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Agricultural Policy Dynamics and the Issue of Social Protection in Nepal

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ABSTRACT

The agricultural sector in Nepal has seen a decline in its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), leading to rural-to-urban migration and increased poverty and livelihood vulnerabilities in rural areas. Despite various policy interventions, the sector struggles with low productivity, challenges posed by climate change, and limited access to resources especially among the marginalised groups. This study examines Nepalese agricultural policy framework through the lens of social protection. Using a comprehensive review of secondary sources, the research highlights the gaps in policy implementation. Findings underscore the need for integrated approaches that combine agricultural interventions with social protection measures, such as cash transfers and crop insurance, to address vulnerabilities and improve food security which is eventually possible through the efforts of agricultural modernisation that enhance productivity and resilience in rural communities

1. Introduction

Agriculture is the major source of livelihood in Nepal. About two-thirds of the population are engaged in agricultural sector and provide employment to the half of the country's population (Dhakal, 2022). In contrast, its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been declining over time from 32.7 percent in 2011/12 to an estimated 25.8 percent in 2020/21 (MoF, 2021). Despite its importance, the agricultural sector in Nepal faces numerous challenges, including low

productivity, climate change, and limited access to modern technologies (MoF 2022). The significant increase in rural-to-urban migration has reduced youth engagement in agricultural activities, resulting decline in agricultural production. As a consequence, rural areas of Nepal face high levels of poverty and food insufficiency (FAO, 2023). To address these issues; the government has implemented various agricultural policies aimed at promoting rural development and ensuring food security. These policies, however, have often been criticised for their

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limited impact, due to gaps in implementation, insufficient funding, and inadequate support for smallholder farmers, who constitute the majority of the rural population (Khanal et al., 2020). In developing nations, the poor and vulnerable people often face multiple challenges including impacts of climate change and financial instability, which exacerbate economic and social marginalisation. To address these issues, the government and international development organisations implement various policies and strategies aimed at safeguarding livelihoods. Notably, social protection, disaster risk reduction, and climate change adaptation have emerged as key social policy frameworks in the recent years (Arnall et al., 2010).

The evolution of agricultural policies in Nepal has been shaped by the country's socio-political landscape, with periodic shifts in priorities in response to the changing socio-economic needs and international development frameworks. From the early focus on subsistence farming to more recent efforts emphasising market-oriented agricultural development, these policies have aimed to boost agricultural productivity, enhance rural livelihoods, and reduce poverty (MoAD, 2016). However, the success of these policies in achieving sustainable rural development has been uneven, raising questions about their effectiveness in addressing the root causes of rural poverty and underdevelopment (Nepal Planning Commission, 2020). Some wider looks have been made by different scholars to visualise the existing policy framework for better resource management. Joshi and Joshi (2021) have reviewed agriculture-related policies and conclude that for the better management of agriculture for the sake of country's development, some issues such as: wider consideration to common social issues. inter-policy coherence, sufficient institutional setup, along with improved accountability needs to be addressed.

Similarly, Shrestha et al. (2024) pointed out that limited capacity and understanding of policy tools have led to varying policy outcomes, influencing practices. farm Municipal authorities often implement climate-friendly agriculture programmes without explicitly labelling them as climate actions. Whereas, farmers often rely on autonomous adaptation with limited technical knowledge on long-term climate change impacts, which can leads to maladaptive practices. These practices are conflicting with planned climate adaptation efforts, undermining the effectiveness of resources and initiatives from national and international institutions. That is why the contribution of agriculture has not been providing satisfactory outcome.

Social protection includes a range of measures aimed at reducing social and economic risks, alleviating poverty, and enhancing resilience. Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) categorise these measures as preventive like cash transfers, insurance; protective like public employment schemes; promotive like asset building, school feeding programmes; and transformative like anti-discrimination laws instruments. These interventions. particularly cash transfers, have demonstrated potential to support growth by alleviating constraints on credit, liquidity, and insurance, enabling households to invest in productive activities and contribute to local economies (Barrientos & Scott, 2008; Alderman & Yemtsov, 2012). The issue of social protection is increasingly recognised as a vital policy tool for addressing vulnerability and food insecurity in developing regions, particularly in the face of global challenges like food price volatility, financial crises, and climate change (HLPE, 2012). Sub-Saharan Africa has prioritised social protection, with African Union (AU) member states committing to frameworks such as the Ouagadougou Declaration and the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), which emphasises agriculture-led development and social protection integration (African Union, 2008).

