THE IMPLICIT MODE OF DOMINATION IN NEPAL: FATALISM AND BAHUNISM AS THE MAIN CAUSES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Yoji Kamata

Introduction

What are the main causes of underdevelopment of Nepal? Why has it been said that most foreign aid has failed? Dor Bahadur Bista attempts in his book *Fatalism and Development* to identify key factors in Nepali society that are obstructing and wasting its effort to develop (Bista 1991: 1)[1]. He indicates the fatalistic caste hierarchy and its values as the root causes of the problem, and proposes a notion of 'Bahunism (Brahmanism)'[2] as a psycho-political imposition of the Nepalese version of Indian Vedic tradition. The values and behaviour are so implicit and deeply ingrained in the mentality and lifestyle of dominant caste groups that he predicts the shock which the group will have from his assertions (8). In fact his book has provoked many controversies inside and outside Nepal since its publication[3].

We can compare Bista's work with that of Weber[4], who stressed the importance of 'the protestant ethic' as a guiding force in the evolution of modern capitalism (Weber 1930). Weber proposed 'the spirit of capitalism' as a by-product of the religious ethic of Calvinism. By contrast Bista stresses the importance of fatalism as a root cause of the obstacles of development. One of the differences between them is that Bista seems to have the intention to change the society, maintaining the reality of dominant system and its configurations in order to eradicate them[5].

Bista's study is 'based on observations over thirty years on Nepal's attempt to develop and respond to change' (6). He also provides a historical overview from the prehistorical period to the present. He asserts the necessity of analytic generalization to study the dominant system of such a heterogeneous and complex society as Nepal (7). Unlike the major efforts of other scholars to understand the mechanism of the underdevelopment of Nepal which are focused on politico-economic aspects[6], he looks into the socio-cultural, psycho-social and religious values which the dominant high caste group have imposed upon the national society (8).

This book is the critical examination of his own society and almost the first attempt by an academically trained insider of Nepal to diagnose her ills[7]. He 'can say things which no outsider could say'(Macfarlane 1994: 115). It is also, however, an extremely difficult journey for him 'just like walking on a thin edge, frequently changing sides from being an object to be studied to being an outsider who studies at the same time' (8). He is the only person who dared start and has completed at least the first stage of this challenging journey.

Although many scholars examined the Bista's book, it seems nobody has succeeded in extracting and analyzing its central notions precisely. Macfarlane (1994) argues for it and tries to sort out the contradictions of Bista's but his proposed perspective can not solve this issue completely. Pahari (1992) argues against it and used the contradictions just to deny Bista's argument. Other papers, whether they are for or against it, remain partial.

What I should do at first is, therefore, elaborate and analyze the central notions of Bista, in comparison with some most relevant theories such as 'Sanskritization' and Weber's scheme of 'protestantism and capitalism'.

In this paper, I will offer a critical review of the book in order to clarify the implicit mode of domination in Nepal which obstructs the process of development. Although Bista extracts a cluster of cultural elements and struggles for theoretical generalization, many confusions and contradictions are found in his arguments. Considering these problems, I will propose a new perspective from which we can solve and reintegrate them. For that purpose I will describe 'ideal types' as the essence of his assertion.

First, the main components and the origin of Bahunism will be examined. Second, we will explore the mechanism of the formation of hegemony. Examining the concept of Sanskritization, we will demonstrate the dual mode of the dominant system in Nepal. The interaction between the Vedic tradition and the indigenous tradition will also be mentioned. Third, we examine the negative consequences of Fatalism and Bahunism on the development of Nepal in comparison with Weber's scheme of Protestantism and capitalism. We will then consider the prospects for the development of Nepal.

Through these examinations, I think I have almost succeeded to outline and analyze Bista's central notion, although I have not completed. As I mentioned in the paper, we should examine other key ideas more and more such as class, ethnicity, resistance to Bahunism, hegemony, nation-state, roles of King, the 'development'.

Bahunism and its Configurations

According to Bista, Bahunism is 'the syndrome of cultural configurations along with the principles of caste system' (3) and, beyond Vedic traditions, it 'heavily emphasizes fatalism [... and] its ... karmic determination, from which has developed the social organization of the varna or caste system (58). '

> As the components of this 'syndrome of cultural configurations', 'there are a cluster of socio-cultural elements ... that play a very important negative role in Nepal's attempt at change' (6). Although he describes many elements, it is not clear what the key elements are and their causal relationships. We try to resolve this issue.

We start by examining three socio-cultural institutions, i.e. *chakari, afno manchhe* and the caste system, and two socio-psychological principles, fatalism and paternal dependency, which he highlights as crucial ones. These elements comprise a system, in Bista's word, a fatalistic hierarchy. He asserts that all of the elements derive from the Indian Vedic tradition, although they are modified in the historical and social circumstances in Nepal. Later we examine the characteristics of the Vedic tradition as the origin of the five elements.

Chakari: One of the three socio-cultural institutions is called *chakari*, which originally means 'to wait upon, to serve, to appease, or to seek favour from a god'(89). The origin of chakari lies in the Hindu ritual practices of obeisance, which were secularized and 'extended to the governing classes and then to all in certain positions of power' as a behaviour of sycophancy (5). Thus chakari is a vertical 'patron-client' relationship (Macfarlane 1994: 118).

> As a social activity, its most common form is in simply being close to or in the presence of the person whose favour is desired. Instead of efficient fulfillment of duties and obligations, persistence in chakari is seen as merit, and with enough merit favours may be granted. It is a passive form of instrumental behaviour whose object is to demonstrate dependency, with the aim of eventually eliciting the favour of the person depended upon (5).

