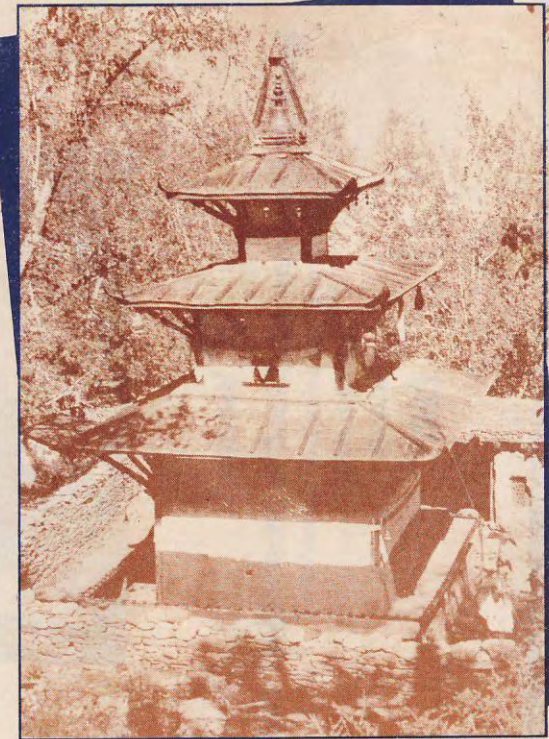


Occasional Papers
in
Sociology and Anthropology
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Volume 3

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Published by

Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur,

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Contents

	Page
1. Editorial comment	I
2. Forestry and Farming System in the Mid-Hills of Nepal - Kiran Dutta Upadhyay	1
3. Socio-Economic and Cultural Aspects of Ageing in Nepal - Rishikeshab Raj Regmi	28
4. Religion, Society and State in Nepal - Dipak Raj Pant	47
5. Community Development as Strategy to Rural Development - Kailash Pyakuryal	58
6. National Integration in Nepal - Ganesh Man Gurung, Bishnu Bhandari	69
7. The Failure of Confidence Mechanism - Tulsi Ram Pandey	96
8. Building a New American Academic Anthropology - Tom Cox	128
9. Afro-American Sociologists and Nepali Ethnography - Stephen L. Mikesell	132
10. Case studies on Domestic Servants: Reflections on Rural Poverty - Saubhagya Shah	158
11. Contributors	180
12. Errata	185

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Editorial Note

It is indeed a happy realization that the department has now successfully completed its first decade and very much looks ahead for further growth and expansion. The institution that started 10 years ago with only 50 students now boasts of over 500 enrollment and, as a further indication of the growing interest in the new disciplines, the teaching of sociology and anthropology has been started in six other campus at the B. A. level.

Unfortunately, the full potential of the department and the discipline has been some what restricted by the chronic shortage of funds and physical facilities. The burgeoning student number has meant that such basic necessities as class rooms and furnitures etc. have become seriously insufficient.

As the two disciplines most concerned with the totality of human culture and society, sociology and anthropology can provide unique insight into the issues of poverty, change and development- the major processes Nepal is trying to grapple with. If the concerned authorities could make use of the findings and expertise of sociology and anthropology in the planning and implementation of various development programmes, not only would better results be ensured but it would also promote the emergence of Nepalese sociology and anthropology. Similarly, the inclusion of sociological and

anthropological work by institutions like the Royal Nepal Academy in their regular activities would be highly fruitful in this regard.

The attempt to make the publication of the "Occasional Papers" a regular feature in the department's academic calendar was hampered by both lack of funds and contributions of papers. Henceforth, efforts will be made not only to regularise this publication but also to further develop it into a professional journal that will reflect and promote the emerging field of Nepali sociology and anthropology.

In line with the present concerns of Nepali society, the various papers of this issue cover a broad range of topics and interest. This is also an indication of the gradual maturation of the discipline in Nepal. While Upadhyay's work deals with the question of indigenous patterns of forest management and its significance for the modern forestry planning, Pyakurel looks at the deeper processes of development and underdevelopment drawing from the examples of local resource management structures. In a similar vein, Pandey dwells on the salient aspects of state policies that affect the poverty and productivity of the peasantry.

On the other hand, Regmi looks at the process of ageing in Nepal and the particular problems faced by the old in respect to the changing socio-cultural norms. Likewise, Shah's paper, using case studies, attempts to describe the condition of child domestic servants as a reflection of the poverty of rural peasant families and its consequences.

Pant, Bhandari and Gurung have broken new grounds this time. While Pant's paper deals with the unique characteristics of Nepali folk religion and its cosmobiological nature, Bhandari and Gurung attempt to depict the problems and prospects of national integration. Two foreign scholars Mikesell and Cox in their respective paper point out the lacunas

in the "mainstream" American anthropology from different perspectives and indicate its relevance for Nepal.

While hoping that the present collection of papers prove academically stimulating, we look forward to receiving many quality papers for the next issue which is tentatively slated for this summer.

The editorial board
March 1, 1993

Forestry and Farming System In the Mid-Hills Of Nepal

*Kiran Dutta Upadhyay**

“What is common to the greatest number gets the least amount of care. Men pay most attention to what is their own : they care less for what is common”

Aristotle

“Small farmers are held responsible for environmental destruction as if they had a choice of resources to depend on for their livelihood, when they really don't. In the context of basic survival, today's needs tend to overshadow consideration for the environmental future. It is poverty that is responsible for the destruction of natural resources, not the poor.”

Geoffrey Bruce

We have had a plethora of articles and analyses about what we are doing and where we are going in the name of sus-

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tainable development and conservation. Which has become only official policy. We have to look, inspite of several sincere attempts, why we could not diffuse this notion at grass-roots level. More specifically, we have to look at how rich our people can be in terms of their use of natural resources.

Out of the total land area of the country only 18 per cent is agricultural land and only 37 per cent is forest land. Paradoxically, where agriculture is the major source of livelihood for Nepalese, the growth in agriculture production has remained far from being satisfactory. It grew at the rate of 1.5 per cent per annum during the period 1970/71 to 1984/85, which was relatively lower as compared to the population growth rate of 2.66 per cent per annum for the corresponding period. This has resulted in the decline of per capita availability. Because of such phenomenon, encroachment on forest, forest firing and shifting farming are gradually increasing, leading to environmental degradation. Excessive deforestation in the Hills and Mountain is aggravating the loss of life and property by floods and landslides. Fertile soil is being washed out by small and big rivers. People from the Hills are migrating to Tarai because of denudation, floods and landslides there and forest in the Tarai has been also depleted very fast during the last four decades.

Farming is practised under different conditions in the Hills. Crop production is practised in valley bottom land, small plateau along the river banks, and on terraced slopes, about 80 per cent or more of which consists of rainfed upland terraces, and 20 per cent or less of partially irrigated valley bottom lands along the river banks. Climate and soil vary over short distances because of topography. The agricultural production is characterised by a high man-land ratio. The population pressure on actual cultivated land is around six people per hectare in the Hills. Other characteristics include a great disparity in land ownership, a system of sharecropping which inhibits the motivation of tenants, absentee ownership, high rentals, a large number of poorly fed livestock with low productivity, inadequate knowledge of new technologies, ineffective extension services,

lack of timely availability of inputs and, finally, traditional method of cultivation with cultural prejudices in some cases. This has resulted in keeping the farmers in low income and in a vicious circle of poverty. Therefore, Hill agriculture is mostly of a subsistence nature and is in a dilemma.

Forest covers some 37 per cent of Nepal's land area and stretches from the lowland's tropical deciduous, riverain forest, below 300 m elevation to the *Abies* forest found at 4500 m in the Himalayas. The total area under forest in the Hills is now estimated to be approximately 2.5 million ha. or less (out of 5.6 million ha. of area covered by forest in the country). Natural forest types reflect the dissected topography of the country and the variability of its climate. Forests between an altitude of about 2,600 m and the limit for trees at about 5000 m, consists mainly conifers (fir, spruce, blue pine) with some hardwood (oak and hemlock). The forest of the Hills lying between 300 m and 2,600 m varies considerably in composition and is scattered in patches throughout the area. In general, at higher altitudes, fir and oak predominate, gradually giving way to chir pine, and species of prunus, *Alnus* at medium elevations and *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) at lower elevations.

In the Hills, the pattern of settlement and forest use is more fragmented and intermixed. It implies a reduction of 25 per cent in forest area over the past decades. Increasing demand and declining supply of fuelwood has serious ramifications for agricultural productivity.

The mountain ecosystem, once dominated by dense forests, has rapidly deteriorated in recent years because of the interaction of a number of interdependent factors affecting life and agriculture in the Hills. Forest in the Mid-Hills has been converted into bush land. Trees are overcut, lopped and forest floor is overgrazed. The situation is, in fact, worse than what available figures suggest, because many areas of the Hills, now classified under forest, are in fact degraded waste-land with few or no standing trees.

The Seventh Plan recognized the critical nature of

Nepal's declining forest. It notes that in order to keep pace with current consumption, reforestation should be carried out at the scale of 100,000 ha. annually, but, in fact, just 50,000 ha. in total were reforested in the past ten years.

In spite of several national and international efforts, the forest resources is in decline with more dilemma.

An overview of the Natural Resource Trends and Farming System in the Hills

Farming systems in the Hills go hand in hand with elevation as proxy for differences of resource availability and resource use. Mainly, I am describing two types of farming systems in the Mid Hills - one at the lower elevation (below 1500 m), and the other at the higher elevation (located in - between 1500 m. and 2750 m.).

FARMING SYSTEM AT THE LOWER ELEVATION:

Villages on the bottom of the Hills and near the bank of the river have relatively more irrigated flat as well as level terraced lands usually cut into the valley side slopes. The land which is more flat and large in size is known as 'Tar', while irrigated, relatively alluvial flat terraces having irrigation facilities during the dry season are known as 'Khet', rice is grown in both the types. They are located below 1500 m. In the Hills very few Tars can be located. Virtually, small airports in some of the Hills can be seen on such Tars. Three of such airports are "Rumjatar", "Phaphlu" and "Tumlingtar" located in the Eastern hill districts.

In such surroundings fewer livestock are seen which tend to be tethered and grazed within the vicinity of the households and farmers make compost with animal bedding and forest litter. One can see the fodder trees on the edges of the terraces, in a few cultivated holdings and also on the edges of the terraces in their courtyard. Overgrazed pastures and

shrublands can be seen. Rotations in the cropping pattern which have two to three crops per year are found and there is little access to forest (intact). One of the remarkable features that one finds here is "Goth" (huts for livestock keeping). The area near the ponds, rivers and streams are allocated for "Goth". Its surroundings is called "Besi". Some rich farmers having more than 1.75 ha. of "Tar" and "Khet" lands take their livestock to "Besi" (low elevation) for winter grazing. During this period herders live there. Because of the concentrated agricultural holdings, settlement patterns are also dispersed accordingly.

FARMING SYSTEMS ON THE UPPER ELEVATION:

In the high elevations villages have few irrigated lands, known as 'Khet', but more widely dispersed rainfed terraces, known as "Bari". The "Bari" terraces, in most of the instances, are outward sloping not properly leveled and relatively more slopy rainfed terraces suitable only for maize and millet. Every year farmers grow two crops of maize, millet, barley, wheat, and a variety of other crops on rainfed Bari below 2300 m. In a very small scale, wheat can be seen in a few Baris. However, wheat even in the "Khet" is found only in a few instances, because wheat farming in the Hills is relatively a recent phenomenon.

There is a fourth type of agricultural slopyland (30° to 35° slopes) known as "Pakho" sometimes "Pokho-Bari" which is suitable only for maize.

Farmers usually plant one crop of potatoes or barley buckwheat in the fields above 2300 m. because of the cooler climate, steeper slope, stonier soils. Here, as compared to lower elevation, agriculture is more marginal. Here terraces are often scattered, fragmented, having more parcels and are located at a distance of three or more hours of walking from the farmer's house. Area (surroundings) located above 2500 m. is known as "Lekh", as it is covered by monsoon cloud and has broadleaf evergreen forest.

Higher villages have a larger number of livestock which they keep away from the village for significant period of the year and are more mobile with household members. Farming is accomplished by keeping livestock on harvested fields for several weeks prior to planting the new crops. Thus, they can deposit dropping to be used as manure and urine in their crop land. Most of the households keep their herds of cattle, water buffalo, sheep and goats in the forests during the time when the fields have crop. During these times and when the animals are on agricultural field, the herder lives in the "Goth". Even when livestock are in agricultural fields, crop residues are supplemented by fodder cut from forest trees. Fodder lopping (illicit cutting) gradually kills forest trees and grazing browsing prevents regeneration of the forest trees.

Villages on the upper elevation control large areas of forest (1000 m - 2500 m). Here, most of the areas have been converted into agricultural and grazing lands. However, some slopes and steep lands have still preserved forest. Most of the temperate and sub-alpine forest above 2700 m. is being used and gradually converted into shrublands. Herders take livestock to the forest or alpine pastures.

A few households of upper elevation are transhumants who first move their herds to summer alpine pastures and then bring them back through the forest to lower elevation winter pastures in an annual cycle.

Farmers from the lower elevation also collect firewood, fodder, forest materials for cottage and small scale industries, wood for shingles and roofing together with other roofing material, and timber from higher elevation forest.

Here we may find a mixed type of settlement as well as different ethnic groups having their own clusters (Tibeto-Burman and occupational, untouchable caste).

As we proceed to higher elevation representing the ridges descending from the high Himal, agriculture is supplemented by pastoralism and trade. These villages are inhabited

by Tibeto-Mongoloids, viz. Sherpas (Bhotes), Tamangs, Rais, Magars and Gurungs, having their clustered settlement patterns.

The size of forest, Tar, Khet, Bari, and Pakho, and degree of agricultural intensification are the determining factors of the farming system.

LIVESTOCK

Livestock raising is an integral part of the household economy and of the farming system that supports and supplements crop production and is an additional source of household income. It is also an important source of nutrition, especially for the Hill dwellers, and is closely associated with social prestige and religion. Almost every farm family maintains livestock: cattle, buffalo, sheep, goat, pig and poultry. However, the types of livestock raised vary in terms of ecological belt, ethnicity and the elevations in the Hills. Livestock is a specialized activity of the mountains, while in the Hills it is subsidiary.