Recognising the crucial role of agriculture in food security and poverty alleviation, the Government of Nepal has placed a strong emphasis on agricultural development through policy interventions. These policies aim to improve agricultural productivity, promote rural livelihoods, and support sustainable rural development. Despite the implementation of various programmes and initiatives, challenges persist in achieving sustainable and inclusive rural development. Factors such as weak policy implementation, limited access to resources services. inadequate and institutional capacity, and impacts of climate change, all have hindered the effective implementation of agricultural policies in Nepal. Eventually, the marginalised and disadvantaged groups bear the brunt of such ineffectiveness. This paper aims to explore the agricultural policy framework as an instrument for social protection and rural development in Nepal.

2. Methods and Materials

This paper adopts descriptive research approach drawing on both quantitative as well as qualitative data, gathered from secondary sources. To ensure a comprehensive collection of information, a wide range of secondary sources, such as books, scholarly journals, and articles, government policies and plans as well as grey literature including published and unpublished reports of studies and assessments in Nepal and beyond have been reviewed. Likewise, online platforms for scholarly articles and materials including nepjol, Research Gate, JSTOR, Google scholar and Nepal government websites have been referred for the purpose of the review.

Additionally, data pertinent to agricultural development, policy analysis, and agriculture sector's contribution to GDP were accessed from various sources including the World Bank, FAO, UNDP, and ILO. Similarly, the gathered information was compiled and thoroughly reviewed, and was categorised and described. Basic statistical tools were also used including percentage, average, and graphs were produced for analysis and presentation of the findings.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Importance of agriculture and rural development

Agriculture, originating during the Neolithic period, has been central to the evolution of human societies by enabling systematic domestication. cultivation and supported population growth and development of trade and governance. While its economic dominance has declined with industrialisation, agriculture remains critical in developing countries, employing large populations, especially in the rural areas. Collaborative efforts in agricultural and rural development are vital to addressing challenges such as food security, poverty alleviation, and economic growth, particularly in nations like Nepal (Pasa, 2021).

Approximately 65 percent of Nepal's total population is involved in the agriculture sector, which plays a vital role in the country's economy. It contributes nearly one-quarter of the nation's GDP and generates a wide range of employment opportunities, encompassing farming and small-scale enterprises. Nepal faces challenges such as food insecurity and frequent occurrence of natural disasters like floods, droughts, landslides, earthquakes, diseases. and pest outbreaks. agriculture sector in Nepal is predominantly characterised by subsistence farming, leading to low productivity and limited production of agricultural commodities (FAO, 2023).

3.2 Agricultural development strategies in different plans

The Constitution of Nepal (2015) guaranteed right to food as one of the fundamental rights of

each citizen. The National Agricultural Policy (2004) aimed to improve living standard through a sustainable agricultural development by transforming current subsistence-oriented farming into a commercial and competitive farming system. Nepal has been experiencing 'Feminization' in the agriculture sector because of outmigration of male farmers to