The most important feature of this chakari system in Nepal is that it was an officially introduced and institutionalized system during the period of Rana

despotism (1846-1951) (90). The purpose was to control potential rivals (90, 102). Ranas could collect information about their rivals and also observe them physically (90-91). The hours set aside for this purpose were known as the chakari hours (90). During the Rana days people bragged about their identity of being a *chakariwala* (one who does chakari) (Bista 1989: 184). Chakari also has a function to provide 'opportunities for those at lower levels of the hierarchy to express their ideas and air their grievances' (91). On the other hand chakari could easily take the form of a bribe or other form of corruption (92). Moreover it tends to encourage endless gossip and back-biting (Macfarlane 1994: 118).

Although this chakari was formally abolished with the end of the Ranas, the system and its tendency still 'remains an important part of social life, and is evident at all levels of government'(90). It is 'spreading throughout the country with the expansion of hierarchical central and local government' (Bista 1989: 184).

In this way, originally derived from the Hindu ritual traditions, chakari is modified and prevails as a secularized institution all over Nepal supported by her social hierarchy and psychological dependency. Chakari could be transformed into another social institution when the status differential is bridged, called afno manchhe (91).

Afno Manchhe (one's own people): Afno manchhe means one's own people in Nepalese and it is, according to Bista, 'the term used to designate one's inner circle of associates - it ... refers to those who can be approached whenever need arises' (98). This is a horizontal dependent relationship and complements Chakari. 'Everything inside the circle is predictable and manipulable' (Bista 1989: 178). It is a manifestation of collectivism (4).

> Nepali makes a strong distinction between us and them. People who do not belong to one's own inner circle are perceived as being non-persons and there is no real concern over what happens to such unrelated individuals. Time and effort is exhausted in taking care of one's own people so that there is little energy or inclination left to be concerned about non-persons (97).

The strength or weakness of anyone is measured in terms of the quality and quantity of the circle the person is part of (98). Afno manchhe has the potential of being constructively used but it can also function as an amoral collectivism leading to negative consequences like exclusionary tendencies,

factionalism, failures in cooperation and corruption (4). We may add the absence of the concept of 'public', as opposed to 'private', as one of its consequences. The circles of Afno manchhe are based on kinship, ethnicity, caste, class, profession, residential area and other social connections (Bista 1989: 178).

We then examine one of the bases of afno manchhe, and the most influential institution, namely the caste system.

Caste System: Caste is a system of ideas and values (Dumont 1980: 35). It is a principle and also an institution. It is a part of religion and also a hierarchic system of social relations such as division of labour, regulation of marriage and rules concerning contact and food, based on the notion of purity and impurity.

In Nepal it was legalized for the entire country in the Code of 1854 by the Rana regime (58). The Code is called Mulki Ain and presents 'a four-fold classification of society in which all castes and ethnic groups of Nepal were subsumed. This social universe is paraphrased as car varna chattis jat (four varnas and thirty-six castes)'(Sharma 1978: 4). The names of the four varnas and the order of the hierarchy are as follows:

1. *Tagadhari* = Castes wearing the sacred thread; all the Hindu high-caste consisting of the Brahmins, Thakuris and Chhetris.
2. *Matwali* = Alcohol-drinking castes; all the tribal groups are gathered [included] in this class.
3. *Pani na calne choi chito halnu naparne* = Low service castes whose touch is not defiling, but from whom water cannot be accepted by higher castes.
4. *Pani na calne choi chito halnu parne* = Untouchable castes (ibid.: 4).

This model can be considered as extended to and imposed on the ethnic groups by the high caste Hindus (ibid.: 4). Although this systematized imposition continued for only about 100 years until caste was legally abolished in 1963, it has extensively pervaded all ethnic groups and has transformed society. It is so influential that it tends, in Bista's words, 'to be perceived as an inevitable condition for a legitimate Hindu kingdom' (153)[8]. Moreover 'there is a danger of the development of a new secularized caste system, where the socially mobile consolidate their position by blocking out their competitors or those closely behind them' (156).

The caste system has developed from fatalism (58) and vice versa. We now examine fatalism, which Bista emphasizes as the most deep-rooted socio-psychological principle.

Fatalism: According to the Vedic tradition, fate (*bhagya*) is written on one's forehead by the god called *Bhavi* who comes on the sixth night after birth (77). Fatalism is an absolute belief:

> that one has no personal control over one's life circumstances, which are determined through a divine or powerful external agency. This deep belief in fatalism has had a devastating effect on the work ethic and achievement motivation (77-81), and through these on the Nepali response to development. It has consequences on the sense of time (84, 135), and in particular such things as the concept of planning (85), orientation to the future (85), sense of causality (79), human dignity and punctuality (86) (4, referential pages added).

He also mentioned other negative consequences on purposeful problem-solving (77), dignity in labour (79), responsibility (80, 82, 96, 146), productivity (2), personal competence (82), morality to keep contractual relations (83), formal legal development (87), pragmatic thought (137), charity (81, 135), idealism (137) and innovation to change (135, 150).

Fatalism is connected to dependency, robbing the people of personal control and responsibility (4, 146).

Paternal Dependency: The family structure and childhood socialization of the Bahuns develop a continuing superordinate and subordinate relationship between father and son. Dependence is more upon the father than mother, thus 'whenever Nepalis receive good treatment from anyone and feel comfortable they begin to identify that individual with a father figure'(89). This dependency on the father and other substitute father figures, i.e. vertical and paternal dependency, parallels the caste system but is also somewhat separate from it. The potential for father substitution then extends out of the family and into the mainstream of society. In Nepal, this relationship outside the family has been institutionalized as *chakari* (89).

Vedic Traditions: Hindu theological ideas such as *dharma*[9], *karma*[10] and *maya*[11] are woven into the caste system. In fact the five elements we have examined are derived from Indian Vedic traditions. Here we examine Indian Vedic traditions as the origin of the elements. We also examine how the traditions have been modified through the process of introduction and diffusion to Nepal in the next section.