Nepal has one of the highest per capita livestock per household in the world and thus has one of the world's highest livestock population per unit of land. A very large proportion of the livestock is found in the Hills with about 60 per cent of all livestock concentrated in the middle Hills. Livestock statistics in Nepal are variable and not sufficiently accurate to judge trends in animal population changed with any degree of accuracy.

Forest is also getting declining due to excessive pressure of livestock population. It is observed that more than 40 per cent of the total fodder consumption for livestock in the Hills is from forest. Thus, the decline of forest is also directly related to pressures of growing livestock population. But due to the most pronounced fodder deficit and overstocking, ruminant livestock generally have poor nutrition and are susceptible to diseases, causing the cattle to be unproductive, and resulting in considerable wastage through sickness. Animals are continuously scavenging for a green bite. Inputs into the animal component are straw and fodder, cereal grains, human labor,

tools and facilities, for grazing. This is how the rural family ecosystem operates; however, it is a neglected aspect of recent socio economic analysis.

LIVESTOCK AND FARMING SYSTEM:

The farming system in the Hills continues to be a traditional one evolved over centuries. Crop production, livestock and forestry have been closely integrated and interlinked in the farming system, each supporting the other. Livestock are a means of collecting, concentrating and breaking down a large amount of plant material to provide food for the household members, heafs, kids to the farming household and also dung for composting and recycling, and of income to the farming households. Earlier than 1950's sufficient areas of pasture and forest were available and an increasing number of cattle were expected to supply greater quantity of compost to maintain soil fertility. Unfortunately, this situation has changed in recent years. Pressure from rapidly increasing human population has resulted in a general direction in the forest areas, as trees have been cut for fuelwood, and more forests cleared to provide additional land for cultivation. With a dwindling away of the forests many trees succumbed to fodder production-the animal feeding fallen down, finally reducing the livestock productivity. As a result, it has led to decreased availability of compost, reduced crop production, fewer crop residues for feeding animals and finally in the lowering of their productivity, thereby affecting the agricultural productivity and greater encroachment on the forest areas. Thus, the vicious spiral has further accentuated the already existing critical situation.

FOREST AND THE FARMING SYSTEM; AND THE NATURE OF FOREST RESOURCES USE (CAUSES OF NATURAL RESOURCE DEGRADATION):

Nepalese population is dependent on agriculture in which forest sector plays a vital role. The contribution of forestry to agriculture has given birth to the concept of agro-forestry. Forest provides fodder for livestock.

In Nepal, rural people (94 per cent) are dependent on forest resources. The forest supplies fuel to villagers for heating and cooking. Wood has even now remained a dominant domestic fuel for rural Nepal. Fuelwood at present provides nearly 87 per cent of the energy in Nepal and 97 per cent in the rural areas. About 540 Kgs of dry wood is needed per year and per person for cooking and heat. This means about 1 Kg. per day per person for cooking, and in addition 1 Kg. extra for heating per day per person in winter time. The increasing demand for bio-fuels from forest can be attributed to the population growth, viz. 2.66 per annum.

Timber is another use of forest. Wood for construction is taken carelessly, and the depletion is extreme.

The leaves and wood of trees also play a ritualistically important role, i. e. many Hindu rituals can not be fulfilled without the use of tree leaves and wood for burning.

Irrespective of the form, deforestation, in fact, has not only increased soil erosion, affecting directly crop productivity, but has also made the availability of fuelwood, fodder, timber and other forest products more and more scarce every year. Farmers spend more time and energy to collect their daily requirements.

In spite of several national and international efforts, the status of rural populace and ecological balance in Nepal seems to be at decline.

The long-term objective of the eco-system related to maintaining the ecological balance should be to protect the environmental degradation and to maintain the balance in the demand for fuel, fodder, and timber with the ability of the eco-system to supply these products on a sustained basis and finally to raise the agricultural productivity. Hence, it would be necessary to understand the main features of farming system of the Hills. Most of the farming system in Nepal as described above is the interaction as between human resources, livestock, cultivated land and uncultivated land and forest.

Grassland

Given the place of livestock in the Hills' agricultural system, the availability and condition of grassland is very significant. Poorly managed grassland can very easily degrade and give rise to serious resource management problems.

Land classified as grasslands consists of:

- heavily degraded forest converted to grassland;
- abandoned cropland used for grazing;
- community grasslands; and
- highland pastures (often seasonal).

Most sources indicate that grassland suffers from mis-management and increasing degradation.

Grasslands are prone to overgrazing, severe reduction in vegetative cover, compaction of soil and serious soil erosion.

The range of types of grassland includes abandoned terraces prone to uncontrolled grazing, especially by small ruminants, overgrazed degraded forest lands converted into unprotected grazing areas and seasonal pastures at higher altitudes. The information available on grassland is rather inadequate.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS FOR NATURAL RESOURCE DEGRADATION:

The most direct socio-economic influence is simply the size of the population in the Hills and the migration trends that account for net population growth. Obviously, increasing population affects the number of mouths to be fed, the number of meals to be cooked and number of non-farm activities that might consume natural resource commodities.

The second most obvious socio-economic factors that influences the resource use are incomes and price (forest resource-use falls within the cash economy). A more complex and varied set of socio-economic factors govern the decisions about natural resource management use and how specific

demands for resources are met. These include cultural determinants among different ethnic groups, the role of women in rural decision-making and property rights.

It can be assumed that these factors and incentives are also the factors of the natural resource degradation. The other socio-economic factors responsible for degradation include:

- a) forest dependent local household based cottage industries as well as other small industries and manufacturing processes in the Hills;
- b) tourism, and
- c) Hill-Tara i and Valley-plains linkages.

This can be illustrated by dealing briefly with two of the socio-economic factors responsible for natural resource degradation.

INCOME PRICE AND MARKET:

The Hill economy is that the villagers' cash income is extremely low and in some cases to supplement their household expenditure natural resource commodities are traded in for cash. A major source of cash income in the Hills is known to be remittances from overseas or pensions and salaries from services in the British or Indian armed forces. Thus, this source is supposed to contribute substantially to the Hill economy. In addition, sale of firewood also constitutes a major source of income to supplement the household expenses of the weaker section of the Hills. It is also evident that nationally, fuelwood prices rose by 15 per cent in real terms in the 1970s.

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND LAND TENURE:

Property rights and land tenure are also the significant factors that influence the decision of the villagers about using the resource-base to meet their requirements. These are relevant to decisions about private and public lands. Community property rights in some areas continue to be exercised. However, in many areas the result has been that in the absence of proper community management, the forest has become an open access

resource in which neither individuals nor communities exercise exclusive property rights. Much grassland is owned by the government, but treated more or less as open-access property.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR FOREST PROTECTION:

Because of the growing problems of protection and management of forests, governmental and institutional efforts were introduced to supplement traditional conservation practices. Because they were often too ambitious, these agencies did not always attain the stated objectives. Nevertheless, there are many examples of success. One of the first major initiatives towards institutionalizing natural resource conservation was undertaken in 1934 with the establishment of "Ban Janch Adda", forest office for protection and harvesting Tarai forest. This office continued until 1956 when it was replaced by the Office of Chief Conservator. This was the beginning of forest management and development in terms of demarcating and harvesting commercially valuable forest stands in concert with afforestation programs and construction of fire lines and forest roads.

In 1951, the Ministry of Forest was formed, which ten years later, became the Ministry of Forest and Agriculture (now known as Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation). The Forestry school was established in 1950 under the aegis of the Department of Forest to commence the training of foresters at the technical level. With the passage of the Forest Nationalization Act in 1957, the traditional forms of resource conservation (as mentioned above) ceased to function.

In 1971, the Forestry school became the Institute of Forestry under Tribhuvan University. During the 1970's, Integrated Rural Development Programs were undertaken all over the country. In some cases, though with varying degrees of success, these programs were addressed to conservation issues. In 1976, the National Forest Plan was prepared by His Majesty's Government. The plan gives emphasis to the need for conservation,

with specific reference to controlling landslides and soil erosion. Perhaps most significantly, it speaks of the need for community participation in the development and protection of forests. The Department of Soil Conservation and Watershed Management, as it is now known, was established in 1974 as the Department of Soil and Water Conservation. One of the resource conservation initiatives established to date is Community Forestry Program. The basic philosophy underlying the program is to encourage the active participation of villagers in forestry and related conservation projects. In 1987, the Division of Environment and Resource Conservation was established within the Planning Commission. A master plan for the forestry sector was prepared in 1988 setting out targets for bringing Nepal's forest under sustainable management to meet demand for forest products and reverse the trend of overusing the productive stock.

ADVERSE EFFECT OF THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM:

The 1957 government legislation of nationalising the forest removed people's responsibility for preserving and managing the forest resources. In the eyes of the public the forest ceased to be owned property and this resulted in the increased destruction of forest resources. A few years ago, the publicised motto was "Green forests are the wealth of Nepal" but now this has become obsolete. People recognize forests as common property and free goods. They think they are entitled to enjoy the benefits of the forest, but they do not realize they have to put efforts to sustain the forest. Therefore, heavy consumption of firewood, use of fodder to sustain excessive livestock population and the practice of uncontrolled and unsupervised grazing, illicit cutting and other associated activities have been fully responsible for the disappearance of forest resource. The statistics available indicate that with present usage and increased demand due to growing population, accessible forest in the Hills may disappear within 14 years.

Government policies regarding better forest resource management date back from 1957 when the first "Forestry Act"

was enacted and implemented. Under this Act, the Nepalese government nationalized all the forests. Prior to that, in most of the villages there existed a few traditional rules for forest management and protection. However, government nationalization of the forest had adverse impact. Unfortunately, the Act was misunderstood by the people, who believed the Government had deprived them of their right to free access to and use of forests. Gradually, the traditional rules regarding forest management and protection began to fade away and people did not feel any responsibility for themselves towards maintaining the forest. Then, firewood, fodder and timber were collected indiscriminately and the rate of destruction was significantly accelerated. Legislation of the government became entirely ineffective because people's attitude changed. They started to think forest as everybody's property is nobody's property.

The National Forestry Plan of 1976 was the first attempt to initiate comprehensive forest development in Nepal. The plan emphasized the importance of improving the productivity of the forest and stressed the need to initiate the Community Forestry Program to meet the local demand of forest products that supposedly managed the forest resource as well as supply the community needs. In order to supplement the plan and to involve community (local people) in the protection and regeneration of the forest, "The Forest Act of 1957" was amended in 1977. This amendment allowed private forestry and community sanctions against practices affecting the forest. Among others, the national forestry policy aimed at preserving and maintaining forest.

APPEARANCE OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY PROGRAM (A RADICAL APPROACH):

In fact, the high rate of forest destruction and negligible rate of afforestation made the government realize the need to manage forest through community participation. Since the nationalization of forests was unsuccessful, a radically new approach has been started with the objective of returning ownership of the resources to the people or the communities,

Community Plantation and Community Forest are the community owned and managed forests. The new policies concentrated on planting on bare land and bringing existing forest under better management through community participation. Community forestry is the forestry for the people and by the people. Satisfying basic needs of the forest products, conserving fuelwood by introducing improved wood burning stoves, promoting self-reliance in the local forestry and reducing environmental degradation have been the basic objectives of community forestry. This project began in mid-1984. Now it has its program covering 37 Hill districts. Financial support to HMG/N for CF activities is provided under World Bank IDA credit. Technical assistance at the centre is provided by FAO through UNDP.

Here it is important to explain some of the operational guidelines for implementation of the Community Forestry Program of the government for the local people.

DEFINITIONS AND WORKING PRINCIPLE:

COMMUNITY PLANTATION:

Any government forest land, devoid to trees or in which only scattered trees or shrubby vegetation are left and which HMG has notified for forest development through reforestation.

Barren land, or any public land of which at least two thirds of planting can be awarded to the local community for community plantation at their request. Each Village Development Committee henceforth VDC, a revised name of the past Village Panchayat after the abolition of Panchayat System, and which is the lowest administrative unit of several villages with a total population of 2,000 - 5,000 persons. Community Forestry activities, carried out mainly at this level, are entitled to up to 125 ha. of community plantation. While most community plantation products are distributed free to the participating community, income from any sales goes to the treasury of the local VDC.

COMMUNITY FOREST:

It refers to any government forest which HMG has notified for management and conservation. Government forest land needing the protection or enrichment of planting can be provided as Community Forest at the Community's request. Each VDC is entitled to acquire up to 500 ha. of forest land for Community Forest. Seventyfive per cent of income from the sale of timber goes to the VDC, and the remainder to the Government. All other products such as fuelwood, fodder, leaf litter and others are made available free of charge to the participating local communities according to the approved management plan.

Even degraded forests of Nepal show remarkable potential for natural regeneration. The greatest challenge to the project now is how to tap this potential through the use of an appropriate management.

OPERATIONAL PLAN:

It refers to a formal agreement between the users, the Forest Department and the VDC, which specifies all aspects relating to the management of a specified area of community plantation or Community Forest, including the regulation of utilization and the distribution of benefits. An operational plan is legitimised by the endorsement of the representatives of the user group committee, the VDC, and the District Forest Office.

MANAGEMENT PLAN:

District Forest Controllers (DFC's) and Community Forestry Assistants (CFA's) provide technical guidance on good forestry practices, but people decide what trees to plant, when and where to plant them, the organization of planting and management of forest outputs and others. The management plan thus becomes step to the villagers' plan and is formalized by a contract signed by the VDC's representatives, the Chairman of the Forest Committee and the DFC.

National Forestry:

It includes all forests except those designated otherwise.

User Group:

The group of people, generally defined on a settlement or household basis, which is entitled to manage and utilize a community plantation or Community Forest, is called user group. Generally a user group would include those households which have long since been utilizing a specified patch of forest to meet their forest product needs.

User Group Committee:

It has an executive committee representing all segments of the user group formed by popular decision. The duties, responsibilities and power of the user group committee will be specified in the operational plan as agreed between forest department staff, VDC and users' committee. Preferably one third of the members of the committee will be women.

Some Bottlenecks in the Process of Implementation:

The following are some of the possible hindrances in the process of implementing government program in the sector of Forestry.

- a) The legal basis under CFDPs consists of the **Community Plantation** and **Community Forestry** rules. However, the amount of land that a VDC may acquire for CP and CF is fixed regardless of the VDC area, population and land use within the VDC.
- b) The field visit supports that majority of the farmers prefer forest species which produce good quality firewood and forage. The species which are seen most successful in reforestation are "Chirpine" at the lower elevation and

"Patula pine" at the higher elevation. The desired broad-leaved forage and firewood species have had limited success. The planting of pine which is more likely to happen may have adverse effect on the villagers. Even today it can be heard from farmers that pine trees are good for the government, but not for them.