Table 1: Nepal's agricultural development plans/strategy and key focus areas

Plan/Strategy	Time period	Main Focus/Key policies
First plan	1956-1961	Introduced quality seeds, irrigation, equipment, and extension services; Birta Abolition Act 1959 as a major reform.
Second Plan	1962-1965	Introduced Agricultural Reorganisation, Cooperative Bank Acts (1962), and Land Reform Act (1964).
Third Plan	1965-1970	Focused on institutional reforms, research, and agribusiness.
Fourth Plan	1970–1975	Emphasised cereal and cash crop production.
Fifth Plan	1975–1980	Aimed for regional balance, focusing on agriculture.
Sixth Plan	1980-1985	Introduced basic needs approach, emphasizing government's protective role.
Seventh Plan	1985-1990	Encouraged private sector involvement and developed sectoral master plans.
Eighth Plan	1992-1997	Focused on sustainable growth, poverty alleviation, and regional balance.
Ninth Plan	1997-2002	Adopted Agriculture Perspective Plan; introduced Forestry Sector Policy and National Seed Policy.
Tenth plan	2002-2007	Focused on productivity, income growth, and commercialization; introduced National Agricultural Policy and Agri-Business Promotion Policy.
Three Year Interim plan	2007/08- 2009/10	Promoted public-private partnerships and introduced modern agricultural policies focusing on organic farming, biodiversity, dairy development, nutrition, trade, and commercialization.
Twelfth plan	2010/11- 2012/13	Emphasized sustainability with policies like Climate Change Policy, Local Adaptation Plan of Action (LAPA), and Environment-Friendly Local Governance Framework.
Thirteenth Plan	2014/15- 2016/17	Focused on commercialization, diversification and technological innovation in agriculture which enhance productivity, market oriented farming and promoting agricultural exports.
Fourteenth Plan	2016/17- 2018/19	Emphasised rural development through improved farming practices, irrigation and water management, livestock enhancement, sustainable forestry, environmental conservation, and promotion of agribusiness growth.
Fifteenth Plan	2019/20- 2023/24	Focused on building a sustainable and competitive agricultural sector through seven strategic priorities, including productivity, research, competitiveness, farmer profitability, exports, and climate-resilient technologies
Sixteenth Plan	2024/25- 2028/29	Introduced targeted programmes to enhance productivity and sustainability, including improved seed production, expanded irrigation (covering 50% of farmland), climate-resilient and organic farming practices, renewable energy use, livestock and dairy development, better market access and storage, food safety monitoring, and digital tools for modern farming.

Source: (NPC, 1956; NPC, 1962; NPC, 1965; NPC, 1970; NPC, 1985; NPC, 1992; NPC, 2020; MoAC, 2004; NPC, 2013; NPC, 2081BS; ADB, 1995)

urban areas and abroad in search of better employment opportunities. FAO data shows that about 76.4 percent of women who are engaged in agriculture work are reported as unpaid family labour (FAO, 2019).

Nepal began its planned development efforts after the establishment of democracy in 1951. Each periodic plan and strategy has aimed to address the changing needs of the agricultural sector from land reform and basic infrastructure to commercialization, sustainability, and climate resilience. Table 1 summarizes the key focus areas and policies introduced in each major plan and strategy.

Nepal's Agriculture Perspective Plan (1995-2015) played a significant role in shaping the country's agricultural development. Its main goal was to boost agricultural growth by enhancing factor productivity, with a strong focus on a technology-driven green revolution and promoting regional balance. (ADB, 1995). The Agricultural Development Strategy (ADS) (2015-2035) outlines the main policy framework for this sector. This strategy targets a 5 percent annual growth in agriculture GDP by 2025 and 6 percent annually by 2035 through working on five strategic sectors. These five strategies include i) Improving governance ii) Increasing productivity iii) Supporting profitable commercialisation, and iv) Enhancing competitiveness.

The ADS (2015–2035) has provided a long-term vision for a sustainable, inclusive, and competitive agricultural sector. The current ADS aimed to increase year-round irrigation coverage from 18 percent to 80 percent, reduce degraded land by half, and double agribusiness's share of GDP from 10 percent to 20 percent. Other targets included increasing agricultural exports from USD 248 million to USD 2 billion and reducing rural poverty from 27 percent

to 10 percent by 2035 (MoAD, 2014). These plans consistently emphasised modernisation, commercialisation, environmental sustainability, and poverty alleviation, forming a comprehensive framework for Nepal's agricultural and economic development. In Nepal, several agricultural initiatives have been introduced across different periods to enhance productivity and sustainability including the measures of social protection. These are elaborated as follows:

Crop and livestock insurance

The concept of agricultural insurance, encompassing crops, livestock, and fisheries, has been emphasised in the *Agriculture Development Strategy (ADS) 2015-2035*. The ADS outlines measures to support the insurance industry in implementing agricultural insurance products.

