

Women's Right to Ancestral Property: A Study of Siranchok Rural Municipality, Gorkha

Shanti Gurung

Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Padma Kanya Multiple Campus,
Kathmandu (Nepal) E-mail: <peacegrg@gmail.com>

Abstract

This article examines women's rights to ancestral property among women in Siranchok Rural Municipality, Gorkha, and explores local perceptions of women's property rights. Although Nepal has introduced laws and legal provisions to protect women's property rights, local practices do not always align with these legal requirements. The study focuses particularly on women's access to property following divorce or the death of their husbands or parents. Property is an important economic and social asset that contributes to security, well-being, and quality of life. In Nepal's traditionally patriarchal social structure, legal provisions recognize women's rights to inherit and share family property. However, in practice, women in many communities continue to face social, cultural, and familial barriers that restrict their access to their lawful share of ancestral property. This study therefore investigates the gap between legal provisions and actual inheritance practices, and their implications, in Siranchok Rural Municipality. Methodologically, the study adopts a qualitative research approach and collects primary data through semi-structured interviews with women, family members, community representatives, and other relevant local informants. Informal conversations and field observations also explain how households and the wider community practice property distribution. Participants are selected purposively based on their experience and knowledge of inheritance and property distribution. The study reviews relevant laws, policies, and existing literature as secondary sources. The data are analyzed thematically, with particular attention to legal provisions, patriarchal norms, family practices, and women's actual access to ancestral property. It considers how these factors shape women's decisions to claim property rights.

Keywords

Women, Property rights, Local practice, Provision of property rights, Ancestral property.

Research Foundation International, New Delhi
(Affiliated to UNO)

Editorial Office : D-59, Shastri Nagar, Meerut - 250 004 (INDIA)
Ph. : 0121-2763765, +91-9997771669, +91-9219658788

Women's Right to Ancestral Property: A Study of Siranchok Rural Municipality, Gorkha

1. Introduction

From the early stages of social development, men were generally regarded as physically strong and courageous and were assigned responsibilities outside the household, including leadership roles. Men were expected to hunt and bring food, while women prepared the food, cared for children, and carried out other household duties. In this way, a gender-based division of labor gradually developed. Nevertheless, when we examine social development, both men and women contributed equally to society. However, because domestic responsibilities were largely assigned to women, their participation in productive and leadership-oriented activities remained limited, and they were increasingly confined to domestic work (Joshi, 2079 B.S.).

Women constitute approximately 51.13% of Nepal's total population and 52.8% of the study area (NSO, 2021). However, because women have not historically enjoyed equal access to property on the same basis as men, many have not been able to live with full self-respect, independence, and economic agency. In some cases, even when women possessed property, they could not exercise control over it or use it in the same way as men, which further reinforced their dependent position.

Following the political changes of B.S. 2062/63, significant progress was made in recognizing women's rights, particularly regarding property rights. Nevertheless, Nepali society continues to face problems such as discrimination against women, gender-based violence, accusations of witchcraft, and various forms of gender inequality.

Along with this background, this study examines existing constitutional and legal provisions relating to women's property rights. It also explores whether women can access ancestral property equally and whether such access can contribute to women's empowerment. Because relatively little research has examined these issues in depth, this study is confined to the constitutional and legal provisions relating to women's property rights and the social impacts of these rights.

From the past to the present, significant changes and achievements have occurred in the field of women's rights, particularly regarding property. In Nepal, the Eleventh Amendment to the Muluki Ain and the Constitution of Nepal promulgated in B.S. 2072 clearly established women's equal rights to

ancestral property. The Muluki Civil Code, 2074 B.S., further clarified these provisions. As a result, women have, to some extent, been able to establish and exercise property rights on a basis more equal to that of men.

When women remain confined within the household, they cannot become economically capable and independent. Even today, many women continue to depend on men. However, despite these restrictions, women have gradually broken these barriers and entered the public sphere. Compared with other developed countries, Nepali women still have not enjoyed the same level of rights. Although the constitution has promoted 33% women's participation in the political sector through reservation, they have not participated equally with men because invisible yet significant practical difficulties and inequalities still remain in Nepali society.