- c) There has been failure on the part of line-agencies and project administrators to recognize the necessity of assisting in the implementation of multi-sectoral population programs and effectively involving women in Forestry.
- d) There is lack of an adequately coordinated effort at the ministerial, departmental, project and local level communities.
- e) Inadequate institutional and organisational capacity at the regional, district and village levels for delivering and administering the programs and follow-up services on a regular basis.
- f) Forest management in the Hills is universally hampered by poor communication and extension services.
- g) Community Forestry Development Program has set a precedence of paying for plantation establishment cost and the salary of watchers. This has the disadvantage of reducing the level of Community participation. In other words, it decreases the degree of community participation, and supports people's attitude that "it is a government program."
- h) Though it is the women whose daily activity centers on the use of basic resources - wood, water, land, fodder, crop and livestock, the production of food, shelter, energy and clothing and the concern for human health and family well-being, almost without a few exception, the line-agency staff at the village level is a male. As women are the main collectors of firewood, fodder and water, it is obvious that

the National Conservation strategy, to be successful, must clearly involve rural women. To accomplish this task, it will be necessary to reach women at the farm household level and this is lacking.

The link between conservation and population is direct. Unchecked population growth will seriously undermine conservation as well as development strategies. Hence efforts should be made to extend literacy to the maximum among the rural Nepalese and, thereby, change their attitudes towards the process of forestry and development.

Existing Private Group and Their Resource Management Practices:

A Case Studies on Community Forest and Irrigation Management.

Case No. 1

In the Hills of Dang District (Mid-Western Hills of Nepal), approximately 10 km. northeast from Ghorahi, lies Saiga Village. In ward No. 2 of this Village Development Committee there are 60 households comprising several different ethnic groups. Magars (Tibeto-Burman Mongoloid) are in majority. There the local people by themselves are protecting their nearby forest. The exact area of forest land is not known. The users' committee (comprising village dwellers) have formed an organization to carry out the work necessary for forest resource management. The committee is headed by the Chairman (Adhakshya), chosen by the villagers. They have contributed Rs. 20,00 annually from each household. With this money, they hire a Kotwal (watchman) for the protection of the forest. The forest has been providing fodder and fuel to their household. Based on social sanctions, if someone tries to violate the forest committee management rules, the forest committee immediately holds a meeting and the guilty farmer is fined. The fine is fixed by the committee. Money thus collected is

deposited in the village school's treasury and is used for the school.

Case No. 2

In Dubidanda Village Development Committee at Jaspur village of Rolpa District (western Nepal), a similar community forest management scheme is in existence. In this village there are 250 households. The population is composed of Magars, Brahmins, Kshytriyas and occupational caste Kamis (untouchable). The villagers here collect paddy and rice from the households to pay the forest watcher remuneration for his services. The watcher is employed by the village users' committee. The users committee is headed by a chairperson, who is chosen by the villagers. There is a well-established sanction according to which if someone tries to steal forest products, he/she is fined by the committee. This amount is also deposited in the village school's treasury. Depending on the nature of the offence, a person can be fined up to Rs. 150.00 at most.

Case No. 3

Rampur Village Development Committee is located 12 km from Ghorahi (western Nepal) in the eastern part of Dang District. The **Balim Khola** (river) irrigation project covers ward Nos. 4, 6 and 7 of Rampur Village Development Committee. The project area is linked by a seasonal dirt road to Ghorahi, the district headquarters of Dang District. The project area is bounded by the Babai river in the South, the Bhote Dhaha and Balim Khola in the North, the Chepa Khola in the east and the Balim Khola in West. The command area has north to south facing slopes.

The total estimated command land area of the Rampur irrigation system is 253 hectares, of which 136 hectares area is lowland and the remaining 117 hectares upland. The average land holding size is 1.125 hectare per household. Persons of the

Brahmin caste own about 70 per cent of the land, and the Tharus, the (Tharus are Mongoloid), the first settlers of Dang valley, own about 15 per cent. The remaining is divided among various other castes with the smallest per cent (less than 1 per cent). e. g. to the Kamis (blacksmiths; also untouchables).

The rehabilitation of this irrigation project was undertaken in 1985 by the local irrigation users' committee with assistance from the Agricultural Development Bank of Nepal, under its SFDP program, and technical assistance from CARE/Nepal under the phase 1 Rapti Project (A USAID funded Rural Development project). The assistance from CARE/Nepal paid approximately 50 per cent of the total project cost. This was primarily in the form of construction materials, tools and equipment, logistic services, technical and managerial support (this amount is funded 80 per cent by Rapti IRDP and 20 per cent by CARE). The ADB/N has provided a loan for 30 Per cent of the total project cost and the remaining 20 per cent was provided by irrigation Users' Committee through local people's participation.

People's Participation:

The Rampur Irrigation System uses a system of labor contribution, locally known as **Kalami**. The **Kalami** consists of the following four categories of labour contribution by the farmers:

	4 Kattha	-	3	bighas*	=	1 labor/day;
	3 bighas	-	6	bighas	=	2 labor/day;
	6 bighas	-	9	bighas	=	3 labor/day;
and	9 bighas	-	12	bighas	=	4 labor/day.

If the allocated laborers do not come during their turn for the assigned work they pay a fine at the rate of Rs. 15-20 per day, per head. However, when emergency maintenance is needed all farmers have to come to repair the damaged canal. Regular rotational work is maintained for day to day operation

*1.5 bighas = 1 ha.

20 ropani = 1 ha.

of the canal. Emergency work is necessary during the monsoon when heavy rainfall with flood occurs and damages the intake dam and canal.

Local Management Groups (Water Management):

The Rampur Small Farmer Irrigation System is a good example of existing community-managed irrigation which has a formal organization to carry out the necessary works for the irrigation system. The organization committee has a chairman (adhyaksha), vice-chairman (upadhyaksha), three members and one watchman (kotwal) nominated by the village meeting which is held once a year.

The chairman and the vice-chairman are responsible for the allocation of water to the fields, arranging meetings, resolving conflicts, managing and supervising the works at the canal, whereas the members keep the attendance record of the farmers at work, the accounts and the minutes of the meetings. The **Kotwal** is responsible for patrolling the canal every day during the monsoon season. He informs the chairman and vice-chairman and calls the people for repair and maintenance work, if the canal has been damaged. The Kotwal gets Rs. 1800 per year from the villagers as his remuneration. The existing canal was constructed by villagers many decades ago. The rules pertaining to water allocation are based upon the availability of water in the canal. If the water is not sufficient in the canal, farmers use it on a rotation basis. The whole command area has been divided into 3 blocks (Tols).

Dispute Resolution:

A few farmers have tried to steal water due to the insufficient supply of irrigation water at the tail end of the command area. This has led to conflict which has arisen because of water availability differences among those at the head and those at the tail end of the canal. In such cases the committee

holds a meeting and the offending farmer is liable to a fine fixed by the committee.

Forest Resource Management:

Farmers of the Rampur irrigation command area have a forest of about 40 ha. of land area located near the main canal intake and is managed by the water management committee. It was observed that the cash income from this forest in 1985 was about Rs. 2,200. This money is used for the repair and maintenance of the canal. Forest grass are sold by the committee to farmers every year. It is the main source of income from the canal. This forest has been under the control of the same water users' committee for the past 10 years.

Existing Technology:

Wherever the above groups have evolved appropriate and efficient management system, they have generally operated outside the Government support structures and had no access to modern production technology. The observed irrigation projects lacked in modern technology for crop production. Local institutional support is weak; as a result, farmers cannot get access to improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and improved technologies.

Applying The Lessons of Traditional Group Management:

These case studies of different groups provide some insights into group behaviour which can be used for project design. From these case studies, it is evident that traditional local groups are in existence in the Hills of Nepal. They use traditional methods for managing a variety of activities. Since those groups provide a model for local organization and common resource management, projects & HMG/N need to recognize their importance and support them by providing technical know-how through extension services so that they can be more effective in their activities. Moreover, as discussed

above, the existing traditional groups could be incorporated into Small Farmer Development Program and supported and strengthened in their traditional functions.

Social Analysis:

The need for development is most acute in the Hills of Nepal. The population density per unit of cultivable and grazing lands and number of livestock are extremely high. However, farm incomes are low and food production is far below the acceptable consumption level. The low level of per capita agriculture, forestry production and livestock productivity have become so pervasive as to threaten the people's existence.

The use of the females as village extension field assistance in agriculture, livestock and forestry will provide farm women easier access to goods and services. Women should be approached together with their male counterparts. Although women may be reluctant to attending their first meetings of a grass-root level committees, it can be hoped that they will gradually come out and start realizing their potentialities to cope with the new demands of time.

People's participation in planning, implementation, decision-making, control and in benefit sharing of rural development activities should be encouraged not simply by asking for farmer's labour contribution (Shramadan). The local private group may work as an appropriate channel for the technological dissemination and diffusion process. This Will reduce social distance and communication gaps between people and the programs. It is equally important to involve the local leaders and key personnel in the village to reach the grassroot levels. For this, leaders should be chosen as motivators from different ethnic groups, castes and socio-economic strata for the maximum acceptability of the program. In this way, the leader gains encouragement, confidence, recognition and prestige, and hence, the programs can be easily acceptable to the rural people.

Conclusion

In the Hills of Nepal, there are several private groups already managing their community forest resources; these group need to be identified and incorporated into a government/ non government development program and be assisted in undertaking further afforestation and forest protection activities. In this regard, emphasis should be given to reinforce the program by establishing contact with the chosen representatives from such local groups. While supporting community forestry, village leaders would be a focal point. Training should be provided to such leaders in community forestry and forest resource development. Training is also needed in preparation of **Community Plantation** and **Community Forest** activities. Higher priority should be given to fodder tree development in collaboration with the Livestock Department.

Innovation attributed with advantage, simplicity, compatibility, trainability and observability significantly influences the farmer's decision-making process. Moreover, leadership plays a key role in these issues. It would be worth using the local leaders from the several existing private groups from different ethnic strata in the region as a channel for the dissemination and diffusion of the "forest ethic".

The local people should respect forest and voluntarily keep off their animals from encroaching upon plantation areas. The success of sustainable development of the forest depends very much on village people's understanding why forest must be conserved. Disseminating this information is a formidable task as it requires reaching a population which is largely illiterate.

The success of the community forestry program has been largely dependent on the interest of village people and their motivation to contribute to the program. Hence, efforts should be made to adapt basic community attitudes to the use and protection of forests.

The religious forests in some areas are in good condition because they are respected and protected by people in their vicinity. It has religious significance to them. There is a belief that in such area there is "Ban-Kali" (forest goddess). In many of such forests people go for worship. If some of the forests could be channelled towards religious forests by constructing temple in problematic areas, perhaps forest conservation would become easier and simplified.

In addition to forestry, there are several other sectors where assistance is needed. For example, agriculture, livestock health, family planning education and others are the primary areas. Even if it is not possible for a project to incorporate some or all range of these areas, a sound coordination should be made mandatory for all the other line agencies operating in villages. The challenges are both interconnected and interdependent requiring comprehensive approaches and popular participation.

Development means that Nepal has to meet the needs of quality of life of its people and of the future generation; hence, sustainable development and conservation must be firmly embedded in indigenous social, cultural, religious and economic systems in the society. However, it is not as easy or straightforward process. Painful choices have to be made. Therefore, sustainable development must rest on political will and the capacity of the nation to translate it into necessary action.

Notes

The present article is the outcome of a research proposal on a similar topic I prepared while working at the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Bergen, Norway (Aug.-Oct. 1990), in the capacity of a Visiting Scholar from Nepal. Besides, this article is based on the author's several

field works in the mid-Hills of Nepal between 1989-1990 while working for different agencies.

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However, the responsibility for the ideas and the overall organization in this article lies with me, the author.



Socio-Economic and Cultural Aspects of Ageing in Nepal

Dr. Rishi Keshab Raj Regmi

Introduction

The problems posed by the aged appear to assume increasing importance of late. The United Nations convened a World Assembly on Ageing in 1985 to discuss the problems. There was a move to declare the year 1982 as the year of the aged. The idea was to focus the attention of the member countries on the problems.

In the developed countries of the west the problems posed by the aged have assumed serious proportions and therefore probably the thinkers in these countries have become aware of them. These thinkers have drawn the attention of the other countries to this problem area. A problem which is serious in one country may not be regarded so in other countries; they may have other problems which have to be given a higher priority. But this aspect must be given due importance as Nepalese society too is fast transforming its structure and function and ageing has become an increasing problems for many.

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Accordingly, the present paper discusses the problems in its Nepalese context and perspective.

Nepalese Tradition in Caring For Aged

The Pluralistic, multireligious and mosaic culture of Nepalese society has adopted and adjusted with the culminating onslaught of western life styles and culture. The villages are no longer beset with old aged cultural and social tradition. There are signs of transformations in every sphere of social life, be it of social values, life patterns, customs and usages. The modern amenities and materialistic development has suppressed outwardly the foundation of spirituality, the basis of our society.

The Population Situation

In Nepal around 93 percents of the population live in rural areas. Population has gone up over the years with a proportionate increase in aged segment. There is also a simultaneous and growing trend of population shift from the rural to urban areas.

Percentage distribution of the total population by broad age-groups. (Nepal census 1952/54-81.)

Age Group	Year			
	1952/54	1961	1971	1981
0-14	38.44	39.87	40.46	41.35
15-24	18.48	16.96	17.45	17.70
25-59	37.65	37.64	36.47	35.21
60+	4.98	5.19	5.62	5.74
Not stated	0.45	0.34		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Out of the total population of 17 millions in Nepal, children 10 to 14 years and youth (15 to 24) together form nearly 60 per cent of total population. The total elderly or aged population in Nepal in 1981 is only 5.74 percent.

