantly affect women's ability to sustain participation. The dual burden of professional responsibilities and household roles limits time available for research, training, and career advancement. These constraints help explain why increases in enrolment do not necessarily translate into proportional representation in faculty or leadership positions.

Participants also described subtle forms of workplace bias, including limited recognition and exclusion in formal settings. This aligns with broader evidence showing that workplace climate and institutional culture influence retention and advancement in STEM fields (Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018). Although not all participants reported direct discrimination, the infrequent reporting should not be interpreted as the absence of bias, particularly in small qualitative samples.

Taken together, these findings suggest that interventions must be discipline-specific and address both entry and progression within the STEM pipeline. In disciplines with low female representation, such as engineering and forestry, targeted strategies including mentoring, transparent promotion systems, and supportive workplace structures may be necessary. In fields where stereotypes shape entry, interventions that promote early exposure, reduce stereotypical cues, and strengthen a sense of belonging may be particularly effective (Master et al., 2016; Cheryan et al., 2017). These findings are consistent with Nepal-specific evidence documenting historically low female participation in engineering education and professional registration (WISE Nepal, 2014).

## CONCLUSION

This study examined women's participation in STEM fields and the barriers influencing their engagement in Gandaki Province, Nepal. The findings indicate that although female participation has increased over time, significant inequalities persist across disciplines and along the education-to-career pathway. Participation remains higher in selected fields, particularly health-related disciplines, while technical and field-based areas continue to be underrepresented. The study further shows that increased enrolment alone does not ensure sustained participation, as women continue to face structural and socio-cultural barriers, including financial constraints, gender stereotypes, workplace bias, and the dual burden of professional and household

responsibilities. These challenges affect not only entry into STEM fields but also retention and career progression. Addressing these issues requires targeted, multi-level interventions that support both access and long-term engagement in STEM. Strengthening early exposure, mentorship, supportive institutional environments, and gender-responsive policies can help improve women's participation, retention, and advancement across the STEM pipeline in Gandaki Province.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank the 20 participating academic institutions in Gandaki Province for providing enrolment and faculty data and the 10 key informants for sharing their experiences and perspectives. We are grateful to the Gandaki Province Academy of Science and Technology (GPAST) for administrative coordination and for facilitating communication with institutions. Participation was voluntary, and we appreciate the cooperation and time contributed by all participants.

### AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

**AKC:** Methodology, Investigation, Data curation, Validation, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing; **SH:** Formal analysis, Validation, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing, Project administration; **BS:** Formal analysis, Validation, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing, Project administration; **PP:** Software, Formal analysis, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing; **DRB:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Resources, Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Project administration.

### CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

### ETHICAL APPROVAL AND PERMITS

Ethical considerations were addressed through verbal informed consent, with respondents assured of anonymity and voluntary participation.

### REFERENCES

- Blickenstaff, J. C. (2005). Women and science careers: Leaky pipeline or gender filter? *Gender and Education*, 17(4), 369–386. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250500145072>
- Catalyst. (2020, August 4). *Quick take: Women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)*. <https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-science-technology-engineering-and-mathematics-stem/>
- Cheryan, S., Ziegler, S. A., Montoya, A. K., & Jiang, L. (2017). Why are some STEM fields more gender balanced than others? *Psychological Bulletin*, 143(1), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000052>
- Dhamala, M. K., Koirala, M., Khatiwada, R. P., & Deshar, R. (2021). Bottlenecks in expanding science and technology education in Nepal: An exploratory study. *Education Research International*, 2021, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2021/8886941>
- Hill, C., Corbett, C., & St. Rose, A. (2010). *Why so few? Women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics*. American Association of University Women.
- Landivar, L. C. (2013). *Disparities in STEM employment by sex, race, and Hispanic origin* (American Community Survey Reports, ACS-24). U.S. Census Bureau. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/2013/acs/acs-24.pdf>

- Marginson, S., Tytler, R., Freeman, B., & Roberts, K. (2013). *STEM: Country comparisons: International comparisons of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) education* (Final report). Australian Council of Learned Academies. <http://dro.deakin.edu.au/eserv/DU:30059041/tytler-stemcountry-2013.pdf>
- Master, A., Cheryan, S., & Meltzoff, A. N. (2016). Computing whether she belongs: Stereotypes undermine girls' interest and sense of belonging in computer science. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 108(3), 424–437. <https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000061>
- Mim, S. A. (2019). Women missing in STEM careers: A critical review through the gender lens. *Journal of Research in Science, Mathematics and Technology Education*, 2, 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.31756/jrsmte.221>
- National Academies Press. (2018). *Sexual harassment of women: Climate, culture, and consequences in academic sciences, engineering, and medicine*. The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/24994>
- Pearson, W., Jr., Frehill, L. M., & McNeely, C. L. (Eds.). (2015). *Advancing women in science: An international perspective*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-08629-3>
- UNESCO. (2017). *Cracking the code: Girls' and women's education in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM)*. UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000253479>
- Varma, R., Falk, J., & Dierking, L. (2022). Challenges and opportunities: Asian women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 66(13), 1777–1786. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642221078509>
- Women in Science and Engineering Nepal (WISE Nepal). (2014). *Results of gender inequality study for science and engineering professionals in Nepal*. <https://wiseneal.org/report1.pdf>