According to Bista, the characteristics of Vedic tradition are: dislike of manual labour, the emphasis on erudition and ritual as the only important things (79), the appreciation of debate and argument as respected activities (136), a hierarchical view of the world, the belief in fatalism arising from the idea of dharma, the chakari system arising from the seeking of favour from a god, strong distinctions between 'us' and 'them' in afno manchhe, absence of an internalized morality and responsibility, being self-righteous but without an ability to be self-critical (68), no plans for the future and no interest in historical studies until a few decades ago (85), no savings resulting in no investment (85), a restricted sense of competence (82), no serious acceptance of any form of contractual relations (83) and little formal legal development outside of religious texts (87).

Thus we may say that Vedic traditions are the fundamental source of the five elements. Attached is a chart which I have drawn to demonstrate the relationships of each element. (See Figure 1: The Vedic Traditions and Bahunism). There I have made a distinction between three types of relationships, i.e. those institutionalized by Ranas, those reinforced by dominant groups and those mutually reinforced.

Mechanism of the Formation of Hegemony

We have examined the five inter-acting elements of Bahunism and their origin. Moreover we have examined the process of formulation and institutionalization of each element. This does not, however, clarify the whole process of the formulation of Bahunism. To understand the mode of domination, we need to demonstrate the more dynamic mechanism of the formation of the system in addition to static analysis.

Here, first, we examine the concept of Sanskritization[12] which explains the process of the acceptance of a value system and of social mobility within the caste hierarchy. We explore its effectiveness and limitations in the context of Nepal. We, then, try to outline an ideal type of the formation of domination of Nepal.

Sanskritization denotes mainly: adoption by the lower castes of new values and the ways of life which are said to belong to members of the so-called upper castes, expression of these new values and ideals in *Veda*, i.e. theological and scholarly literature written in the Sanskrit language, and a rise in status within the caste hierarchy (Gurung 1988: 43).

In Nepal, Sanskritization has occurred in various regions and many anthropologists have reported this social phenomenon (Fürer-Haimendorf 1966, Bista 1971, Jones 1976, Gurung 1988, Cox 1989, Skar 1995). Their studies are confined within the Sanskritization of relatively lower caste groups. In the case of Nepal, however, the more influential fact is that not

the lower caste groups but the rulers themselves have adopted Sanskritization and imposed Bahunism upon other ethnic groups.

The Licchavis, the first historical rulers of Nepal, styled themselves *Chhetri* (*Kshatriyas*) and maintained Bahuns from India as their personal priests (35). In various regions the ruling and upper classes of Khas[13], Magar and Newar took the title of Chhetri to legitimize their position within the society (36). The last and the most influential incident was/when the then despot of the country, a Khas, adopted the title of Rana, claiming fictitious ancestry of Rajput origin from India (37). He legalized the Nepalese version of caste hierarchy and infused Bahunism into the society from the top, as mentioned already.

On the process of Sanskritization, the group which initiated the ruling elites were priest Bahuns. To establish their social and economic status, the priest Bahuns were willing to conduct rituals for the initiation and demanded constantly a high status and fee (36). That is because most of the Bahuns were originally immigrants from India escaping from the hostile invasions of the Muslims, and thus dependent on the rulers (3, 38-39). Moreover there are non-priest Bahuns who are the children of Bahun fathers and indigenous mothers. They have gradually established a high status utilizing their educational and economic advantage, and have infused fatalism and hierarchic caste principles into local ethnic life (38).

To sum up, there are two kinds of dominant groups which participated in the Sanskritization in Nepal. The first is the ruling class which mainly consists of Ranas and Chhetris, and they have utilized Priest Bahuns and Vedic notions for the legitimization of upward mobilization and domination. The second are the immigrant Bahuns and their descendants, which consist of priest Bahuns and non-priest Bahuns, although each Bahun has a different approach to the establishment of social and economic status. The indigenous groups have had Vedic traditions imposed upon them, especially Bahunism, by two different dominant groups. In this sense they have been subjected to dual modes of domination.[14] (See Figure 2: The Formation of Domination).

Unlike India where it took a very long time for Vedic traditions to infuse into the grass roots; Bahunism, the modified Vedic traditions, has been imposed upon the people within quite a short time in Nepal. The caste hierarchy and fatalism have not been formed historically and 'naturally', but have been artificially and politically introduced. Usually Sanskritization is 'the mobility associated with Sanskritization [which] results only in positional changes in the system and does not lead to any structural change' (Srinivas 1966: 7). In the case of Nepal, however, the caste hierarchy was not established but the ruling class has introduced it through the process of

its Sanskritization. Thus Sanskritization in Nepal was not only within the social hierarchical system but was also an attempt to establish a new social structure for a powerful regime. In India Sanskritization had been greatly accelerated by the presence of the British regime, although the change was only a quantitative one (Srinivas 1962: 56). During the same period in Nepal, by contrast, the Ranas, in order to strengthen the political power to oppose the British regime, took an isolationist policy and dared to further a Sanskritization which was qualitatively different from previous ones. Thus there exists an ideological preponderance of Bahunism and Vedic traditions as the ideas of the dominant groups. We may call it a 'hegemony' in Gramsci's usage (1992).

Although we have examined here Sanskritization of and by dominant groups, we cannot ignore the Sanskritization of the lower classes. In these cases Vedic traditions were not imposed but were spontaneously accepted and emulated in order to acquire socially better positions. They tried to erase their own traditions and to behave like the higher caste. Some almost transformed their identities to socially higher ones (Gurung 1988), while others only use Vedic norms politically and have not compromised their traditional identity (Cox 1989).