One of the outstanding features of the Nepalese population is found to be the nearly static age structure co-existing with a rapid increase in the size of the population. Even though the age distribution of population of Nepal has been nearly static there were some small but notable changes. These changes are as follows: there has been a slow but steady increase in the proportion of children below 15 years and of elderly persons aged 60 years and above with corresponding decline of the proportion of the population in the adolescent and adult ages particularly in the adult age group (25 to 59 years). The principle cause of this rise in the population under age 15 was probably the decline in infant and child mortality and in the proportion of those aged 60 years and above in the total population may be attributed to an increase in life expectancy associated with over all improvement in the mortality situation during last three decades (1952/54-81)

The proportion of older people of age 60 years and above is higher in rural than in urban areas. Nepal suffers a heavy burden of dependency particularly at young ages. Today roughly about 100 persons in the production age have to support 89 dependents in terms of food, clothing, health education and like. This is in contrast to the situation in the developed countries where there are only about 45 to 65 dependents per 100 persons of the productive groups.

The Terms Elderly, Aged, and Old: An Analytical Understanding

As different from the most indiscriminate use of these terms to-day, I argue that they have to be attributed to persons most cautiously since these terms have different meaning to different peoples and cultures. My primary distinctions are of the following:

1. those who show the generally accepted physical characteristics of old age, but who are capable of carrying on their work, and
2. those who are incapable of work, whether they are bedridden or not.

In Nepal, retiring age for a person is 60 years in government service and 63 years in university service. The elderly who are incapable of doing any work need to be specially understood because of their dependence upon others for physical, emotional and medical care.

The Family: The Man

In the Nepal, by the time a man passes the age of 50, he becomes an authority figure, having access to the managerial tasks of the land and the agrarian resources of the family, having control over the subsistence of tenants and laborers and having the authority of a father and grand father incharge of the economic and emotional needs of the problems, including those of the nephews and nices. Maintaining the joint family was the established practice of the household, the preconditions of which was to have enough agricultural lands to support several generations.

The Family: The Women

The wife gains prestige and recognition with her husband, although, her social mobility is restricted according to her community position. In all the functions of her lineage and related lineage she holds a highly respectable position, which gradually increases according to her increase in her age. She is an authority figure especially to her daughters and grand daughters, whose needs are met through her direct or indirect intermediary role with husband. She also manages the servants who work inside the house and meet the seasonal obligations towards them. Such obligations include offerings of food during family function of both the master and the servant and help rendered to the servant's family during life cycle ceremonies. Women in Nepal receive especial devotion from their male children, whatever may be their personal and social position. This devotion reaches the point of worship, as if towards a deity, along with the old women's increase of age, and when the women becomes

bedridden, and later dies. Ill treatment of old woman by her husband is irreligious. The woman shows enormous tolerance to her husband's misdeeds, including his extramarital adventures. Usually in higher castes and prestigious people divorce is never thought of by either partner. A significant outcome of the triangular relationship among husband, wife and children is that they mutually reinforce the attachment for each other economically and emotionally.

The Social Integration of the Elderly

In Nepal an elderly male is socially active as a leader of village affairs, including in the settlement of disputes, arrangement of marriages and supervision of life cycle ceremonies such as those of puberty, initiation, birthday marriage and death. The greater the wealth of a person the larger will be the patronage that he gives to the local village affairs. His social prestige and recognition become enhanced by the sanity and maturity of his social behaviour, especially in rendering help to the needy, as well as the frequent feasts he holds for the members of the village and the hospitality that he renders to the persons who visit the village.

The Hindu belief system has important consequences and insists that a man whether husband, son or even uncle, is caretaker of the women in the family. This belief is crucial with reference to the elderly husband's economic and emotional protection of his life.

Tradition in Caring for the Aged:

The care and honor given to the elderly in traditional Nepal is structured through socialization. Children are brought up to treat the grand parents as if they are deities. During auspicious occasions such as during alphabets learning (Saraswati puja) and for the atonement of misdeeds children are made to pray to the elderly for blessing and forgiveness. Children and visiting relatives fall at the feet of the elderly and pray for blessings. During Dasain festivals especially elderly aged persons are revered and are to be respected first.

Children are brought up with the conviction that not taking care of the needs of the elderly, showing disrespect to them and doing of speaking any thing that would emotionally hurt them, all constitute sins which may not even be atoned.

In Nepali society the girls are disciplined to care for the old because when they get married and are observed in their husband's households one duty that they have to perform is to take care of the needs of the old father-in-law and mother-in-law. If a woman shows any disrespect to her father-in-law or mother-in-law, her husband, other members of his household and even neighbors will not excuse her.

The elderly in Nepal play the most active part in the socialization of children. A good part of the socialization is done through story telling, of which their life stories and those of ancestors become dominant. As a result the children are integrated into the family and society by developing associated cognitive structure in them.

Children grow with awe for the knowledge of their grand parents and are deeply attached to them because of the love and care they give to the grand children. It is expected in Nepali tradition when people are old they will be respected, obeyed and taken care of. Even today the old people retort to the young ones that "they may know much that is in books, but we know the real things that come only with experience".

In Nepali household when the father becomes older, more and more family responsibilities are assigned to the oldest son. Finally, the son inherits the managerial responsibilities of the family when the father is totally incapacitated, bed ridden, or dying. It seems to me that the tradition of inheritance is a major economic and political factor that contributes to the loyalty and attachment of the children to the aged parents, especially the father.

The Social Honoring of Dying Elderly

When a man or woman is completely incapacitated by illness such a person will be attended at all times by one or

more members of the family and will be visited continuously by relatives, friends, and members of the village. Elderly in traditional Nepal live as an integral part of the family and society, and death according to the belief system.

The Elderly and Health Care in Traditional Nepal

There is a highly developed indigenous medical system in traditional Nepal (Ayurveda) that meets the health care needs of the elderly. There are organic medicines to treat senility and rheumatism, the two major illness of the elderly. Specialized diet and oil massage are given regularly. Religious fasts, prayers, and meditation contribute to physical and mental health. Above all, the harmonious and congenial relationship of the elderly with the family and the society at large, with honor and recognition, is crucial for the biological and emotional well being of the elderly.

The traditional Nepalese gerontological model is that of preindustrial agrarian culture. The old live and die integrated within the family and the village society, because the management of the economy, redistribution and family organization are all determined by the infrastructural conditions of the agrarian economy of preindustrial technology.

Nepali Structure of Family

The family in Nepali Society is the fundamental multi-purpose organization for many of the principal life functions of the individual or society. The family is the bearer of virtue and of public reputation: a man's reputation is linked with that of the family and with his own relationship. Family is also the economic unit.

The joint family system was the familiar system from ancient times. Though this system has by now shown the sign of breaking because of modernization and development activities, still in many parts of rural and urban Nepal joint family system is still alive. In the past joint family system was stronger and broader. Not only the parents' children, brothers and step

brothers lived on the common property sometimes it also included descendants and collateral upto many generations.

In the joint family there was immediate help to tide a member over illness, there was an increased efficiency of pooled labour and economy of a single kitchen. Domestic rites and celebrations are still practised in joint families. Each person is seen by others in the rural and urban areas in the light of his family's reputation. When a person comes to a major life transition such as marriage, the reputation of the family weighs heavily in the decisions that are made. He is much advantaged if his family is large, harmonious and joint thus demonstrating that its members are reliable worthy people.

Age and sex are the main ordering principles in family hierarchy. The men are regarded as having more decisive authority as compared to women and elders have greater authority than young. The patrilineal principle defines man to cooperate most closely in a family and lineage group. The family ideal governs the relation between close male kin. Each male is entitled to an equal share of the family property from his father. Women, whether in the status of daughter, wife or widow, are entitled to maintenance by their male kin, but under the traditional rule they had no other vested rights in the family property.

Though the joint family system was a ideal form of family structure in Nepalese society it has began to be disrupted because of job and other income generated activities and shifting of living place to different parts of the country. This has resulted in the breaking up of joint family which has tremendous impact on the security and care of aged person in the families.

Previously the joint family provided managerial personnel for the agricultural land holdings and was supported by the administrative system in which the eldest male becomes the head. In that situation elderly persons maintained the economic and social power of the family by preventing fragmentation and

by maintaining continuity. The family has become a multicomplex institution, included in it the needed religious institution or religious affiliations with ancestor worship. The elderly are still regarded with respect by the family and society in transitional Nepal. They are taken care of by at least one of the children in most cases, and they still enjoy favorable recognition, although not to the extent of traditional Nepal. Seasonal rituals to the ancestors are still performed.

However, at the same time neglect of the elderly, a situation that rarely happened in agrarian culture, has begun to occur.

Action to Strengthen Traditional Value

Traditional adherence to customs, usages norms and values are still in continuation in many parts of Nepal. But due to onslaught of Nepali cultural values by western values, obedience, respect and obligations to elderly people are weakening due to the impact of western life styles and amenities. The proportion of aged people will be increasing over the years in the future. With age, one's health goes down, physical and mental capacities may start failing. In short, in the old age (60 above age group) one is likely to grow more and more helpless, and so dependent on others in the day-to-day living. Usually such help is expected from one's children/spouses. But many in urban areas and to some extent in the rural villages, the grown up children have their separate households and may not be able to give this kind of assistance. The spouses may themselves be aged and therefore of little help, on the contrary, they themselves may be in need of help. Therefore the society should come forward with succor. The government has to provide old age pension scheme. The homes for the aged should be established where aged will be looked after by someone. The aged should be assured of security, warmth of care and love so that old people would not feel depressed and deprived. And in this lies the core of the problem: It is human nature to look forward to a life of contented repose in a graceful home of love and affection for which one has worked all life. Instead what the old find is formal care and loneliness. Their sunset years

appear to them as an appalling abyss of gloomy problems rather than the mellow glow of hope and peace. The problem of old age in the modern society seems to defy happy solution. It is a big challenge to the social scientists and humanists and in the west they have prepared themselves to meet it with determination.

As Nepal is taking some strides towards industrialization with the consequent urbanization and revolutionary changes in the political system and in the socio-economic structure it would be wise to assess the condition of the aged and ageing to gauge the nature and proportion of the problems that attend the transformation. Only then we will be able to put the problems in their proper perspective and to find effective means to tackle them. Full and clear grasp of the whole problem is basic to the successful planning in this regard. The growing momentum of the accelerating progress of development is shaking simultaneously from the traditional mooring, all the section of the diverged people in diverged ways, and leaves a trail of problem in its wake. These problems are big, deep and many and each section insists on the highest priority and quickest action for the problems that affect it in particular. Study of gerontological problems in Nepal has to start from the base, which should avoid the assumption that it is the same in character and degree as in the western developed countries tempting analogous treatment.

Institution for the Aged

As life expectancy grows, the changes in the dwelling places contribute to the institutional care and service to the neglected old people. These institutions in developed countries range from the home for the aged, and the nursing home for the disabled to mental or geriatric hospitals which have appeared mostly in United Kingdom. But the quality of life in these centers is poor and rigid limitations, lack of recreation and contact with the outside world suggests a constant battle with dehumanisation of the environment. It is to be realised that favorable psycho-social environment needs to be created by attractive environment and personal warmth of the administrative staffs.

Recent research in several countries has confirmed the favorable effects of thoughtful design on the physical activity and social behaviour of the inmates and the visitors. Institutionalization is less likely where traditional family attitude persist. It should be the last resort and then improvement should be sought in its staff, performance and service.

There is a bewildering series of nomenclature for planned housing of different types : council housing, adopted housing, Hongkong housing for the old people and their sheltered family housing, grouped housing in the U. K; Congregated housing in the U. S. A. and alternative housing. There is danger that rapid expansion of planned housing may adversely affect the quality of family life.

Much less research has been done on community relationships. Even then, it appears that in the poorer areas or growing cities, services should be family oriented rather than being elderly-specific. There is however, one danger to such a policy: it may exclude the elderly without family and it is they who really need help

In rural societies the family takes the full responsibility for its aged members and the community, of the unaffiliated. The home for the aged with services for mild functional incapacity is the first major age-specific

Residential Alternative to Emerge.

The next is the nursing home where medical and nursing services are available. The young people who migrate to urban areas, however, continue to feel the obligation to support their elderly relations. Thus, national policy cannot be determined by the single conclusion that intergenerations living is always the best.

The study of natural history of residential types may help a developing country like Nepal to foresee and modify the future changes. While in rural societies, family and neighbourhood take the full charge for the aged, hospitals replacing the almshouse are the first mode of caring for the aged not supported by

family in urban areas. Though poverty will hinder institutionalization in Nepal, the use of institution to house the healthy old may be useful. Home for the aged and nursing homes may support the old people with physical problems at lesser expense.

In Nepal, it is urgent to consider more effective alternatives for the care of the aged such as:-

- (1) reinforcing the continuity of family care and the organization of low technology social support to supplement family care, and
- (2) directing labour resource towards service functions.

An option is the state support on a mutual-aid basis rather than an institutional basis. Family and face-to-face support may be supplemented by cash disability allowance and attendant allowances. Family income may be enhanced if some member choose to care for the grand parents at home. A second option is the policy or support for organized low-technology home services that provide more humane and cost-effective care. If the attractiveness of the wage market, which cannot absorb all workers can be offset by socially recognized service labour, families can be aided by government for retention of the task and responsibility. Public funds could encourage rural groups and family members to live together or close to each other so that bonds of love are maintained even in urban settings. Housing policy can be formulated to stimulate intergenerational occupancy and tax incentives to ensure that the families choose to provide personal care for the elders are worthwhile to try instead of a rapid jump from traditional culture to depersonalized provision of entitlement based social services. Developing country like ours might find out the means of retaining as much of the old fabric of human relationship as is possible.

There is one ethical note to be remembered. The wage economy gives an individual right to do what he or she chooses, but obscures the obligation attached to freedom. So, developed

countries react against the tax-supported social provision for the helpless. The practical decision in developing country like Nepal would be to build on the caring mechanism that exist in its culture rather than to replace them according to western mechanism.

Existing Organization and Institution: A Case of Bridhyashram

For the aged existing organization and institution seemed to be negligible. The established organization and institution for the welfare of the aged is not found to be in the priority list of the government. There is a Bridhyashram (Senior Citizen House) at Pancha Dewal run by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. This Bridhyashram was begun since 1975, prior to it, in this place there were also some men and women, along with poor children. They used to live here only for food and lodging and would go for begging. Actually its history goes back to the year 1870 when late king Surendra Bir Bikram had established it for the poor, disabled persons. But later on Ranas and other aristocrats would send their servants and women when they were unable to serve them. It was not organized systematically until 1980 when this institution was taken over by Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare from Home Ministry. Study revealed that it is better run than what it was in 1980. There are at present 170 aged people. Out of 170, there are 76 males and 94 females.