In this sense, property rights should be systematically guaranteed as an essential requirement for human beings to maintain their existence and live with dignity. In earlier times, women's property rights were not given sufficient importance. However, as society developed, it gradually became clear that women are an integral part of society. As men came to understand that depriving women of various rights, including property rights, would harm society, they placed greater emphasis on ensuring those rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that every individual has the right to own property (UDHR, 1948, adopted through Resolution 217 A (III)). Similarly, the United Nations has recognized women's property rights and other rights through various international conventions, including Article 13 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979).

In the past, Nepali society generally treated women as second-class citizens, and little importance was given to their rights. However, with growing social awareness, the development of international human rights standards, Nepal's membership in the United Nations, the strengthening of women's voices, and ongoing international pressure and advocacy, Nepali women have gradually gained property rights and other legal and social rights. Regarding how women in Nepal gradually obtained legal rights, the Muluki Ain introduced during the reign of Jung Bahadur in B.S. 1910 provided women with limited property-related rights, although these provisions were not effectively implemented in practice.

It also declared the objective of ensuring women's representation at all levels and in all organs of the state. The Supreme Court of Nepal has played an important role in raising Nepali women's awareness of discriminatory laws and in protecting and promoting women's rights. In particular, Supreme Court decisions and directives contributed significantly to the development of women's property rights by directing the government to establish appropriate legal provisions.

In a country like Nepal, where many women remain disadvantaged economically, socially, politically, and educationally, the state has introduced various laws, policies, and rights-based provisions intended to improve their situation. Nevertheless, except for some educated and socially aware women, many women have not been able to fully exercise the rights legally guaranteed to them. Enacting laws alone is not sufficient; if those laws and rights are not effectively publicized, communicated, and implemented at the grassroots level, they may remain largely formal provisions rather than rights women can exercise in practice (FWLD, 2014; Pradhan *et al.*, 2018). This study will undertake an in-depth exploratory examination of women's rights to ancestral property and their social implications, using both descriptive and analytical approaches.

2. Objectives of the Study

The right to property has been recognized as one of the fundamental rights of human beings (Ojha, 2079 B.S.). In Nepal, women's property rights have a long historical background. However, the issue remains complex and highly debated.

At both the international and national levels, property rights have been closely linked to feminist movements and the broader question of women's empowerment. In this context, the present research focuses on women's property rights in Nepal and their social impacts.

The major objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To examine the constitutional and legal provisions relating to women's property rights.
2. To analyze the current social impacts of women's property rights.

3. Limitations of the Study

Property plays an important role in human life. Ownership over such property is closely connected with the exercise of individual rights. Therefore, no person should be deprived of property rights. This study mainly discusses and analyzes women's property rights under different chapters of the Muluki Civil Code, 2074 B.S. Because laws are generally guided by constitutional principles, the study also discusses provisions relating to women's rights in Nepal's different constitutions. In addition, the study examines various international movements related to women's rights and the international treaties and agreements to which Nepal is a party, particularly those that aim to guarantee and protect women's rights.

Limited research resources and facilities may make it difficult to address every aspect of the study comprehensively. The study area is limited to Siranchok Rural Municipality, Ward No. 2, Gorkha District, Gandaki Province, and includes only 45 households, covering 5 households in each

village. Therefore, the findings do not represent Nepal's entire population and cannot be generalized to all geographical areas or communities.

The study is also limited specifically to women's rights to ancestral property and the social impacts associated with those rights. Since this research focuses only on women residing in Ward No. 2, Siranchok Rural Municipality, Gorkha, the findings and conclusions may not fully correspond with the situation of women living in other regions.

The study examines and analyzes selected social and economic conditions of women living in the study area. Although this study focuses on women in Ward No. 2, Siranchok Rural Municipality, it may still help inform further research on women's property rights in other areas. Because this study was done within limited time and resources, it covers only a restricted geographical area and a limited number of respondents.

4. Theoretical Perspective

Women's empowerment has remained a topic of discussion and debate in every society. In particular, property rights, which have a direct bearing on women's economic autonomy and social empowerment, have become increasingly complex. In this process, various countries, including Nepal, have gradually made efforts to manage and secure women's property rights through legal provisions. Women's empowerment, particularly in relation to their access to, control over, and ownership of property, has consequently become an important subject of academic research in Nepal. In this context, numerous studies have examined women's empowerment and property rights from historical, social, cultural, and legal perspectives. The present study draws upon these studies, research works, and related literature to develop its theoretical perspective on women's rights to ancestral property.