Thus, Bahunism and Vedic traditions have been more or less internalized among the indigenous people through imposition and spontaneous mimesis. Sometimes they are so deeply internalized among the indigenous people that they can not realize that they are a part of the mode of domination. In the Myagdhi district, the western hills of Nepal, for example, Pun Magar people, an indigenous group, are still eager to establish Hindu religious monuments and to invite Bahuns to religious rituals. The Pun Magar have been deeply influenced by Bahunism and they have lost even their own language. We can see another example in the eastern hills. According to Caplan, the community leaders of Limbu perceive their own practices such as drinking, meat-eating, hospitality, marriage practices and funerary customs negatively, under the influence of high caste Hindu (1991: 316). In this way, the ideological preponderance of Bahunism and the Vedic traditions forms implicit mode of domination.

In addition to the above analysis, we examine here the formation and infusion of Bahunism from different analytic angles. Bista ascribes the origin of Bahunism to Vedic traditions, which have been modified by dominant groups in order to rationalize and strengthen their status. The conceptual framework of Sanskritization seems to be only a one-way process but, as Srinivas, the originator of this concept, asserts, Sanskritization is 'a two-way process though the local cultures seem to have received more than they have given' (Srinivas 1962: 59). Bista also points

out the interface and dynamism between the Vedic traditions and the indigenous traditions. For example, he reported a case in which the Bahuns were much influenced by the independent-natured Limbu in the far east (51). However he does not clarify the dialectical relationships between the Vedic traditions and the indigenous traditions. As a consequence, 'it is not clear how much of the phenomenon of fatalism/hierarchy is due to Bahunism' (Macfarlane 1994: 125). I can not clarify this subject here in detail but, I would like to suggest a dialectical model of the Vedic traditions and the indigenous traditions in the context of Bahunism. (See Figure 3: The Vedic and Indigenous Traditions).

Moreover, Bista does not clarify the distinction between caste, class and ethnicity (Dahal 1990: 91) and the boundary between 'dominant groups' and dominated remains vague. Caste and class seem to be overlapping and interpenetrating, because the dominant class has utilized the notion of caste for their legitimation, as we have seen. However the subject of the discrimination of caste, class and ethnicity still remains to be clarified.

Fatalism and Underdevelopment, and Development

We have already examined Bahunism and some parts of its negative consequences. The causal relationship between fatalism and underdevelopment is, however, fragmentary and not necessarily clear. Here I will try to outline the ideal type of the relationship, comparing this with the ideal type of Weber, the relationship between Protestantism and Capitalism.

As the key element to understand the underdevelopment of Nepal, Bista emphasizes 'the absence of work ethic and achievement motivation'. His causal relationship is that fatalism causes the absence of work ethic and achievement motivation, then this causes underdevelopment, although he also mentioned that the other four elements also affect the absence (4, 77-81).

Here we describe the ideal type of fatalism-underdevelopment relationship compared with Weber's scheme. (See Figure 4: The Schemes of Weber and Bista). Although Bista emphasizes the unilinear relations of fatalism -> absence of work ethic and motivation -> underdevelopment; as in the scheme of Weber, there are other factors which affect the process. Fatalism itself is a necessary precondition, but not a 'sufficient condition' of underdevelopment in the context of Nepal. Bista, however, tends to overestimate, especially in the context of underdevelopment, the value system.

As a factor of 'Y', the monopolization by dominant groups should be included. This monopoly covers government[15], the education sector[16], mass

communications and foreign aid in Nepal (154-155). Thus this monopoly is one of the most crucial elements working against development. (See Figure 5: Scheme of Underdevelopment). As factors of 'Y', geographical and demographic facts, international politico-economic context are also indispensable to understand the underdevelopment of Nepal (Macfarlane 1994: 125).

We also should not forget the reverse causal relations of the Bahunism and development. The international interest of the donors and the direct intervention of powers in the formulation and execution of key development projects reinforce the Nepali tendency to perceive machinations of fate (140). Moreover, massive foreign aid has helped to mask widespread economic abuse and corruption (147). Therefore, aid and projects for development have reinforced a sense of powerlessness and, as a consequence, reinforced hierarchic fatalism.

Even though Bista states that 'we do not yet have an alternative model which would work effectively with the given background of our social structure, social hierarchy and value system (Bista 1989: 182), his remarks on development are important in considering the development policy and strategy of Nepal.

His first policy seems to be to expose the implicit modes of domination, purge them, and encourage the Nepalese people to 'liberate themselves from the cultural mores' (115). The second is to appreciate and elicit the potential of indigenous people and their traditions instead of Bahunism[17]. According to him, the 'Indigenous people do know the importance of hard work, of endurance, the role of individual effort .... positive qualities of strong cooperative behavior' (151-2). To sum up, he rejects Bahunism and deplores its negative consequences (see Figure 5), and proposes another process for development. (See Figure 6: Scheme for Development).

In order to make this scheme effective, however, we need to answer several questions. What are the potential and roles of the indigenous traditions?[18] How can these traditions be the mainspring for development? What are the factors of 'X' and 'Y'? What are the roles of the nation-state and NGOs for development? What is the 'Development' we aim at?

These questions remain to be answered. However a new movement in the same direction which Bista proposes seems to have already started. The issues of ethnopolitics and ethnodevelopment have become very "hot" since the democratization revolution in 1990 (Bhattachan 1995). The minority groups are struggling to acquire social rights and to construct their identities, attacking very actively the system of domination imposed by the

high caste groups. Bahunism is 'increasingly coming under scrutiny in the post 1990 political transformation' (O'Neill 1994: 46).