The communities of which these aged persons belong are Brahmin, Chettry Newar, Gurung, Lama, Giri, Puri and 3 Biswakarmas. Most of these people belong to higher castes. Most of the aged living in this social welfare centre are from Bagmati zone, rest are from different districts. H. M. G., Ministry of labour & social welfare has allocated yearly budget of 8,35,475/- for the year 1991/1992. Only 7,000/- is separated for medicine which is not sufficient at all. Most of the aged living in the center are sick. Some of them are paralyzed, blind and disabled destitute. Some 50 beds are cared by Mother Teresa's Missionary charity. These lots are medically seen and cared by the sisters and the doctor. whereas in the section

seen by H. M. G. Ministry of labour and social welfare, there is only one Kabiraj (Ayurvedic) and the care is not found to be satisfactory. It is because Missionary sisters help from within and government employees just see it from outward, The living environment is not well. Sanitation is poor and sewage system is worse. Dirt and polluted water was found inside the courtyard of the center.

During coming financial year the centre is going to be shifted to Sankhamul where it is reported that building is already constructed but the aged people and the employees feel that building is not well planned and has great defect. They viewed, most of the residents of the welfare center are not willing to shift because they want to stay near Pashupati & Arya ghat. They are religiously attached with this place. Moreover new building at Sankhamul has toilets only in one side outside, the building so the aged are bound to be in trouble. Also they feel the spacing between the huts and rooms are very small which will put them in problem. However, the concerning authority must see it before they are shifted to new places.

There are such centers in Biratnagar and in Dhankuta for the old people but are not functioning well. Some centers are there in Rajbiraj, Birgunj, Butwal, Panchkhal were only children are taken.

High demand for such Bridhyashram or nursing home is experienced in Nepal. Many come to visit the center and find improper management and would go back with hopelessness. There seems to be dire necessity of such centers and nursing homes. For this three types of nursing homes or Bridhyashram can be well planned. One type for poor destitute, second type for the people of low income group who would like to stay by paying less amount, the third kind of nursing home could accommodate those rich and educated people who are willing to pay more.

The present situation tells us it is the need of the day. For such development of institutions for aged, existing NGOs and social workers and their agencies should come forward and government must help them for strengthening further.

Other Situations in Nepal

Nepal is a poor country, with per capita income being one of the lowest in the world. This poverty is greater in our rural areas. The semi towns and cities also have their poor living conditions. Though the joint family still survives in the rural areas, the chances are that the well being of aged in the indigent families would be sacrificed first. The social planners have to take special note of this possibility.

In the cities category of retired person is likely to swell in number. They will have problems of their own. Their income would fall suddenly and steeply with retirement. Pension, provident fund, gratuity received by them on retirement would not be enough to make for the loss of the earning while in service (Soodan, 1975). Continuous monetary inflation will further reduce their real-income and add to their hardship. All these present a mounting economic pressure on the retired age. Destitution is wider and more pronounced in the rural areas. The larger part of the population is engaged in an unequal struggle with poverty, and of these unfortunate, the aged are the hardest hit.

The observation and experience tells us that difficulties in physical movement, failing of sight and hearing, heart ailments, diabetes, arthritis and all that assail the human physique in the old age, prey upon the aged here singly and more than one at a time. Their ravages are promoted and aggravated by poverty keeping nourishment and treatment out of reach. Over crowded hospitals and health-post which again most at inconvenient distances and few and ill-equipped can not offer special room and care to the aged of the lower and middle groups. The getting of medical help is a harrowing adventure—a despair. One has to travel long and tiring distances, spend weary hours in unending queues and then on reaching the counter if lucky, meet an unfriendly and often surly reception. One can well imagine the plight of an old person and ailing.

The aged face much worse situation in the rural areas. When in the cities and towns at least hospital, private clinics and doctors are within reach. But in the rural villages, hospitals and health posts are few and far and mostly in neglected state. To reach hospital or to get a doctor means money and the people are too poor to afford it. So to suffer and die without even the prospect of a healing hand is the lot of the rural aged.

Health coverage is the responsibility of the government. But even the minimal achievement in this regard is straining its resource and efforts. The aged deserve greater health care than others. This ethical duty is sure to prove to be a big problem as time passes.

The Social-Psychological Problems

In our country, in the past, age was respected and valued, for aged represented practical wisdom born of long experience and maturity of mind. The old also were the depository of established laws, tried conventions and rules of life. There was a more tangible ground for the dignity enjoyed by the aged. Agriculture had been the only respectable occupation of the common people, to own land was highly regarded. The owners held titles till death and by this was looked upon as the ultimate master of the earning of the family. This higher status of *Pater familia* secured high esteem in the society/community.

School education with modern knowledge coupled with semi industrialization and the consequent urbanization has struck at the root of the traditional village society and attitude. The traditional wisdom is failing to guide in the changed style of life and the demands of modern economy. Our joint family languishes in the industrial atmosphere of the towns. The children of the old parents would live away and apart from their old parents. As a consequence, the old, even if in a lesser degree in the villages than in the towns, do not command any longer ready and willing obedience, care and services from their children. This is the general impression.

With the decline in the standing with the family and so with the society the old would be liable to be subjected to material as well as psychological depression at the personal level. There may also be other contributory factors to add to the misery. One such may be the loss of conjugal partner, friends and other life-long associates. This, along with physical decline, would deprive person of social contacts he or she been accustomed to the isolation would tend to breed morbidity and frustration. One feels oneself void-lost with no hope for escape from the gloom. And then there may be the growing scare of death, closing in upon. All these may culminate into a consuming pain rendering every thing in life bitter and hostile. So there is likely to be mental illness among such aged and organized thinking and efforts should be made in this regard of social problem.

Conclusions

In a subsistence economy like ours, there is hardly any scope for the majority of people in rural areas to save or invest for old age support as is possible in the developed world and in urban areas in this country. Under such circumstances children of many of them were serving as old age security. The lack of suitable alternatives to children as a source of security in old age or the difficulties and uncertainties in taking advantage of them even if they existed is one of the factors for the frustrating experience of the birth control programmes in the less developed countries. If the population pressure is to be reduced in the country the only choice left open is to accept the small family norm by adopting one or other method of birth control. To achieve this it is all the more important now to try to reduce the reliance of parents in sons as old age security.

The pension scheme even if introduced in the country will be of a welfare measure for the destitutes only. If the pen-

Note:- I thank Prof. Kailash Nath Pyakuryal, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribhuvan University for his comment and inspiring suggestions regarding the final preparation of this paper.

sion schemes can be extended to all the aged, with higher amounts paid to the couples with no son to support than that paid to such as have, it would certainly go a long way in reducing the parents total reliance on sons in the years to come. Birth control programme accompanied with old age security schemes would surely lead to substantial decline in the rates of population growth.

Suggestions

1. The need of national attention for the care of the aged must be viewed with great importance by the society and concerned government agencies.
2. The aged above 60 years after all constitute a mere 5-6 percent of the population, and by far a larger part of them are spread over the wide countryside where the family and the community still carry on, by and large the old tradition of caring for the old. This has helped in obscuring the reality from view.
3. Eradication of poverty is rightly a problem of much greater urgency and its solution will solve the problem of the aged at least in its economic aspect.
4. Pension scheme must be extended to destitute. The social workers may be inducted in the implementation of the scheme and should work in the field.
5. The establishment of the homes and nursing homes should be given priority in the social workers' plans. The women, however, should have separate homes, as their problem is of different kind.
6. Gerontological study must be done first to identify the social problems of ageing in Nepal, by anthropologists and sociologists.
7. A special medical service for ailing aged should be made in the hospitals. It can also be recommended that it may not be too much of trouble to have special quizes for them at the

out door patient counters, transport ambulance service when distances are great and journey difficult.

8. A counselling programme may be introduced to advise the aged employees how to adjust themselves in their changed circumstances.
9. NGOs should be encouraged by every means when they wish to help eradicate problems of ageing in Nepal.
10. Social security planning must immediately be done.

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Religion, Society And State In Nepal

Dipak Raj Pant

State of the Religion

Nepalese society is made up of a variety of small, comprehensive units. Some of these units are "natural" (1), in the sense that these are composed of members related among themselves by organic ties, i. e. common descendance, kinship, marriage, common territoriality etc. Family (Nep. *Parivara*), clan or closest kinship group (Nep. *Khandan, Khalak, Gharana*), caste (Nep. *Thari*) and, to some extent, ethnos (Nep. *Jati*) reflect the natural grouping in Nepal. Among the additional factors for social grouping religion is perhaps the most important one.

The religiousity of a group is determined, in the first place, by a characteristic subjective (individual or collective) experience of the mystery (the "unknown" or the "holy"). It is a basic datum which can not be properly explained in rational terms and it is certainly not reducible to the influences of any external (historical or environmental) factors. In the second

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place, a group's tradition (*Sanskrit* and Nep. *Parampara*), more or less constantly, shapes the religious attitude and behaviour of its members.

From the viewpoint of *form*, religious tradition is a *Continuum* of belief, knowledge, practices and skills of a group which is called *Parampara* by the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas (2). It undergoes changes and developments due to the influences of external (historical and environmental) factors and of the human actors. It is determined by the psycho-social character (*ethos*) of the ethnic or social unit, too. From the viewpoint of *content*, religious tradition is the treasure containing the original intuitions (religious experience) and their theoretical (*weltanschauung*, doctrines, ethics . .) as well as practical (*cultus*) expressions.

Hinduism, Buddhism and many ethnic traditions (Nep. *Loka-parampara*) are so complexly interwoven in the central Himalayan region that any intellectual inquiry relying only upon the classical study or upon petty ethnography is bound to mislead; or, at most, it may offer only a partial and fragmented picture of the reality. Empirical study of the cultic practices of smaller social units (e. g. family, clan, caste group, ethnos, community-settlement or *Basti* etc.) should not be neglected while focussing on the over all religious tradition. The ground reality in Nepal (and elsewhere in and around the Himalayan region) demands a new, interdisciplinary approach to the study of religion. I would insist on the combination of classical scholarship with anthropological investigations.

A common Nepalese *home religiousus* lives a pluricultural religious life. Each family has its exclusive cult shared by all the members known as *Kula Devata* (deity of the lineage). Some caste groups (e. g. *Kami*) have their own specific cult along with that of lineage which is supposed to be the tutelary and guiding deity (e. g. *Vishvakarma* of the *Kami* or blacksmiths). Each compact territory, where diverse communities have settled, has its own local cult shared by all the families, caste groups, individuals and

ethnoses despite their differences in other cults and even in their racial or ethnic belonging. Each ethnic group has its own tradition and major cults of tutelary deities, ancestors, primordial preceptors etc. (3). Most interesting of all, it is very common to find individual persons being specifically devoted to a particular deity or superhuman entity of his/her choice. Alongside the cults of family, caste, locality (*Basti*), ethnos and classical pantheon, one chooses a god or goddess or a superhuman entity or even a group of such entities for his/her private and intimate worship. Such cults are called *Ishta Devata* ('friend god') (4).

The exclusive cults of smaller units (family, caste, ethnos, locality) help to maintain cohesion, identity and the "little" traditions within the broad frame of the Himalayan sub-civilization. The cults of locality or community-settlements (*Basti*) provide the meeting ground for the peoples of diverse ethnolinguistic origins, different families and caste groups. The intimate cults of individual persons facilitate mystico-contemplative realization of the singles. The contemporaneity of all these cults is the unique feature of the religious culture of Nepalese people. The larger Hindu (in some areas, Buddhist) identity is not an exclusive and substantial reality of a certain group or of a certain majority in the Nepalese context. Especially, the Hindu identity is that broad frame of reference which links all the indigenous cults and insulates the whole, but it does neither completely unite nor create a common or unique 'type'.

Most varied traditions have been combined in the formation of Nepalese religious culture which is unique and perhaps one of the rarest examples of ethno-religious pluralism. Majority of the people observe a complex, syncretic and highly localized religiosity rather than a 'religion' in the conventional sense. The magico-religious tradition of the Nepalese majority, rural householders with agro-pastoral occupation, has been also called "popular Hinduism". Magical and shamanic elements of many ethnic traditions (provenient from Tibeto-Burmese ethnolinguistic origins and, in some details, akin to those of central

and northern Asian people) have been blended with the classical Hindu/Buddhist (i. e. Indo-Aryan) traditions.

Local natural environment has played dual role in the religious history of Nepal. First, it has relatively isolated Nepal from the rest of Indian subcontinent and thus spared the alteration in its spiritual and intellectual climate, unlike in India, due to alien subjugation and pressures. Second, it has helped in binding different magico-religious elements and shaping the over all character of the ethnoses living within the Himalayan environment.

A distinct organic spirituality reflected through the cosmobiological symbolism (animals, plants, rivers, mountains, etc.) is to be found commonly among all ethnoses and groups despite many differences. Except the Muslims, a few Christians and *Theravadi* Buddhists, all socio-religious groups in Nepal (the Hindus, *Mahayani* and *Vajrayani* Buddhists, and all ethnic traditional groups) have cosmo-biological symbolism referring constantly to the natural elements characteristic of the Himalayan area. These "indigeneous" groups share many symbols and refer to the same elements found in the local physical environment. It is obvious that a long process of adaptation (amongst the cultures in the common environment, and between the single cultures and the environment) has been traversed by these groups.

There are also groups and traditions which have not developed within the local eco-system. These have not undergone the long process of adaptation within a specific and distinct natural environment like that of Himalaya. Therefore, these groups maintain a more or less clearly visible separation from all the "indigeneous" groups and traditions. Such extra-indigeneous traditions do not possess equally vigorous cosmobiological symbolism referring to the natural elements found in the local physical environment. Their symbolism is more of an ethico-personalistic type (5). They refer to celestial, non-immanent and non-figurative reality without any link to the local

environment. The Muslims (2.7% of the population, originally immigrants from the Indian plains), the Christians (around 30,000, immigrants, expatriates and a few neo-converts of which the majority belonging to several Protestant churches), and the *Theravadi* Buddhists (exact figure unknown, recently introduced in Nepal) are the extra-indigeneous groups in Nepal; it is also noteworthy that almost all of them are concentrated in the urban areas.