Smart agriculture

The Nepal Climate-Smart Agriculture Investment Plan (CSAIP) was introduced in 2021 in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development to promote climate-smart agricultural practices. This plan aligns with the objectives of the ADS and aims to enhance resilience and productivity in the agricultural sector (World Bank, 2021).

Prime Minister agriculture modernisation project (PMAMP)

Launched in January 2017 during the 14th Periodic Plan (2017-2019), PMAMP aims to transform subsistence agriculture into a sustainable, self-reliant, and commercial sector. The project is implemented across all 77 districts of Nepal, focusing on prioritised major crops and promoting agricultural mechanisation (Acharya *et al.*, 2024) that helps in reducing poverty and food insecurity.

Identification of zones and pockets for specific agricultural productions

Under PMAMP, a consolidated farming approach was adopted, forming components such as Super Zones, Zones, Blocks, and Pockets to promote specific agricultural productions. This initiative was introduced in line with the 14th Periodic Plan and continues to be a key strategy in agricultural development (Acharya *et al.*, 2024).

Fisheries development

Fisheries development has been a component of various agricultural development strategies, including the ADS, which emphasises the promotion of crop, livestock, and fishery insurance products. Additionally, PMAMP includes fisheries as one of its prioritised sectors, aiming to enhance production and productivity in this area.

Each of these aforementioned initiatives are supposed to address the production and productivity issues of small scale and marginalised farmers by which the

aim of sustained and inclusive targeted development can be achieved, which is somehow fundamental for promoting social protection to targeted communities. While talking about social protection mechanism in agricultural policies in neighboring and other nations reveals focus in varieties of sectors. For instance, Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana in India; to ensure the farmers risks, subsidising the smallholder farmers in agricultural insurance covering losses in Mexico: conditional cash transfer and farmers child educational support in Brazil; inputs and fertilizer subsidy policy in Malawi and Nepal; market support and price stabilization in China; concessional loans to purchase agro equipment in Bangladesh; agro insurance and damage coverage in South Korea are some of the examples of such initiatives. This is how the majority of the country globally have been focusing on certain social protection schemes (Chaudhary, 2018; World Bank, 2024).

3.3 Contribution of agriculture sector in national GDP

Nepal used to export paddy before 1975, but since 1980, it has been importing food

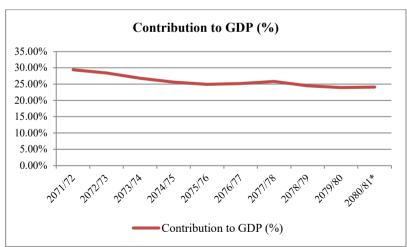


Figure 1: Contribution of agricultural sectors to GDP (in Percentage)

Source: (MoF, 2081BS)

grains (Mishra, 1987). Despite the substantial contribution of agriculture to the national GDP, the growth rate of the sector has been unstable. The agricultural growth is slower than the population growth, and the amount of agricultural produce is not enough. According to CBS data, from 2011, 60 percent of farmers cannot produce enough to sustain their livelihoods. Many districts in the Western Hilly region of Nepal are facing food shortages. In Nepal, FAO have been working to improve food and nutrition security for farmers and herders (FAO, 2017). As a result, many poor rural people often go to India during the off-farming season in search of work.

The country's economy is transitioning towards non-agricultural sector. The agricultural sector's contribution to the GDP in the current fiscal year (2080/81) is estimated to be 24.1 percent, while the nonagricultural sector's contribution is projected to be 75.9 percent. In the previous fiscal year, these contributions were 23.9 percent and 76.1 percent, respectively. Over the last decade, the average contribution of the agricultural sector was 25.9 percent, while that of the nonagricultural sector remained at 74.1 percent (MoF 2080/81BS).