Conclusion

My major findings are as follows;

1. Configurations of Bahunism

I extracted the central notions of what Bista called 'cluster of cultural elements' such as Chakari, Afno Manchhe, Caste System, Fatalism, Paternal Dependency and Vedic Traditions, and described as configurations of Bahunism.

2. Explicit and implicit modes of domination

Then I focused on the dynamic process of the formation of domination which Bista has not conceptualized. For this purpose I used the theory of 'Sanskritization'. I found there are dual modes of domination by the dominant groups. With this finding we can solve the most crucial contradiction of Bista. In addition I described another mode of domination which results in implicit mode of domination in the combination of the dual modes above mentioned. I also pointed out the two-way process of the formation of Bahunism between the Vedic traditions and the indigenous traditions.

These findings result in another finding, that is the effectiveness and limitation of the concept of 'Sanskritization' in the context of Nepal.

3. Usefulness of comparison between Bista and Weber

Moreover, I extracted the ideal type of Bista's on fatalism and development in comparison with the scheme of Weber's, although Bista himself does not mentioned the relevance. I also described the scheme of indigenous traditions and development which is not clearly conceptualized by Bista. Based on the schemes above mentioned, I argued the effectiveness and limitations of Bista's ideas.

Bista's book has shed light on the modes of domination and we have demonstrated ideal types of them in this paper examining Bahunism and its configurations which have been infused deeply into Nepalese society. The ruling classes have modified the Indian Vedic traditions into Bahunism and utilized it for their political domination; Bahuns utilized Bahunism for their status; the indigenous people have had Bahunism imposed by the ruling classes and Bahuns, but they also spontaneously accepted it for their upward mobilization. Thus Bahunism has been deeply internalized among the each group of Nepal and it forms explicit and implicit modes of domination.

Bahunism is not a past relic. Although the counterattacks against it had already started since the political upheavals in 1990, it still remains and 'is currently spreading' (6). Both forces, for and against Bahunism, are confronting each other. According to Bista, 'the only way out of the suffering of the transition is to construct the new age as rapidly as possible'(164). But how to do?

He expects the indigenous traditions, as the alternative value system, to replace Bahunism. However, he tends to idealize indigenous group. He says that 'the Nepal population that has remained untouched by Hindu caste principles is Nepal's greatest treasure' (151) and 'Nepal's future hopes lie with them' (163). As we have shown, however, Bahunism has been internalized among the indigenous people and forms explicit and implicit modes of domination. Moreover, as I suggested, Bahunism was shaped not only by the Vedic traditions but also interaction between the Vedic and indigenous traditions.

Bista also tends to idealize Prithivi Narayan Shah, the first king who united Nepal, for his egalitarian policy (162, Metz 1996: 50-51). Moreover, he asserts that 'the King is a positive force for the process of nationhood because all Nepalis share a tendency for paternal dependency' and thus it can contribute to develop the sense of identity and to 'harmonize relations between groups' (162). His vision seems to be a pluralistic society with a great King as the symbol of integration and harmony. However we should examine more closely the historical formation of the Kings and nation-state of Nepal. (See Burghart 1984, English 1985).

Moreover, although we have contrasted the ruling classes and the indigenous people, ruling classes also were originally indigenous people except Bahuns as immigrants from India. 'The indigenous people' were also originally immigrants from somewhere. For example, the Sherpas, which often represent the image of Nepalese people, immigrated from Tibet into Nepal in 1533 (Ortner 1989: 84), and it is not far back in history. Thus the boundary between 'the indigenous people' and immigrants is not self-evident.

Therefore, the way to change the modes of domination is not simple. Bista's basic schemes, which are: Bahunism -> Absence of work ethic and motivation -> underdevelopment, and Indigenous Traditions -> Work ethic and motivation -> Development, are oversimplified and thus we should consider and add other factors in order to construct strategies for development. Moreover, not only the imposition of the Vedic traditions on the indigenous tradition but also the interactions between them should be considered in greater depth. Malla gives us one example of the first person who revolted against Bahunic orthodoxy (1992: 22), and we should examine

more the modes of resistance in the past. Also we should consider further the possibilities of dialogue between the Vedic and Indigenous traditions instead of just purging Bahunism. Nepal's future hopes lie, I think, in these directions.

Notes:
1. All the sources given below without the name of author and year are from Bista's *Fatalism and Development* (1991).
2. *Bahun is Brahman* (priest) in the Nepali language.
3. Many scholars started to argue for and against Bista's book. It seems some of them welcome it (for example Macfarlane 1994), others attempt to dismiss it (for example Dahal 1990 and Pahari 1992). Pahari declares that the book consists of 'spurious analyses', is of a 'schizophrenic mould' and represents a 'fatal myth' (1992: 55).
4. While Weber is called the 'father of sociology', Bista is called the 'father of anthropology' in Nepal. Bista was the first professor of anthropology in the country. He is popular in Nepal for his book *People of Nepal* (1967). In this book he describes the social and cultural characteristics of each ethnic group.
5. A serious factor is that Bista has been missing since 1994. Nobody knows the reason for his disappearance but it is said that he criticized the dominant caste group too frankly and directly.
6. As a typical example, see Blaikie, P, J. Cameron and D. Seddon: 1980.
7. He is an insider in a double sense. He is not only a member of the nation that he analyses but also belongs to the Chhetri caste, a part of the dominant high caste group that he criticizes (Macfarlane 1994: 115).
8. Nepal is the only country that is defined as a 'Hindu kingdom' by its Constitution.
9. Dharma: religion, duty, ethics, morality, rule, merit and pious acts (29).
10. Karma: literally means action but in everyday use it is thought to be predestined and as something which cannot be altered in any way (77).
11. Maya: illusion. Vedic traditions say that this material world is *maya*.
12. The concept of Sanskritization was introcuced by M. N. Sridnivas in 1952 (Srinivas: 1962: 42). Bista uses this concept in his paper (1971), although he does not mention it in this book.
13. Khas were of Indo-European origin and lived in western Nepal., but they have vanished from the ethnographic map of Nepal through the process of Sanskritization (48).