According to the official sources, Hinduism (obviously, including most of the ethnic traditions of the Himalayan midlands and plains) is practiced by the majority (89.5%). Buddhism (5.3%), Islam (2.7%), Jainism (0.1%) and others (2.4%) are also said to be the religious traditions practiced by the Nepalese populace (6). These data are seriously questioned by many as not only too inaccurate but also tendentious. Many ethnoses, Buddhists and the Jains share the popular Hindu cults (e. g. *Siva*, *Vishnu*, *Sakti*, *Ganesh*, *Bhajrab* etc.). It is being objected that the cultic commonness has led to the inclusion of many socio-religious groups within the category "Hindu" while actually not being "Hindu" strictly (7).

Religion of the State

Nepal has been big or small, compact or fragmented, in different historical periods (8). The last unification process, undertaken by the *Gorkhali* King Prithvi Narayan in mid-18th century, was the decisive one. It brought together many different ethnoses and territories never accomplished by any other central power in the Himalayas before. The *Gorkhali* unification was a politico-military annexation of a number of peoples and lands along the central mountains, valleys and hills of the Himalayan region. It was a forceful defensive insulation of a multi-ethnic area aimed to avert the subjugation by the then alien "high" powers (i. e. India-based Muslims and British).

The *Gorkhali* conquerors were not people of a single ethnic/caste group but the *Gorkhali* elites, i. e. *Brahmins* and *Kshatriyas* (Nep. *Bahun-Chhetri*), were a distinctly Indo-Aryan

ethnos and orthodox Hindus (9). So were most of the conquered rulers of all those reigns in the Himalayas, including the Malla kings of Kathmandu valley. The *Gorkhali* campaign had nothing to do with the so called "Hinduization" or "Sanskritization". The Hindu factor did not dictate internal politico-military process but it played the central role in mobilizing all Nepalese indigeneous groups against the waves of Muslim and Western conquests which have done so much to alter the spiritual and intellectual climate of the Indian subcontinent. Due to the *Gorkhali* politico-military shrewdness, favoured by its geographical position, Nepal has been the only country of what one might call "South Asia left to herself, to preserve and develop the tendencies inherent in the region, its cultures and religions..."(10).

Numerous ethnic traditions lived together, interacted and underwent changes following their contacts with the others and having been insulated by the Hindu regimes. What has been existing in Nepal could be called a multilateral interactive system of ethno-social organisms. Present-day Nepalese nation-state is a formalized political version of that system. The process of formalization was initiated even before the *Gorkhali* conquest, by the earlier Hindu regimes. The *Gorkhali* unification fortified that. Gradually, effective centralization of power and subsequent projection of a distinct nationhood started to take place by the end of last century and proceeded throughout this century. It has been always accompanied by the Hindu identity of the regime which left each ethno-religious group to undergo its own course freely. The projection of Hindu nation-state has also been a result of the historical compulsion of self-legitimacy by a small power (Nepal) *vis-a-vis* neighbouring big powers (British India and then the Republic of India); and, by a central regime *vis-a-vis* its own heterogeneous subjects (11).

After the recent political change, the new constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal has re-affirmed its Hindu character; Nepalese state is declared to be a Hindu state (12). Unlike in

the past, many raised their voices in opposition to the Hindu state. Among the dissenting voices, the most prominent were the newly organized and self-styled ethno-political organizations, some neo-Buddhist groups based in the urban areas and the far left political circles.

According to the constitutional provision, Hindu festivities are national, Hindu sacred places (also the Buddhist ones) are national patrimony and the Hindu culture is to be promoted and safeguarded by the state. The religious minorities are free to profess and practice their own cults, but propagation of their faith and conversion of the others is strictly prohibited (13). This provision does not make any difference to the majority Hindu and Budhists who do not practice propagation and conversion of the others; but it is bound to antagonize the Muslim and christian minorities for whom propagation and conversion are doctrinally sanctioned and pious acts. The ultra-democrats and the far leftists of Nepal consider this to be a limitation imposed upon the fundamental human rights, or a clean chit to the feudal residues. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the people and political analysts defend the Hindu state. For the rest, who can say what would have been the inter-ethnic and inter-communal situation in Nepal today if the strictly monotheistic and exclusivist Islam or Christianity or rigidly ethical Theravada Buddhism were to be the dominant force instead of the all-inclusive, permissive, shapeless and centreless Hinduism?

Note and References :

- (1) See J. wach, *Sociology of Religion*, Univ. of Chicago, 1971 (12th). pp. 54 . . f f, for the "Natual" grouping.
- (2) 'Tradition' in the Nepalese context is derived from the Sanskrit original term *Parampara* which means "uninterrupted series", 'due arrangement in succession'.
- (3) The cult of *Garpake Baba* among the *Magars* (a group in mid-western and western hills of Nepal, belonging to the

Tibeto-Burmese linguistic family), the cult of *Budha Subba* among the *Kiratis* (a larger ethnic group inhabiting eastern hills, belonging to the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic family) are two widely known examples. Even the people of other ethnic/caste venerate these patron deities if they happen to live in the same area.

- (4) An *Ishta Devata* is "handpicked" by an individual at any moment of his/her life under the influence of others or following his/her own "special" experience (dreams, events, visions, etc.). The cult may coincide with the family or group cults, but usually it is a separate and parallel cult. It is not contraposed to any other cult, i.e. of the family, group or locality. An individual may "choose" a cult of an ethnic group or locality other than his/her own.
- (5) In my *"IL mondo della maschera : saggio antropologico Sul Simbolismo magico-religioso della maschera"*, ECDP-HeLiopolis, 1988, part III, a detailed discussion on the cosmo-biological and ethico-personalistic symbolisms has been attempted.
- (6) Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population Monograph*, HMG, Kathmandu, 1987 (according to the census 1981).
- (7) Most of the traditional Nepalese refer to Buddhism as *Bauddha marga* ("Bauddha's way"), as one among many other "ways" such as *Saiva Marga* (Sivaite "Way"), *Vaishnava Marga* (following Vishnu) and so on. Nobody in the past conceived the religious tradition in terms of "religion", "Hinduism", "Buddhism", "Jainism", "ethnic" etc. Only the foreigners, subsequently, the native moderns (the "educated" ones) have started to use such terms and categories in the last few decades. This certainly has an adverse impact upon the socio-religious equilibrium. The protest by neo-Buddhist and ethno-political organizations, in the recent period, against the Hindu state is closely linked with the insertion and permanence of such "new" social terms and categories.
- (8) The kingdoms of *Kirati* (900 B. C. - 200 A. D.) and of *Licchivi* (200 A. D. - 800 A. D.) were stretched well beyond the

valley of Kathmandu and Bagmati river basin.

- (9) The term *Gorkhali* (meaning "those of Gorkha") originally denoted only the inhabitants of Gorkha, a small hill reign in the central Nepal from where the Nepalese unification campaign was launched. Later all the peoples of central midlands, who contributed in the campaign, were known as *Gorkhali*. They were *Bahun-Chhetri* (orthodox Hindus and Indo-Aryan ethnos); *Gurung*, *Maghar*, *Ghale*, *Gharti* etc. (Tibeto-Burmese ethno-linguistic groups loosely connected with the Hindu archipelago); and, *Sarki* (cobblers), *Damai* (tailors) and *Kami* (blacksmiths) - all of these occupational castes are Indo-Aryan ethnos practicing Hinduism.
- (10) B. Kolver, *Some Examples of Syncretism in Nepal*, paper for the seminar "German Research in Nepal: Results and problems", Kathmandu, March 12-15, 1990.
- (11) See, R. Burghart, *The Formation of the Concepts of Nation-State in Nepal*, in: JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES, vol. XLIV, no. 1, 1984, pp. 191-125, for detailed discussion. Majority of the citizens of the Republic of India are Hindu whose support to any regime in Nepal is crucial. The Hindu elites of India have always cherished the Hindu state in Nepal since India is a secular and "free-for-all" country while Nepal is the only Hindu country in the world.
- (12) Despite a long debate among the protagonists of the recently and successfully organized popular revolt against the absolute monarchy, at the end, almost all agreed to maintain the Hindu state. The Hindu state was declared by late King Mehendra (father of the present monarch) in 1962. That move served two political purposes: first, a tacit legitimacy was obtained from the India rulers who were not very happy with the late king for his abrupt dissolution of the parliamentary multi-party system; second, the quiet and conservative people of Nepal were appeased by recognizing explicitly their religious tradition even at the political levels. Through the traditionalist move, the then king secured

political vantage. The new democratic leadership, which humiliated the monarchy recently (Spring 1990), however, continued with Hindu state while curbing almost all the political powers of the king. See, *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047*, 1990, part I, art. 4: 1.

(13) *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047*, I :19 : 1.

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Community Development as a strategy to Rural Development

Kailash Pyakuryal¹

Community Development can be viewed as an approach to rural development. Community development focuses more on interacting human beings within a geographical boundary whereas, rural development embraces more an ecological perspective.

Human settlements are found both in rural, as well as, urban areas, but rural development programs are designed to affect rural people. Commonly addressed issues are rural poverty, illiteracy, ill health, regional disparity, unequal power or the other. Rural development aims to improve the standard of living of rural people. Thus community development can be viewed as a strategy to rural development. This paper is organized into 3 sections. First section deals with the concept of community development, second section deals with the rise and fall of community development and the last section ends with the concluding remarks.

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1. Community Development

After the rigorous analysis of all the available 44 definitions of community, George A. Hillery Jr. in his article "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement" has attempted to generalise the following :

- i. That there is no complete agreement among sociologists as to the nature of community,
- ii. That certain ecologists have been the most radical deviant in formulating the concept of community,
- iii. That with the ecological relations viewpoint excluded, others agree on the social institutions,
- iv. That in defining rural community they agreed mostly that rural community has an area in which social interaction and one or more common bonds were found (Hillery pp. 111-123).

The term community has very loosely been used elsewhere such as a "community of sportsmen", "Buddhist community", "International community", or "world community". Such usage does not communicate the sociological meaning of the term for discussion and analysis so for the purpose of conceptual clarity, the following essential components could be considered to the meaning of a rural community in Nepal:

- i. There must be a group of interacting people on the basis of mutual dependence and concern,
- ii. Who live in a well defined and limited geographical area,
- iii. Who have a sense of belonging or identification or community consciousness,
- iv. They have common social values, norms, and other aspects of culture, and
- v. The community should have some necessary social institutions i. e., schools, governing agency, credit agency etc.

Community development can be viewed as 'Self-Help, Approach to Rural Development. Under the 'self-help' philosophy of development there is an attempt made to enlist and inspire the people in the determination of desirable change in goals and in the implementation of program to bring about the change deemed desirable.

Other agency,s role (outside the traget system) are expected to maintain neutrality in decision-making episodes yet they play organizational and informational roles. This approach is appealing because of its apparent compatibility with democratic ideology.

The distinctive feature of community development is the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their levels of living with reliance as much as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make them more effective. The principal *advantage* cited by champions of the self-help type of program (C. D.) is the *involvement* of the people themselves in the decision and program implementation processes. Such involvement secures participation and greminates the feeling of being involved in ones destiny. Another advantage, frequently cited, is that local persons are *Knowledgeous* about their problems and people and this lessens the risk of objectives being jeopardized because of the ignorance of local beliefs and customs which characterize outside agents.

The *disadvantages* of this approach can also be listed in two droad headings: *First* is what may be called as the in-experience and inertia of localities. Local people seldom have the sophistication to comprehend problems in an over-all sense that is think in the abstract about society-wide benefits.

There is also a difficulty in keeping them interested over a period of time. A lack of progress quickly dissipates their enthusiasm as volunteers any may even lead to more

negative reactions. The *second* broad disadvantage of the self-help approach is the complex nature of societal structures. Very few problems can be solved with only local resources, communities seek and need governmental and non-governmental assistance in varying degrees in obtaining essential expert advice, economic resources, and technological items. This involvement tends to negate idea of self-help to a certain extent. In summary then, the problems which tend to plague the planners of C. D. programs are a function of the long and risky volunteer process and of the outside help needed to get such programs under way and to bring them to a successful conclusion. These disadvantages are recognised by the practitioners of C. D. programs but are generally excused as a necessary encumbrance of democratic process.

2. Rise and Fall of Community Development

Soon after the second world war, colonial empires crumbled and foreign rulers departed, leaving the unfinished task of rural development for their successors. The old problems remained unsolved, complicated and formidable. For the new states, putting their topsy-turvy house in order proved even more difficult than regaining independence (note that Nepal also faced similar situation after the fall of Rana regime). The world was now devided into two conflicting camps: Socialist Camp and American Camp. They built on their colonial foundations and retained, almost unchanged, their political, economic and administrative heritage. They made gradual reform not revolution and maintained intimate relations with their old masters.

From 1950 onwards, America was the undisputed leader of the "free world" camp. The leader was determined to restrain, by hot or cold war, the expansion of radicalism, and to bolster client nations. The great leader started aid programs all around the world. Apart from military aid, material aid was given in the shape of loans, grants, capital and consumer goods. Technical aid was provided in the form of experts, advisors and

foreign training. And ideological aid flowed in through the dissemination of orthodox economic and sociological wisdom. In the dawn of the fifties, rulers of many penurious states hopefully regarded America as the good fairy and foreign aid as a magic wand.

During this decade, Americans sponsored two great rural programs. Community Development and Agricultural Extension. The former was newly fashioned by American Sociologists, while the latter was an old product of the American land grant colleges. C. D. promised political peace by including everyone in a harmonious community and putting an end to conflicts. It promised economic prosperity by inculcating the desire for development and by securing common participation. As a weapon to the cold war, C. D. offered the quietism of consensus as a superior alternative to turbulent radicalism.

C. D. relied mainly on a government village level worker (VLW) as the agent of change. In Nepal too, community development approach was imported from India under the name of Village Development Program in 1951; and first the VLWs and later the Junior Technical Assistants (JTA) were the agents of change. This change agent was advised to collaborate closely with local people/"natural" leader. Evidently VLW/JTA came to help everybody, not by fighting for the weak against the strong, but by uniting all of them, weak or strong, into a fraternal community. Surely all could join hands for the sake of development.