The theoretical understanding of women's property rights in Nepal needs to be situated within the broader structure of patriarchy and gender relations. Nepali society has historically been characterised as a patriarchal and dependent social system influenced by the Hindu *Varnashrama* framework. Under the Hindu social framework, "*Moksha*" (liberation) is defined as the ultimate pursuit (*Purushartha*). The Vedas provide directive rules concerning religion and social organisation, including marriage and its forms, types of sons, adoption (*Dharmaputra*), division of property (*Anshabhanda*), inherited property, female property (*Streedhan*), and ritual offerings (*Shraddha*) (Shrestha, 2055 B.S.). These provisions amply provide an important historical-cultural context for understanding the development of gendered norms concerning family, inheritance, lineage, and property in Nepalese society.

The patriarchal history of Nepali society further indicates that women's social status and autonomy were historically constrained despite their

participation in religious deeds, donations, and other pious activities. Historical references also suggest the existence of normative expectations that women should remain gentle, submissive, and dependent upon male members of the family. Such perceptions are reflected in a 1,500-year-old inscription located in Chabahil, Kathmandu (Joshi, 2039 B.S.). At the same time, the historical position of women was not uniform across different periods. Since men and women were created together, there was initially no gender-based discrimination according to some historical interpretations. During the Vedic period, women were even recruited into military service, while men and women are described as having enjoyed relatively equal status during the Kirat period (Bhandari, 2015). These historical variations indicate that gender relations and women's access to social resources have changed over time rather than remaining completely static.

The patriarchal perspective becomes particularly relevant in understanding the relationship between women, family, lineage, and property. During the Smriti period, although the maxim "where women are worshipped, the gods rejoice" gained influence, women were simultaneously represented as tender-hearted beings who required compassion and protection rather than independent social responsibilities. The expectation that women should remain within the male lineage, irrespective of their independent wealth, strengthened the association between property, descent, and male authority. The principle that a woman should be protected by her father during childhood, by her husband during youth, and by her son during old age further institutionalized women's dependence upon male members of the family (*Manusmriti*, 9.3). From a theoretical perspective, such norms are significant because control over property is closely associated with power, autonomy, bargaining capacity, and social status within the family and wider community.

The historical development of legal provisions in Nepal demonstrates the gradual movement from customary and religiously influenced norms towards greater formal recognition of women's property rights. Even after the enactment of the *Muluki Ain* (Civil Code) in 1910 B.S., religious scriptures continued to influence the understanding and practice of women's rights. The 1910 B.S. *Muluki Ain* provided for marriage expenses for unmarried daughters below the age of 35. Subsequently, the 2020 B.S. *Muluki Ain* introduced a provision under which an unmarried daughter who reached the age of 35 could receive an equal share of parental property (*Ansha*). However, the provisions concerning intestate property continued to place daughters in a relatively disadvantaged position. According to Number 2 of the Chapter on Intestate Estates (*Aputali*), a daughter could not inherit intestate property as long as immediate rightful heirs, such as the deceased person's husband, wife, son, or grandson, were living together (Dulal, 2075 B.S.).

Thus, the theoretical perspective of the present study is located at the intersection of patriarchy, gender relations, economic empowerment, and the institutional transformation of property rights. Property is not merely an economic resource; it also represents access to power, security, decision-making as well as social status. Consequently, women's rights to ancestral property can be understood as an important dimension of women's empowerment. The historical persistence of patriarchal norms, together with subsequent legal reforms, provides the conceptual basis for examining how women's formal entitlement to ancestral property is translated into actual ownership, access, control, and use at the local level. In the context of Siranchok Rural Municipality, Gorkha, this perspective helps examine whether changes in legal provisions have been accompanied by corresponding changes in social practices, family relations, awareness, and women's actual enjoyment of ancestral property rights.