14. Bista himself does not discriminate clearly between these dual modes of dominance. That is why his assertion seems to be contradictory. (Sharma 1991, Macfarlane 1994). We can understand, however, without any contradiction if we discriminate properly between the dual modes.
15. While 22 per cent of the population in 1972 were Bahun, Chhetri and Newar, these groups held almost 93 per cent of all the higher civil service and political posts (Macfarlane 1994: 117).
16. Out of the total enrolment of Tribhuvan University in 1979, the only university at that time, 84 per cent were Bahun, Chhetri and Newar (Malla 1992: 23).
17. Not only purging Bahunism, he also suggests the necessity of the enlighted interpretation of positive Hindu values (Bista 1989: 189).
18. We should note the Weber's study of the religion of India. Although he found striking similarities between Jainism and Protestantism, Jainism could not escape the general consequences of caste society (Gellner 1982: 534-5).

References

Bhattachan, Krishna B. 1995. "Ethnopolitics and Ethnodevelopment: An Emerging Paradigm in Nepal". In Dhrub Kumar (ed.), *State, Leadership and Politics in Nepal.* Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, pp. 124-147.

Bista, Dor Bahadur. (1967). *People of Nepal.* Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

_____ 1971. "The Political Innovators of the Upper Kali Gandaki". *Man.* 6: 52-60.

_____ 1989. "The Structure of Nepali Society". *Nepal - Perspectives on Continuity and Change,* In Kamal P. Malla (ed.). Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University., pp 169-191.

_____ 1991. *Fatalism and Development: Nepal's Struggle for Modernization.* Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Blaikie, P, J. Cameron and D. Seddon. (1980). *Nepal in Crisis: Growth and Stagnation at the periphery.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burghart, Richard. 1984 . "The Formation of the Concept of Nation-State in Nepal". *Journal of Asian Studies.* XLIV(1): 101-125.

Caplan, Lionel. 1991 . "From Tribe to Peasant? The Limbus and the Nepalese State". *The Journal of Peasant Studies.* (18)2: 305-321.

Cox, Thomas. 1989. "Langtang Tibetans and Hindu Norms as Political Language: A Critical Perspective on Sanskritization Theory" *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*. 16(1):11-20.

Daha', Dilli R. 1990. "Book Review: Fatalism and Development". *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*. 17(1): 85-92.

Dumont, Louis. 1980. *Homo Hierarchicus*. 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

English, Richard. 1985. "Himalayan State Formation and the Impact of British Rule in the Nineteenth Century". *Mountain Research and Development*. 5(1): 61-78.

Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von. (1966). "Caste Concepts and Status Distinction in Buddhist Communities of Western Nepal". In Christoph von FŸrer-Haimendorf (ed.), *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*. London: Asia Publishing House, pp. 140-60.

Gellner, David. 1982. "Max Weber, Capitalism and the Religion of India". *Sociology*. 16(4): 526-543.

Gramsci, A. 1992. *Selectiɔns from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gurung, Ganesh M. 1988. "The Process of Identification and Sanskritization: The Duras of West Nepal". *Kailash*. XIV(1-2): 41-61.

Jones, Rex L. 1976. "Sanskritization in Eastern Nepal". *Ethnology*. 15(1): 63-76.

Levine, Nancy E. 1987. "Caste, State, and Ethnic Boundaries in Nepal". *Journal of Asian Studies*. 46(1): 71-88.

Macfarlane, Alan. 1994. "Fatalism and Development in Nepal". In Michael Hutt (ed.), *Nepal in the Nineties- Versions of the past, Visions of the Future*- Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 106-127.

Malla, Kamal P. 1992. "Bahunbad: Myths or Reality?". *Himal*, 5(3): 22-24.

Metz, Johon J. 1996. "Book Review: Development Failure - A Critical Review of three Analyses of Development in Nepal". *Himalayan Research Bulletin*. XI(1-3): 139-141.

O'neill, Tom. 1994. "Peoples and Polity: Ethnography, Ethnicity and Identity in Nepal". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*. 21(1): 45-72.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1989. *High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pahari, Anup. 1992. "Fatal Myth: A Critique of Fatalism and Development", *Himal*. 5(1): 52-54.

Sharma, P.R. 1978. "Nepal: Hindu-Tribal Interface". *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*. 6(1): 1-14.

Sharma, Sudhindra. 1991. "Book Review: Fatalism and Development". *Himalayan Research Bulletin* XI(1-3): 139-141.

Skar, Harald O. 1995. "Myths of Origin: The Janajati Movement, Local Traditions, Nationalism and Identities in Nepal". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*. 22(1): 31-42.