The VLW was a catalytic agent who would unite villagers and help them find their felt and unfelt needs. He would teach them to form committees and councils for the completion of the projects. Now, and then a VLW would also encourage and stimulate the villagers by finding matching grants and technical assistance. A VLW was a multipurpose agent. He would combine the functions of a missionary, an organizer, a technician and a patron. C. D. aspired to coordinate the activities of other departments and follow an integrated approach. Its vision of

development included the improvement of everything: social harmony, economic production, health and recreation. In the fifties C. D. became a world-wide movement. Nepal also did not remain untouched. But its decline was as sudden as its rise. In 1964, USAID abolished its C. D. division. In India too, after a decade of great faith and enormous investment in C. D. as the best strategy for rural development, suddenly the emphasis shifted from C. D. to modernizing agriculture, building rural institutions, *panchayats*, cooperatives and land reform. Nepal followed the same path and since C. D. was quietly abandoned by both parents America and India, in Nepal too C. D. either was modified to various other kinds of program such as area development or integrated rural development program or it got limited to the project level in various externally funded development activities.

Traditional practice of self help had been in operation in Nepal from the historical past. Labour exchange is one of such mutually benefiting activities. Semi-formal organizations such as Municipality Cleaning office or the Chandra Weaving Extension Society date back to around early 1920s. Similarly Development Board, Agriculture Council, welfare Society and National Planning Committees were established during the period 1935 to 1950 (K. C., 1990). Almost all of these Non-Governmental (NG) and Governmental (G) organizations were basically meant for welfare activities.

Community Development Approach was introduced in Nepal only in 1951 under the name of village Development. As stated above, though welfare activities at the community level were not new to the Nepalese people, yet, externally introduced CD programs lacked the integration of local wisdom, values and aspirations and thus were found unsuitable and could not sustain the community. Supply of inputs such as improved seeds and chemical fertilizers in heavily subsidized rates or free distribution of medicines were some of the features of CD program.

Assumption that farmers would continue to adopt those technologies after they knew and practised them came to be futile. Rather heavy subsidization had a negative effect on farmers; it made them more dependent on GOS and/or NGOS which were responsible for it. Besides GOS, there were 13 Nepali NGOS at the national level, 5 at the regional level and 154 at the local level. Similarly, there were 50 registered international NGOs of which 14 were directly related to CD activities in Nepal (K. C., 1990).

Program developed by the community members themselves which sought supplementary assistance from outside agencies are different from externally thought and brought program which later sought participation from the community members. In Nepal, most of the CD type programs reflect outside agency's (GOs and NGOs) value judgements on deciding and implementing the program. Mostly they tend to be different from people's needs and aspirations and hence lack people's participation at the desirable level. Thus CD type program appear to be of ad hoc in nature and after the figurative completion of the project, its impact usually become invisible; it is not sustained and the project rarely gets the status of an on-going people's program.

Khan (1977) mentions four crucial imperfection of CD.

- i. It promoted welfare activities more effectively than productive activities. Particularly, it seemed incapable of solving the national food crisis.
- ii. CD did not succeed significantly in forming harmonious communities. It does not secure general participation. The poorer classes remained as they were, apathetic and sceptical.
- iii. CD's reliance on its own agents and total collaboration with established leaders further confirmed the elitist and

paternalist bias, a colonial heritage, and inhibited the growth of true local initiative.

- iv. CD's role as a generalist captain and coordinator was not acceptable to the specialist departments. Agricultural experts especially complained about the inadequacy of a multipurpose VLW as their agent.

3. Concluding Remarks

It is generally held that economic development occurs in a succession of capitalist stages and that today's underdeveloped countries are still in a stage, sometimes depicted as an original stage, of history through which the now developed countries passed long ago. It is also widely believed that the contemporary underdevelopment of a country can be understood as the product or reflection solely of its own economic, political, social and cultural characteristics or structure.

Yet historical research do not support these view points. Research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries (Frank, Andre G., 1966).

When we examine this metropolis - satellite structure, we find that each of the satellites, (including underdeveloped Nepal), serves as an instrument to suck capital or economic surplus out of its own satellites and to channel part of this surplus to the world metropolis of which all are satellites.

The rural towns, which are themselves satellites of the urban metropolis -- and through the latter of the world metropolis -- are in turn rural centres around which their own local satellites orbit.

That present underdevelopment of Nepal can be explained from this conceptual framework and is the result of its

century old participation in the process of world capitalist development. The rural-urban relationship makes a larger satellite - metropolis orbit to its giant neighbour which further becomes a satellite to the metropolis Europe.

The goal of development may never be achieved by importing sterile stereotypes from the metropolis which do not correspond to their economic reality and do not respond to their liberating political needs. A more historical, holistic, and structural approach may help the people of the underdeveloped countries to understand the causes and eliminate the reality of their development of underdevelopment and their underdevelopment of development.

Development is built on human aspirations and it is multifaceted: economic, social, political and intellectual. Since CD has a democratic ideology, it deserves revitalized attention and promotion.

However, a theory which integrates micro-level ideals (such as CD) with the macro-level needs (human aspirations) have to be developed.

It is a challenge to the practitioners of rural development how a rural community, as a peripheral satellite, could be protected from its central metropolis and yet be brought into the mainstream of development.

At present, there appears to be more pronounced class consciousness in Nepal than before. Class conflict between 'haves' and 'have nots' is sharpening. Nepal is a country with predominantly rural or rather peasant population with a low level of industrialization, a high level of unemployment rate, poverty, low level of education, and ill health. In countries of such social structure, the main social conflict arise between peasantry and landed aristocracy.

In such a situation, program of development, such as improved agricultural technologies, better transportation and communication, education and medical health and so on would rather sharpen social conflicts.

The majority of the peasants are too poor to benefit from such technologies. New opportunities created by such purely technical progress of development will be mostly utilized by the upper and middle strata. Since progress of development would further sharpen social conflicts, it indicates that such progress may lead to unanticipated results.

It has been observed that progress of development could be more effective if they are applied by new political power (Galeski, n. d.) which emerged during the process of change in the general socio-economic situation, the new power would be temporarily free of basic social conflicts and program of development could be more flexible in creating a new socio-economic system and new social structure. Since Nepal is passing through similar situations at present, there is every reason we believe change which leads to prosperity.

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National Integration In Nepal

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1. Concept and Definition:

National integration is an emotional attachment to nation (Etzimi, 1965); a process as well as an end product (Angel, 1941); a condition achievable by a nation (Aberle and Fordon as quoted in Doshi, 1978, and 1989); a condition and process (Ghurye, 1968; and Cohon & Middleton as quoted in Doshi, 1978). Ghurye emphasizes that it consists of two elements: political integration and social integration. All these above definitions suggest that integration is a drawing together of those elements into something more cohesive with the parts linked more closely together co-existence. It is through this process that people develop a deep sense of we-feeling and belongingness and thereby a feeling of national loyalty. Through this process, it is possible to maintain a harmonious and lively relationship between the various structural components of

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society, where so that people feel themselves to be part of a comprehensive and harmonious social life.

Cohen and Middleton (Doshi, 1978) have substituted the term integration by term incorporation. They have explained it in terms of *condition* and *process*. As a process they mean continuous interaction of diversified groups, ethnic groups or individuals in a congenial situation. And as a condition, they have used the notion of pluralism, in which they have explicitly explained that the degree of incorporation would be higher (or greater) in a place where the boundary (socio-cultural, political, economic or sociological) would be at a minimum.

Gardon, who views it as a process has attempted to look at it at two levels: the community integration level and the pluralistic integration level. Integration, in reality, is the conglomeration of people from different walks of life, where they can share and interact with each other continuously without any obstacles, regardless of their stratified position in the society. In an integrated situation, they develop the sense of "we-feeling" and disown possibilities of conflict and tension. About the importance of integration, Roy (1989: 19) states,

... integration presupposes the elimination of barriers in the primary group relations and community life of the various ethnic groups of the nation. It involves easy and fluid mixture of people of different social, religious and nationality backgrounds in various walks of life, like social cliques, families, organizations and intimate friendship".

Integration prevails in those societies, where tensions and conflicts do not prevail. It is both a process as well as an end product. Thus it can be said that integration is the main point in the society to reduce both tension and conflict. The question arises around what the societies should be integrated. In this Angel asserts that the "Common Values and Welfare" is the key thing to achieve integration in the society.

Ghurya, an Indian scholar, has classified the concept of integration. Etzione (1965) stresses that national integration means an emotional condition, which includes the concept of nation as well. It is a self-sufficient integrative mechanism (the maintenance of its existence and form is provided for by its own processes and is not dependent upon those of external systems or member units and the notion of integration of the nation-unit is its ability "to maintain itself in the face of internal and external challenges". He has used the term unification to mean the process aspect of integration.

Nihan Ranjan Roy (as quoted in Doshi, 1978: 53) advocates that integration means a kind of participation by all group in the mainstream, namely,

- (i) Integration into a common whole, where all diverse culture, population, geographical regions would be brought together,
- (ii) integration into a common productive organization; and
- (iii) integration into a secular and democratic set up provided by the constitution".

Lewis has said that "a single common language" is the primary force of integrating the heterogeneous societies into a single whole. He takes it as a process.

As regards the integration process of an individual, Roy (1989:2) states;

"Integration, as a subjective and individual process, involves attitudinal changes and the removal of fears, hatreds, suspicions, stereotypes and superstitions. Intergration involves problems of personal choice, personal readiness, and personal stability. Its achievement necessarily requires a longer period of time. It can't come about over night. It requires education and deals poignantly with the problems of changing men's hearts and minds".

Hark Gurung in his article *Socio-economic Dimension of National Integration* asserts:

'National integration is a political idea and an ideal. It implies a national state where citizens have full right without any form of segregation'. He further makes distinction of two kind of integration socio-cultural dimension and economic dimension.

Some argue that national integration comprises of state building and nation building. The former occurs at the time the political elite create new structures and organizations aimed at penetrating the society in order to regulate behaviour in it and draw a larger volume of resources from it, whereas the latter focuses on the cultural aspects of political development. It refers to the process whereby people transfer their commitments and loyalty from smaller tribes, village, small communities to the larger central political system.

2. Theoretical Framework:

A nation can't survive, even a trivial crisis without some degree of integration. Auguste Comte, the father of sociology, expresses his opinion that *consensus universalis* is the foundation of solidarity or cohesion, which is used to analyze social order of coexistence (social stasis) and social progress (social dynamics) in any society.

Durkheim employs the concept of social solidarity to analyze the society namely (1) mechanical solidarity and (2) organic solidarity. It is through these concepts the different components of society are bound together to maintain social unity and cohesion.

Talcott Parsons suggests two theories of social integration. One is the theory of normative integration and the other is the theory of functional integration. Normative integration is based on common values shared by a population. In order to preserve these values and attain common goals, organizations are infused with these values and operate in accordance with accepted norms.

Functional integration is based on division of labour among a number of social actors.

Employing the concept of "The Norms of Reciprocity". Gouldner opines that social actors are obliged to return benefits to those from whom they have previously received benefits. The exchange relationship provides minimal ground for confidence and promote a willingness to initiate action. It is universal; it provides a potential foundation for complementary relationship; and it is a process of creating unified social organization.

According to Merton, manifest functions contribute to 'the adjustment of the system which are intended or recognized by participants in the system'.

Landecker argues that integration is not unidimensional concept. It is rather a multi-dimensional one. Because of its multi-dimensionality, it has been divided into four types of integration cultural integration (consistency among cultural standards), normative integration (the society's values are institutionalized in structural elements of the social system), communicative integration (use of mass media in achieving consensus) and functional integration (mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labour).

In sum, national integration is the process whereby people of particular nation are linked together by a force - be that value or function - so that resources are made available or accessible to all the people, regardless of their status in the social hierarchy. It is a constellation of social values, norms, social organisations and institutions. It is a condition, a state of affair to be achieved by the process of unification.

No society can be completely homogeneous in nature. Its parts and components are never similar. In other words, a heterogeneous party make up the society. A process called integration is needed to bind them together. The process is a inter-group and inter-ethnic activity.

3. Statement of the Problem:

Naturally, Nepal known as the abode of tranquility and serenity situated at the southern foothills of the snow-tipped mountains is wedged between India in South and China in North. Because of its undulated terrain spreading toward the South from the Himalayas, it has housed several zones ecologically different from each other and people culturally heterogeneous and ethnically diversified. In the ocean of diversification lies the dearth of resources, where one group commands more of it than others resulting in an unequal distribution of power, prestige and wealth, consequently, one group suppresses the other for the sake of controlling these resources. Thus there are always conflicts and tensions in the society. Because the group is enjoying the privilege at the cost of others. The dissatisfaction of the under-privileged group has been heightened by many factors (1) the general awareness brought about by education among the people, (2) mobility due to regular and systematic development of transportation system, and (3) incidence of ethnic violence, war and crisis in South Asian countries, where a number of ethnic wars have been taking place simultaneously for the identity of their own ethnic groups. This situation has further been aggravated by international incidence on ethnic problems. The above factor coupled with effective mass communication has played an important role in stimulating ethnic crisis in the region. Because of these circumstances happening at the global level, Nepal has not remained unaffected in this regard as it is a country of heterogeneous ethnic group of individuals.

In order to find out the ways of new strengthening in the country it is necessary to understand the meaning of integration as perceived by the people both at the micro-level as well as macro-level and document the processes of national integration prevailing in the country. This addresses the following questions.

1. What is the socio-historical situation at which national integration process has been taking place in Nepal especially after the unification campaign initiated by Prithvi Narayan Shah ?
2. How is national integration perceived by Nepali people? And what are its political, social, economic and psychological dimensions ?
3. What kind of problems are related to national integration and how can we create a conflict free situation in Nepal ?
4. What is a Nepali culture around which heterogeneous groups of people can be integrated into a single whole Nepali culture ?
5. How can we assimilate them into a wholeness both normatively (culture, values and norms) and functionally (interdependence) ?

Methods

4. Sources of Information:

Primarily, data and information used in the study were collected from three different sources :

- (i) Key informants at the micro level,
- (ii) Individual respondents at two different villages representing Terai and Hill regions, and
- (iii) Case studies of two internal organizations (Nepal Langhali Sangh of the Magars and Tamu Baudha Sewa Samiti of the Gurungs).

5. Findings:

A. Socio - historical context of Integration in Nepal

The territorial unification of Nepal had started some two hundred years ago at the time King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

was the ruling monarch of the mini-kingdom of Gorkha. He conquered and unified various small scattered mini-kingdoms into one big kingdom now called the kingdom of Nepal. His greatness lies in the fact that even after conquering all these kingdoms, he never named the new country after his home country, Gorkha. Rather, he chose to name it Nepal and he made the valley of Kathmandu as the capital city of his new kingdom. His quotation on Nepal such as "*the Garden of four varnas and thirty six castes*" was his pious and far-sighted intention to keep all the people within the umbrella of larger Nepali nation-state.