The agricultural sector in Nepal faces difficulties in transitioning to commercialisation due to lack of technological improvements, poor infrastructure, and limited market access. Agriculture in Nepal relies heavily on monsoon rainfall, as the government has struggled to provide sufficient irrigation systems. A World Bank report from 2014 has stated that only 28 percent of Nepal's agricultural land is irrigated (Chaudhary, 2018).

3.4 Agriculture development and social protection

Despite its significance, the link between social protection and agriculture has received

limited attention. Agriculture is integral to development and poverty reduction, providing livelihoods for two-thirds population of developing countries and employing a predominantly female labour force (World Bank, 2007). Evidence from China indicates that agriculture-driven GDP growth can be up to four times more effective in reducing poverty than growth from non-agricultural sectors (Ravallion et al., 2007). However, agriculture sector in developing countries have been facing multiple challenges such as low soil fertility, reliance on rain-fed practices, underinvestment in infrastructure. and weak market systems (Diao et al., 2007; World Bank, 2007).

Integrating social protection agricultural policies offers synergies to address risks and promote rural development. Agricultural interventions, such as input subsidies, crop insurance, and grants, can function as social protection tools by enhancing productivity, income, and food security while mitigating risks (Asfaw et al., 2012). Simultaneously, social protection policies can support rural livelihoods by stabilising consumption and facilitating access to markets, credit, and social networks (Alderman & Yemtsov, 2012). The combination of agriculture and social protection can drive sustainable development by addressing both immediate needs and long-term vulnerabilities. While agricultural growth reduces food prices and strengthens food systems, the resulting economic gains can finance expanded social protection programmes. This integrated approach aligns with the global and regional policy frameworks, initiates resilience and inclusive development in rural communities (HLPE, 2012; Farrington et al., 2004).

The Government of Nepal aims to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) in the agricultural sector. However, as highlighted in the World Bank's Nepal Overview

Report, FDI currently contributes to merely 0.6 percent to the country's GDP (World Bank, 2024). Agriculture sector still has not attracted private investment despite the policy expectation. Poor farm-market linkage, lack of policy, and political unwillingness are some of the possible reasons behind it (Dahal et al., 2020). Moreover, remittance funds are not being effectively utilised, particularly in the agricultural sector, due to insufficient policies and a lack of political commitment. Remittance, which has been found in other countries to be contributing to increasing agriculture yield are not contributing in Nepal's context (Asian Development Bank, 2014).

The effective implementation ofagriculture development initiatives is major concern in Nepal. The Ministry of Agricultural Development initiated the Project for Agriculture Commercialisation and Trade (PACT) to enhance the competitiveness of smallholder farmers and the agribusiness sector. The aim was to explore new market opportunities, increase productivity, improve quality. However, the effectiveness of PACT has been hindered by various factors, such as limited private sector involvement. policy and implementation gaps, infrastructural deficiencies and limited institutional capacities dominant ones (Chaudhary, 2018). Similarly, the delivery of public services related to agriculture has not been efficient, and the allocated budget for agricultural development has faced challenges in proper and timely utilisation (Dahal et al., 2020). These initiatives are formally or informally contributing to protect small farmers from crop failure, food insecurity, and social inequality which are footsteps for enhancing social protection in the country. Some of the straight-forward relations of agricultural policy to social protection are highlighted as follows:

Rural livelihoods and poverty alleviation

Agriculture is the backbone of Nepal's economy, providing livelihoods to the

majority of the rural population. However, lack of productivity-focused, inclusive agricultural policies hampers sustainable poverty alleviation. Social protection programmes, such as cash transfers and food subsidies, can complement agricultural development by cushioning vulnerable populations from shocks and enabling them to invest in productivity-enhancing agricultural practices (FAO, 2019).

Vulnerability to shocks

Farmers in Nepal face multiple vulnerabilities, including climate-related risks (floods, landslides, droughts) and market instability. Agricultural policies aimed at disaster relief, crop insurance, and adaptive technologies overlap with social protection goals of reducing vulnerabilities. Programmes like micro-insurance for crops and livestock help stabilise farmers' incomes, aligning directly with social protection principles (ILO, 2013).