5. A Brief Review of Literature

Because relatively little research has examined these issues in depth, this study is confined to the constitutional and legal provisions relating to women's property rights and the social impacts of these rights. The Government of Nepal Act, 2004 B.S., the Civil Rights Act, 2012 B.S., the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 2019 B.S., and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 2047 B.S. gradually expanded women's legal rights. In particular, the Eleventh Amendment to the Muluki Ain, 2020 B.S., introduced a provision granting unmarried daughters inheritance rights equal to those of sons. This provision helped establish the principle that women have property rights. Similarly, gender-equality laws amended or repealed many discriminatory provisions that treated women and men differently, thereby extending equal legal rights to women. The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 B.S., further strengthened constitutional protection for women by introducing broader provisions on property rights and other fundamental rights (Acharya, 2079 B.S.).

To evaluate gender equality in Nepal-where women constitute nearly half of the population-it is essential to analyze the historical evolution of women's rights awareness internationally. As early as 1919, countries such as China, Brazil, the United States, and the United Kingdom began advocating for equal social and political rights between men and women. The United Nations subsequently institutionalized these efforts through a series of foundational instruments, adopting principles in 1949 against human trafficking and exploitation, establishing the principle of equal remuneration for equal work in 1951, recognizing political rights as civil rights in 1952, and granting women the right to retain or change their nationality independently upon marriage in 1957 (Chalise, 2077 B.S.).

International standards continued to broaden over the following decades to cover employment, family, and global governance. In 1960, international bodies adopted non-discrimination standards for employment, followed by 1962 principles governing minimum marriage ages and registration. The United Nations further elevated the movement by declaring the International Women's Year and the subsequent UN Decade for Women, prioritizing equality, development, and peace. A major milestone came in 1979, when the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), followed by the 1980 Second World Conference on Women in Copenhagen, which assessed progress and refined strategies for the decade's second half.

By the 1990s, global policy explicitly integrated women's rights into human rights and development agendas. Global progress data compiled in 1991 led into the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil, which recognized women as essential actors in sustainable development. In 1993, the UN adopted principles to eliminate violence against women, and the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights formally recognized that "women's rights are human rights." Shortly after, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo confirmed that empowering women is an indispensable component of the development process. Alongside these policy achievements, feminist theory emerged-particularly after the 1950s-as a systematic academic framework for analyzing, explaining, and transforming structural gender disparities and evolving social roles across societies (Dulal, 2075 B.S.).

Women's Property Rights, Bishwaraj Sigdel (2063 B.S.): In the research conducted by Bishwaraj Sigdel titled Access of Women to Property, the issue of what rights were granted to women from Nepal's Constitution of 2004 B.S. to the Interim Constitution of 2063 B.S., as well as the provisions in other acts and laws, has been raised.

Discrimination Against Women, Public Administration Campus, Jamal, Mainadevi Rawat (2059 B.S.): The research paper written by Mainadevi Rawat, based on her study, explores discrimination against women in great depth. It addresses women's past status, how women gained rights in various countries, and when and where they acquired those rights. It also explains which rights the United Nations granted, when Nepal ratified them, and how Nepal's constitution, acts, and other laws provide for women's rights.

Women's Property Rights in the History of Nepal: Hariram Joshi (2038 B.S.), while discussing women's property rights, also explains the nature of women's political participation (Joshi, 2038 B.S.).

The above brief review of literature indicates some important **research gaps**. In fact, every scientific study operates within defined parameters and

established methodological norms. Reviewing existing literature provides a foundation for connecting new empirical findings with prior scholarship. While previous research has examined women's property rights, it has largely overlooked the broader social implications.

Following the *Muluki Ain* of B.S. 1910, which guaranteed marriage expenses only for unmarried daughters under age 35, the *Muluki Ain* of B.S. 2020 marked a significant shift by granting unmarried daughters who reached age 35 an equal share of parental property (*Ansha*). Nevertheless, structural barriers to inheritance persisted; as Dulal (2075 B.S.) notes, daughters were disqualified from inheriting intestate property whenever primary rightful heirs-such as a surviving spouse, son, or grandson-remained in a joint household. This legal dependency aligns with traditional patriarchal frameworks like *Manusmriti* (9.3), which prescribe that women must remain under male protection throughout every stage of life.

While scholars have documented various facets of gender and inheritance-such as Shrestha (2055 B.S.), who examined property division, inherited assets, female-held property, and ritual offerings, and Joshi (2038 B.S.), who analyzed legal property rights-empirical research focused on localized practices remains minimal. Specifically, no existing literature addresses how women's ancestral property rights operate within Siranchok Rural Municipality. This study fills that critical gap by exploring how property laws translate into local practice and examining the broader, unaddressed social impacts on women in the community.