Srinivas, M. N. 1962. *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

_____ 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weber, Max. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Unwin Hyman.
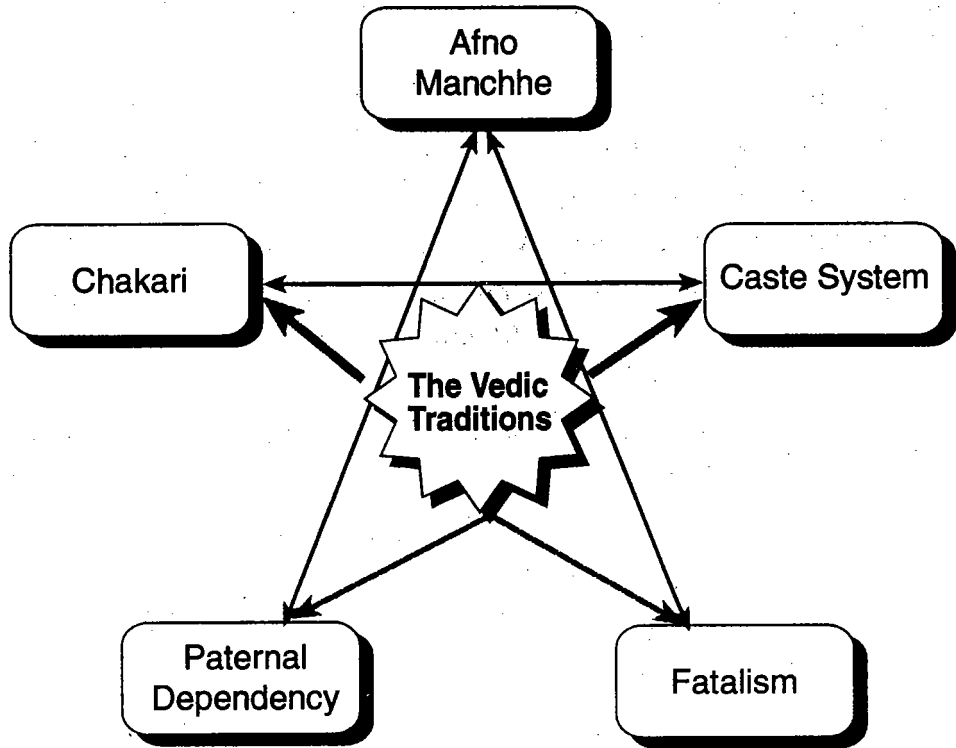
Figure 1: The Vedic Traditions and Bahunism

⟶ Institutionalized by Ranas

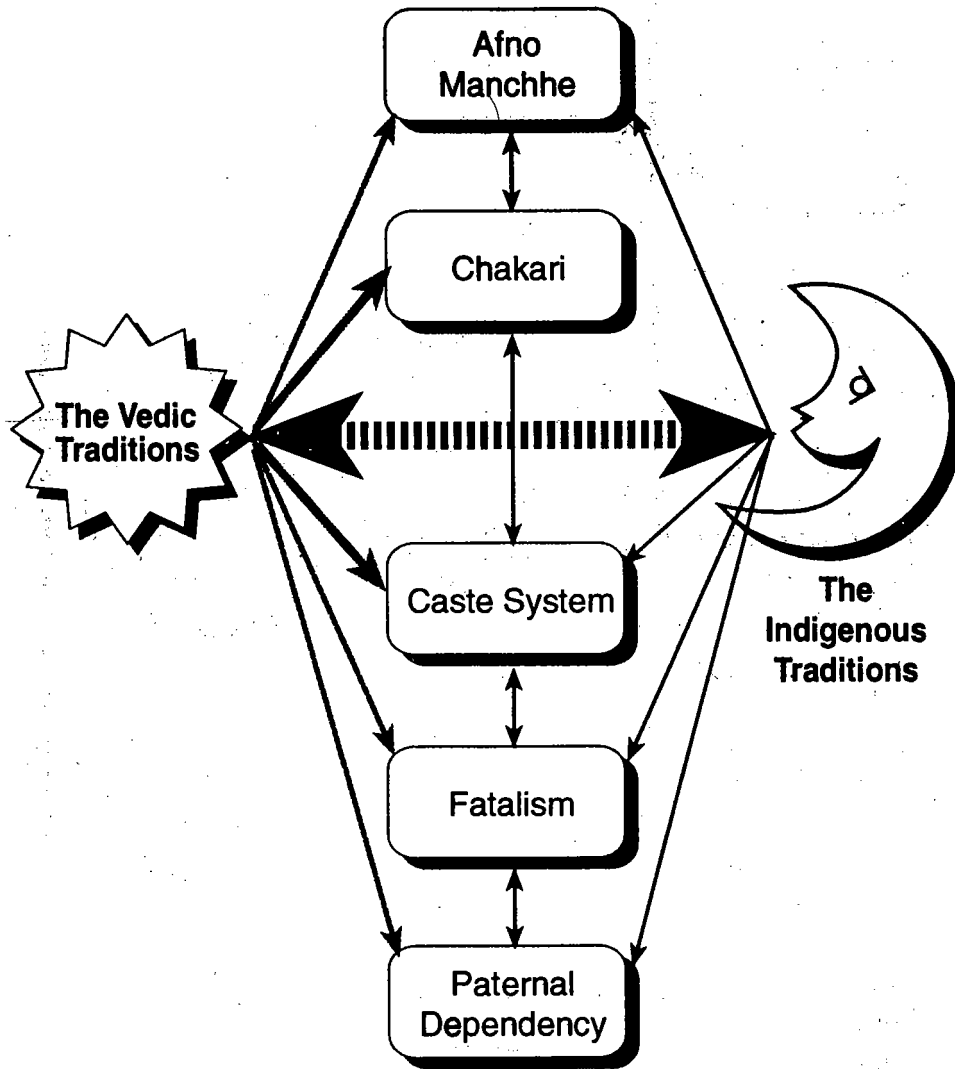⟶ Reinforced by Dominant Groups

⟶ Mutually reinforced

Rana

Other Thakuri
and Chhetri

Newar
Shrestha

Dominant Groups
that utilized Priest
Bahun and Vedic
notions

For Legitimization of
Upward Mobilization

Ritual
services

Economic
services

Priest
Bahun whose
Vedic notions
are utilized by
dominant
group

Non-Priest
Bahun

Infusion
of the
notions

Infusion of the
notions

Immigrated
Bahuns and their
descendants

Indigenous
People who
gradually come
to believe in the
Fatalism and
Caste hierarchy