Fragmentation and inefficiencies

Fragmented agricultural and social protection policies hinder the potential synergy between these two areas. For example, disaster relief and health insurance programmes are poorly integrated with agricultural productivity schemes. Addressing such inefficiencies requires a unified approach, such as integrating agricultural extension services with food security and health insurance programmes (World Bank, 2019).

Labor and Informal Economy: Over 90 percent of Nepal's labor force works in the informal economy, often without social security. Agricultural labor policies must align with broader social protection systems, such as implementing minimum wages, pensions, and health benefits for agricultural workers. Strengthening agricultural governance and institutions under federalism can help address this issue (ILO, 2013).

Monitoring and evaluation

The effective monitoring of agricultural policies and their integration with social

protection systems is critical. For example, ensuring that subsidies, disaster relief, and livelihood support reach marginalised farmers can ensure desired outcomes. Evidence-based evaluations provide feedback for improving both policy coherence and implementation efficiency (FAO, 2020).

3.5 Connection between agricultural policies and social protection

Barrientos and Hulme (2009) stated that social protection in developing countries has progressed significantly, gaining recognition as a vital tool for addressing poverty and vulnerability. It is increasingly seen as a key element in economic and social development Devereus (2021) conducted strategies. post-COVID adoption of social protection interventions in African case and remarkably noted that protection initiatives often excluded the most vulnerable and marginalised segment of the community like informal workers. That is why the government should intend to pursue more inclusive, coordinated and rightbased approaches to social protection.

In the Nepalese context, the alignment of agricultural strategies with social protection initiatives significantly influences the well-being of rural communities. Recent data highlights some specific connection in different sectors that are pointed out as follows:

Agricultural Insurance programmes

The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC) provides compensation to farmers for crop losses due to natural disasters and to livestock producers for animal deaths resulting from major calamities. Despite these efforts, private commercial insurance companies have limited involvement in crop and livestock insurance due to factors such as lack of awareness, absence of accurate data, and high administrative costs (Khanal, 2012).

Agriculture Perspective Plan (APP)

Initiated in 1995, the APP aimed to increase the average Agricultural Gross Domestic Product (AGDP) from 3 percent to 5 percent and agricultural growth per capita to 3 percent. This plan underscores the government's commitment to integrating agricultural development with broader economic growth strategies (Poudel, 2011).

National Agricultural Policy (2004)

This policy emphasises improving living standards through sustainable agricultural development, focusing on poverty alleviation and food security. It highlights the government's strategy to link agricultural advancement with social protection objectives (FAO, 2023).

Agricultural and Natural Resources Policies

Recent policies have incorporated social auditing and public hearings to minimise the adverse environmental impacts from irrigation projects, reflecting a commitment to socially responsible agricultural development (Joshi & Joshi 2021).

Agriculture and Food Security Project (AFSP)

This project aims to enhance food and nutrition security in vulnerable communities by increasing food availability and diversifying income sources through crop and livestock interventions. It illustrates the practical application of integrating agricultural policies with social protection measures to support marginalised populations (GAFSP, 2024).

These initiatives demonstrate Nepal's efforts to intertwine agricultural policies with social protection measures, aiming to improve rural livelihoods, ensure food security, and promote sustainable development.

4. Conclusion

Agriculture remains vital to Nepal's socioeconomic development for a long course of time. However, there are persistent challenges that hinder its potential to drive sustainable rural development and ensure social protection. The analysis reveals that while numerous agricultural policies aim to enhance productivity and address poverty, their impact is undermined by unstable governance, weak implementation, and inadequate institutional frameworks. Integrating social protection into agricultural policy can create synergies that promote resilience, food security, and equity among rural populations. Effective measures such as improved irrigation, land management, market access, and tailored financial services for smallholder farmers are crucial. By addressing these gaps, Nepal can leverage agriculture not only as an economic driver but also as a tool for comprehensive social protection and can address immediate rural challenges and build a foundation for long-term development.

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