6. Research Methodology

This topic examines awareness, legal recognition, and practical impacts of women's equal property rights in rural Nepal. Specifically, it assesses the positive and negative perceptions of conscious residents in Siranchok, Gorkha. This study adopts a descriptive and analytical research design. The study analyzed data on women's property rights and community perceptions. The study area comprises 844 households with a total population of 2725. The researchers selected a sample of 45 men and women using simple random sampling and collected data through semi-structured questionnaires.

7. Data Presentation and Analysis

7.1 Socio-economic and Demographic Profile of Respondents

This section analyzes respondents' socio-economic and demographic characteristics. This section presents and analyzes key variables-including gender, age group, religion and economic status-in tabular format.

7.1.1 Population Profile (Ward Level)

Based on the Village Development Committee (VDC) profile used for this research, the ward-level details regarding settlements, total households, and population distribution are outlined in Table-1.

Table-1: Population Distribution of the Rural Municipality

Ward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Number of households	564	844	1184	878	747	1119	827	831	6,994
Female	912	1105	1382	1356	1362	1579	1216	1495	10,407
Male	868	1082	1188	1939	1250	1374	1087	1324	10,112
Total	2440	2725	2570	2705	2612	2953	2303	2829	21,137

Source: RMC Profile 2020.

The demographic distribution across the eight wards reveals a total population of 21,137 residents residing in 6,994 households. Overall, females outnumber males, accounting for 10,407 residents (50.8%) compared to 10,112 males (49.2%). Settlement density and population size vary significantly across the wards, with Ward 1 recording the smallest settlement footprint at 564 households and 2,440 total residents, while Ward 3 contains the highest concentration of households at 1,184. Ward 6 is the most populous locality, with 2,953 residents and the highest number of females (1,579). Conversely, Ward 4 deviates sharply from the broader female-majority trend, with a male-leaning demographic profile: 1,939 males compared to 1,356 females. Ward 7 has the smallest overall population, totaling 2,303 residents.

7.1.2 Gender-based Breakdown

Perceptions regarding women's property rights and their social roles vary by gender. While women view legal ownership as necessary, men may not. Because this study focuses specifically on women, we sampled more female respondents than male respondents, as detailed in the following table.

Table-2: Population Distribution of Respondents according to Gender

Sex	Number	Percentage
Female	27	60.0
Male	18	40.0
Total	45	100.0

Source: RMC Profile 2020.

The above table outlines the demographic breakdown of the sample population, comprising 27 women (60%) and 18 men (40%), totaling 45 respondents. Although women represent the majority of participants, the study intentionally included male respondents to ensure a well-rounded analysis. Because ancestral property rights in this socio-cultural context traditionally favor male lineage, capturing male viewpoints is critical to understanding legal, familial, and economic inheritance dynamics from both sides.

People in the study area are not well informed about their property rights. Some have little knowledge, while others have never heard of their property rights. Findings highlight the need to implement existing rights and further amendment of laws to grant sons and daughters equal rights to ancestral property, thereby expanding women's rights. The presence of individuals who remain unaware underscores the need for dissemination and public awareness campaigns. Based on the survey of female respondents' knowledge of Nepal's property laws, most respondents do not have a thorough understanding of these laws. A significant proportion of women remain unaware of Nepal's property laws. Without knowledge of these rights, legal provisions cannot be effectively exercised or utilized, underscoring the urgent need for women to become proactive and informed about their legal rights.

Under traditional social customs, property rights were historically reserved exclusively for sons. However, legal amendments in Nepal have granted women rights to ancestral property. The study assessed the level of involvement, whether equal or unequal, in household decision-making; respondents reported on decisions to buy or sell household property, and their responses were presented and analyzed. For property sales, most decisions are made through joint discussions between men and women. Although women may not yet have full sole decision-making authority over property, their collaborative participation in domestic financial decisions remains strong.

Respondents' attitude toward transferring property via a will concerns whether individuals should have the legal right to transfer property to a son, daughter, or anyone of their choice. Their perspective regarding whether the concept of the will system is positive and needs to be solely transferred to biological children, rather than an individual being permitted to bequeath property to whoever inspires trust and takes responsibility for supporting them in old age. A strong majority of respondents hold a positive view that granting women property rights brings about meaningful social change. They explicitly expressed a positive outlook and believe that transferring property does not affect or play a role in driving societal change.