For Legitimization of
Upward Mobilization

Figure 2: The Formation of Domination

Figure 3: The Vedic and Indigenous Traditions

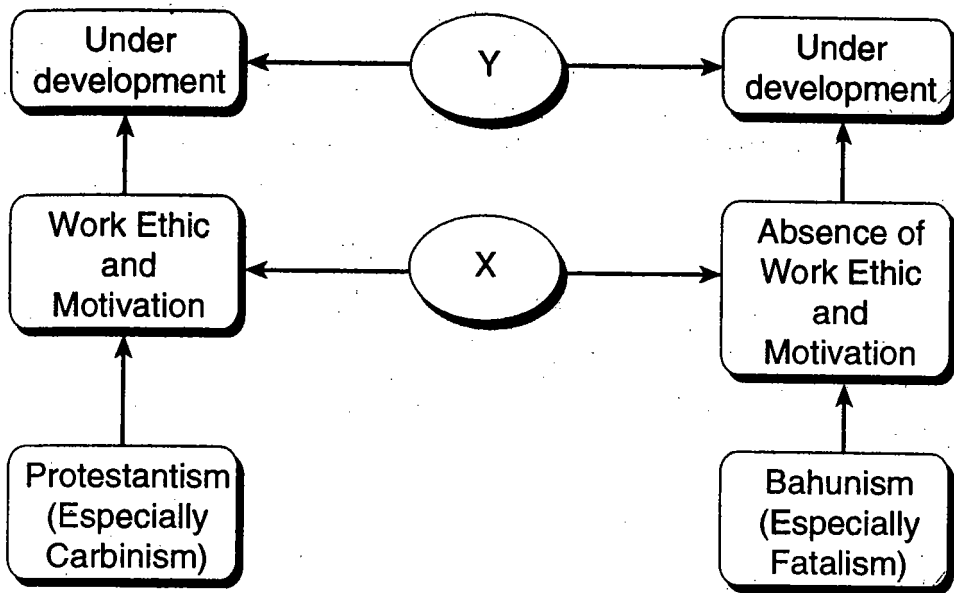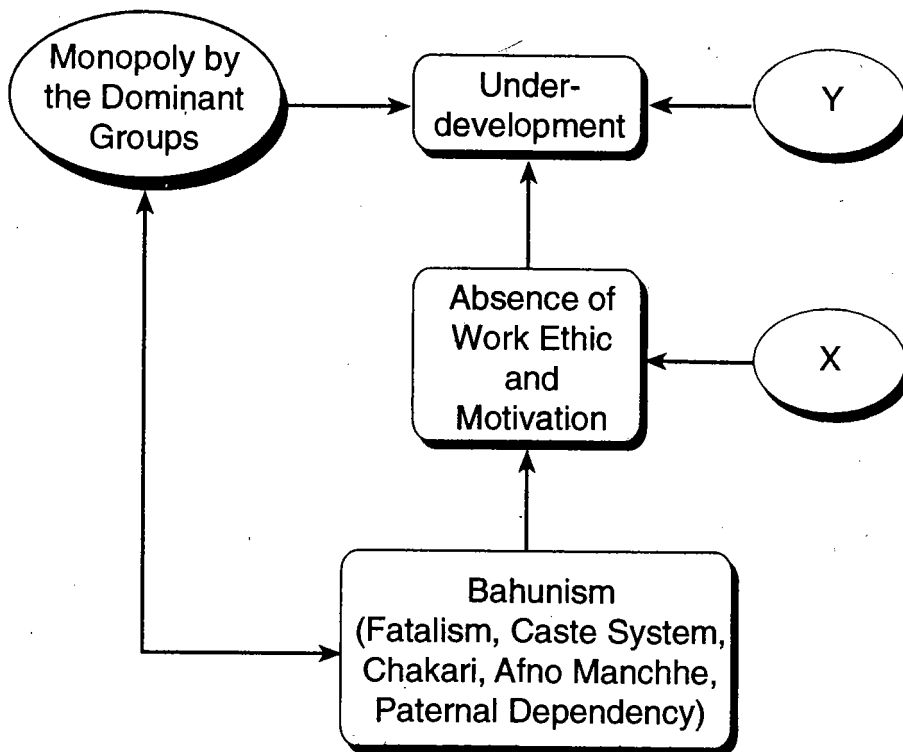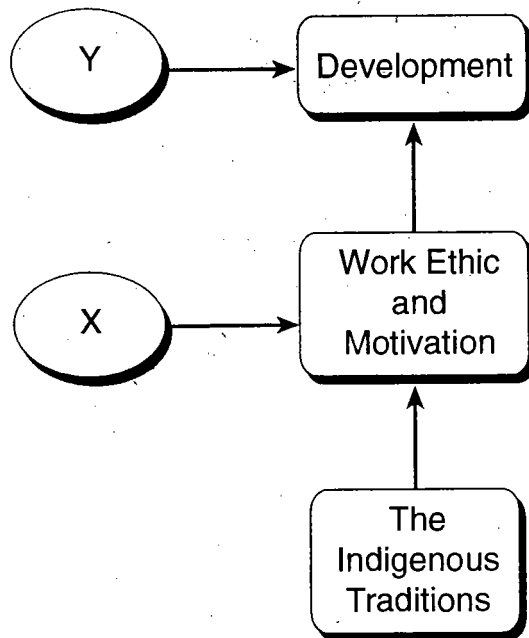|	
➤ (bold)	Institutionalized by Ranas
→ (medium)	Reinforced by Dominant Groups
→ (thin)	Given effect to by the indigenous people
←→	Mutually reinforced
◄▬▬►	Mutually influenced

Figure 4: The Schemes of Weber and Bista

Figure 5: Scheme of Underdevelopment

Figure 6: Scheme for Development