Securing property rights elevates social prestige, emphasizing that property ownership allows women to become more active in productive sectors. Given that existing economic, social, and religious structures often marginalized women, access to property rights enhances their self-confidence, boosts economic participation, fosters self-reliance, and provides vital encouragement to take independent initiative.

8. Summary and Conclusion

Based on the preceding data, securing equal property rights for women has a positive impact across society, family units, and kinship networks.

However, because implementing equal property rights in practice encounters social inertia and resistance to easy acceptance, widespread legal and social awareness is essential. Beyond individual families, women's property rights contribute significantly to broader community development and national progress. Furthermore, equal access to property ownership directly enhances women's self-esteem and confidence.

This structural shift in property rights has also transformed traditional family attitudes regarding early marriage. Rather than viewing daughters as temporary burdens to be married off early-knowing they hold equal shares in family property-families and brothers increasingly recognize the importance of empowering women before marriage. Consequently, community consensus is growing that women should obtain education, acquire skill-based vocational training, and secure employment opportunities before marriage.

The synthesis of the empirical findings demonstrates that securing equal property rights for women generates a profound, transformative impact across society, family units, and broader kinship networks. Granting women legal ownership over property does not merely redistribute assets; it fundamentally dismantles historic dependencies, serving as a primary catalyst for social upliftment, economic autonomy, and national development. Furthermore, equal property ownership directly enhances women's self-esteem, agency, and confidence, enabling them to navigate both domestic and public spheres with greater status and security.

However, the transition from legal policy to practical social implementation faces entrenched socio-cultural inertia. Because patriarchal norms make the seamless acceptance of women's property rights difficult in daily practice, sustained, community-wide legal literacy and social awareness campaigns are imperative. Widespread consciousness is necessary to ensure that statutory rights translate into genuine structural empowerment rather than remaining theoretical legal guarantees.

Critically, this institutional shift in property ownership is reshaping traditional family dynamics around marriage and gender roles. Historically, deep-seated societal norms encouraged early marriage for daughters, often viewing them as financial liabilities within the parental household. With the recognition of equal inheritance rights, families and male siblings are shifting their approach. Rather than rushing into early matrimonial arrangements, the community is increasingly agreeing that women must achieve individual independence first. Consequently, families increasingly prioritize providing daughters with quality education, practical vocational skills, and formal employment opportunities prior to marriage, ensuring long-term self-reliance and elevated standing in society.

References

- Acharya, B., *Women's Property Rights and Challenges*, Kathmandu: National Books Center, 2059 BS.
- Bhandari, D., *Nepalko Aitihāsik Vīvechana* (Historical Analysis of Nepal), Vol. 2, Banaras: Babu Madhavprasad Sharma, 1958.
- Budhathoki, D., "Breaking Barriers: Sustainability of Legal Reforms in Women's Property Rights in Nepal", *International Research Journal of MMC (IRJMMC)*, 6(2), 2025, 132-146.
- Chalise, C., *Manusmriti*, Kathmandu: Nepal Bhasha Prakashan Samiti, 2077 B.S.
- Dulal, S., *Muluki Criminal Code (2074)*, Kathmandu: Law Books Management Board, Babarmahal, 2075 BS.
- <https://nsonepal.gov.np/>
- International IDEA, & Constituent Assembly Secretariat (Women's Caucus), *Women's Rights and Agenda to be incorporated in the New Constitution*, Kathmandu: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2012.
- Mahmood, S., "Feminist Theory, Agency, and the Liberatory Subject: Some Reflections on the Islamic Revival", *Cultural Anthropology*, 16(2), 2001, 202-236.
- Neupane, J., *Analysis of Women's Rights in the Muluki Civil Code, 2074*, Kathmandu: Law Books Management Board, Babarmahal, 2077 BS.
- Saud, J., *Women's Property Rights in the Constitution of Nepal (2072)*, Kathmandu: Law Books Management Board, Babarmahal, Kathmandu, 2077 BS.
- Shrestha, H., *Muluki Ain, 2020 (With Amendments)*, Kathmandu: Janahit Sanrakshan Manch, 2075 BS. ★