It is said that Nepali culture is not an unique culture. Rather, it is the mixture or blending of Arya and Hindu cultures. Because of the fear of Muslim invasion even in Nepal, the different cultures got united or acculturated in Nepal and emanated as Nepali culture. This culture is the conglomeration of mountainous, Himali, Hilly and Terai cultures.

The periodic war with the British in India had sown a seed of patriotism in Nepali people to feel emotionally attached with Nepal and Nepali culture. The Rana regime, despite its tight control over the rule of Nepali people to keep them away from modernization, has been able to maintain the feeling of national integrity on Nepali people. The recruitment of Nepali people, especially from hill region of Nepal, to the Gurkha army in India and the Great Britain has also instilled in these people the feeling of "Nepal is our country and we are Nepali".

As a result, the movement of *Jayatom Sanskritam* initiated by a major party did bring out some programs for Nepali people to eradicate untouchability, eating in a place by the people of all caste groupings, ploughing the land by the Brahmines, etc.

The psychological feeling "country is the common shelter for survival and co-existence" has led the Nepali people to work together in harmony and maintain unity in diversity in the country.

This notion of "one nation and one nationality" has also equally penetrated deep into minds and souls of Nepali people which in turn has helped revive the already diminishing feeling of national integration in Nepal.

Nepali language as the national language and Hindu religion as the state religion have been adopted, to a great extent towards the integration of various societies into a whole society, called Nepali society. However the highways and aerservices, the establishment of communication networks, and Nepalization on school curriculum have no less been important in the integration of its mutifarious culture into a one whole culture called Nepali culture. The division of the whole country into five different development regions and fourteen zones has helped integtate the people of different ecological regions as well as cultures into a single culture, national life culture of Nepal.

Last but not the least, the feeling that Nepal is a one nation and Nepali a one *Jati*, conglomeration of various varnas, castes (occupational group and cultures) has prevailed in our society for quite sometime. As long as this feeling persists in the hearts, minds and souls of Nepali people, the feeling of nationalism, and the strong desire to achieve the goal of national integration will always be in Nepali people, culture and then society. Our observation suggests to the fact that national integration is the loyalty of Nepali people to the nation, where people of different social characteristics can live together in harmony with a stong feeling of "togetherness" and solidarity. In it, they do develop the feeling of "oneness" and yet maintain their own cultural identity among various caste, language, religion and ethnic groupings. This is a condition, where they develop the feeling of brotherhood among various caste groupings.

National integration is the emotional unity of different ethnuc groups, irrespective of religion, language, dress, place of residence, communities, etc. It is also the condition where the

feeling of "security" prevails among them and extends mutual respect to each other's language, culture, religion, tradition and way of life and has rendered equal status in the society. Some key-informants even suggested the point that the national integration in Nepal implies the rejuvenation of the notion of "Sabai Jatko Phulbari" and strengthen this idea in the country.

1. Political Dimension

Politically, national integration is the condition of sharing power by people of different strata at the state affairs, where the state attempts to create a congenial atmosphere in order to secure people's genuine participation and their involvement voluntarily and spontaneously. People from different walks of life have their fair representation at the House where decision that affects the people are made jointly; parliamentary debates are carried out in a democratic manner; voices of minority are heard and the minority is given due respect so as to secure their full participation in the state affairs and policies are formulated to meet their demands, interests and needs. Policies are formulated to secure the participation of the depressed and downtrodden segment of the society in administration, civil service, army and police so that people's significant participation can be secured to mobilize national resources wisely for people's benefits in the country. The state should provide a forum where people of different ideological backgrounds can be accommodated in the process of decision making activities through mutual interaction and sharing of experiences on a regular basis. It was also suggested that the state should have a uniform system to provide opportunities to the people, and recruit people in the state system in such a way that the people from backward caste and ethnic groups can also enjoy the benefits of the state-run welfare programs.

2. Social Dimension

Nepal is a mosaic of different caste and ethnic groupings scattered all over the country where cultural differences

that prevail widely are primarily emanated of Hindu caste hierarchy adopted in the country. Their cultural differences can be minimized when their functional interdependency can be enhanced in the social system. This can be accomplished only upon the implementation and coordination of relationships among the people of different social backgrounds such as caste, religion, language, ethnic group, occupation, class, etc. and this coordination should be based on the principles of equality and non-discriminated policy, practice and behaviours. In a straight sense, there should be no discrimination against any individual on the basis of caste, sex, religion, ethnic groups, etc. The untouchability that is deeply rooted in Nepali society be eradicated socially. Its elimination by legal provision has been proved quite ineffective and inefficient in our culture and identity of all caste, ethnic groups and religion should be maintained as charted out in the *Muluki Ain* of the country. In this way only harmony among people can be brought out and uniformity accomplished. In order to achieve all these points mentioned above, it is necessary to create an environment of judiciary equity where everybody will be equal to law.

3. Economic Dimension

The distribution of wealth and income is one indicator of measuring economic equality in the country. The indicator such as minimum basic income (MBI) indicates that 42.5 percent of the total population is below poverty line. Without eradicating this poverty, it is difficult to raise the living standard of the people in the country. There still lacks the coordinated plan to use the local resources, skills and sources. And people have not been able to tap the opportunities that are available around them due to reasons such as ignorance, lack of skills, primitive technology, etc. The specialized skills of the terai people, coupled with hard work and bravery and enterprising capability of the mountain residents should be merged skillfully to bring in economic integration in the country so that a self-reliant development can be achieved to distribute benefits and fruits of development

to people — regardless of their economic and social status. A provision of uniform economic conditions and opportunities should be made available and a congenial environment should be created so as to have access to these opportunities on the basis of achieved qualities such as educational qualifications, skills, including, backwardness and remoteness.

4. Psychological Dimension

National integration, from psychological perspective, is the feeling of unity developed in people and their emotional attachment to nation. In fact, it is the feeling of people, who feel and develop the sense of unity and brotherhood without any interference and imposition from outside. This feeling is strengthened by the people especially at the time of crisis, when sovereignty of a nation is endangered by external influence or cultural or political invasion. At this time, we need to develop a feeling of "we are one". This feeling can not be raised without any massive program geared to enhance the feeling of nationalism.

2. Problems of Integration as perceived by respondents in Nepal

The authors wanted to know the areas which have potential problems as perceived by them. It was our observation that majority of their opinions were basically zeroed on the questions of caste, religion, language and tradition. Some of the important problems reported by them are described below in a nutshell.

- a. *Underrepresentation*: The main problem lying before us is that there is no representation in army, civil service, police and other semi-government sectors. It is said that Nepal is a multi-ethnic country but it does not have a multi-ethnic army. Ecologically, there is no representation from Terai region in the army. Those who are at the Royal Army are at constable level only and virtually there are no officers from these regions. Similarly, there are many caste groupings who have not had an access to the Royal Army.

The similar situation prevails in police too. However, a slightly improved situation can be seen in civil service. Thus there is a great under-representation of many ethnic groups in these areas.

- b. *Discrimination Against Caste*: The biggest and most serious problem faced by the nation is the question of untouchability deeply rooted in our society from the time immemorial. Among the caste grouping, the touchable or higher caste people are more privileged than the touchable ones. It was reported that the lower caste people who have been exploited by higher caste people is the main causes of social problems in Nepal.
- c. *Monopoly of Nepali Language and Hindu Religion*: The philosophy of "one language, one country" has posed a serious threat to the survival of other languages spoken in various parts of the country.
- d. *The high proportion of illiteracy*: The extent of poverty, difficulty of transportation and unreliability of communication have exacerbated the problem of exploitation in the country, mainly the suppression of lower caste and class groups by the privileged ones. Because of these constraints, the extent of exploitation and the pocket of poverty has distributed all country.
- e. *International domination and ideology* have also been the important variable that have played an important role in the integration of the country.

Some of the areas suggested by key-informants to reduce the problems related to ethnicity, language, caste, religion, etc. are as follows:

- a. *Balance regional development*: Economic prosperity of different ecological regions could solve the majority of the problems faced by the country especially the problems of exploitation through the utilization of local resources, skill and

manpower and distribution of national resources wisely and proportionately.

- b. The harmony between religions could minimize the discrimination caused by the domination of one religion by the other.
- c. Because of Nepali language as a national language, other languages spoken by minorities as their mother tongues have been paid either no attention or least attention and thus totally overlooked by the majority. These languages can't be overlooked because they are also the national languages spoken by other segments of Nepali people. All the languages should be equally treated even though Nepali is the official language adopted by the state as a national language.
- d. Geographical constraints has played a prominent role to create an inequality among the people as far the distribution of resources are concerned in the country. The priority should be accorded to these backward tribes and downtrodden castes so that their fate, living standard can be raised without bringing any structural changes in status quo. The process of distribution could be further expedited by the application of decentralization principles and not the centralized principles.
- e. The notion of, "one language, one religion, one culture" has deaccelerated the process of integration in Nepal due to its suppression of other culture and languages, religion, etc. This notion should be removed from the mind of decision makers and policy maker in order to strengthen the nation of Unity in Diversity in Nepal as it is a fertile *garden for all*.
- f. The principle of equality should be practiced to ensure an equal and active participation of the people to achieve the goal of reaching the beneficiaries.

3. Creation of a Conflict-free Situation

As has been reported else where in the paper that the conflict and tension have arisen very recently in Nepal and are the functions of domination of one language, religion and culture by another. Their exploitation and suppression have prevailed in the society to the extent that it has reached the boiling point after which it may take different course of action. Not only the domination of one caste by another but also the rapid acceleration of modernization process has caused some inevitable conflict and tension in the society. The situation of conflict and tension can be uprooted by (i) equal treatment of all caste, language, ethnic groups, and religion, (ii) developing self-confidence, mutual trust, good will, and uniforming of *Tapai* (the use of *Timi* should be confined in family affairs, only), eliminating ego-feeling of higher caste people and upgrading inferior complexity of down-trodden people. And it was also suggested that some kind of conscious struggle should be carried out in order to raise awareness of people so that they can live in harmony regardless of caste, sex, languages, religion, etc. Also, it was observed that people should be brought to gether not by compulsion but by persuasion and voluntarily. For that sake, the informants were asked about the mechanism of solving the conflict and tension in the society. The responses as recorded by the author are presented below:

- a. The establishment of a fully democratic political system, where the minority should not be major beneficiary of the plans and programs. The target should always be the majority of the people from the middle and lower class, who are the silent majority of any society.
- b. The formulation of a long term plans and programs should be developed right from the grassroot level so as to avoid the gap between the rich and the poor and to ensure a wider participation of people from all social backgrounds from the very beginning of a planning procedure.

- c. The establishment of a democratically constructed constitution and its strengthening by the people through political awareness program and continuously conscious struggle.
- d. The constitutional restriction of communally motivated—ethnic organizations should be brought into effect. However they should not be restricted if they would like to preserve and upgrade their culture and tradition. Once they go beyond this boundary, they should be bound to closure.
- e. A congenial environment should be created where people can develop good-faith, good will and mutuality. For any problem, party should be given an opportunity to tackle it promptly.
- f. Massive awareness program should be carried out for people on minimizing the emergence of ethnic problems. And the principle of "get educated and get organized" should be applied to accomplish the mission.
- g. A national policy and guidelines should be developed to explain the people the role of sovereignty, religious torture, class coordination, exploitation-free society, raising the living standard of the people below poverty line, etc.
- h. The notion of "one religion, language and culture" should be abolished by providing equal status to all those concerned and emphasizing decentralized programming with a balanced regional development.
- i. The coalition of crown, congress and leftist could be made a strong force of accelerating national integration process in Nepal by preventing conflict and tension both at local as well as national levels and allowing to grow more democratic forces.

4. Equality and Homogeneity:

The melting point as regard the process of integration of different culture into one, it appears to be easy to say

theoretically but is difficult to materialize it practically. Points raised here appears to be politically acceptable but difficult to implement socially. And some of the important points as perceived by our key-informants are briefly summarized below :

- a. Some key-informants suggested that religion is an effective formula that binds up the whole nation into one single nation. *Hindu Nation*. The notion of one-language, one religion and a Hindu nation should be continued to bring the whole Nepali society into a homogeneous one in future. However majority of the respondents informed that the government should not favour a particular religion due to existence of other religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and Muslims in the country.
- b. The equality of opportunity should be provided to all people regardless of the caste, sex, ethnic group, language, religion, class, occupation, etc.
- c. Provision should be made to allow mother tongue and other languages to be included in the curriculum upto high school level. This will be a good incentive to the speaker of other mother tongues.
- d. Recognize Nepali as an official language but provide equal status to other mother tongues too by providing equitable representation in all institutions such as Royal Nepal Academy, Nepal TV, educational institutions, Radio Nepal etc.
- e. A coordinating body should be established at the central level in order to coordinate various ethnic organizations dedicated to upgrade and improve the traditional norms and values of that particular ethnic groups and caste.
- f. Parliamentary democracy is the fundamental force of unity that sustain the process of integration in the country. In the absence of democracy, the integration of the nation, *Nepal*, is not possible at all in Nepal.

- g. Allow political participation of the people according to their proportion of the total caste population in the national house.
- h. Allow and encourage inter-caste, inter-communal marriage especially between the terai people and hill people to accelerate the process of acculturation in Nepal.

5. Envision of a Nepali Culture: A Vital Necessity for Integration:

Nepali culture and national life culture have been used here in this paper interchangeably. They are considered one and the same thing. Nepali culture reflects the Nepali thinking, doing, art, tradition and customs. In other words, it implies both material as well as non-material culture. So Nepali culture is considered to be the pillar of national integration in Nepal, where diversified culture and ethnic groups make up of the whole nation, a Nepali. (i) People's perception (ii) Constitutional Provision, (iii) National norms and values.

Nepali culture is a mixed culture, where conglomeration of various national cultures have taken place to make a single culture called Nepali culture representing all three ecological cultures- Himali, Hill and Terai. It is an *unity in diversity*, which is an uniqueness of Nepal, where over 40 dialects are spoken and over five dozen ethnic groups people in an area of 1,46,000 square kilometers live and support livelihood. It is a SANGAM of all cultures (tibet-mongloid, mixed and Indo-Aryan), traditions, customs, dresses, arts, .. etc, where they have developed their own cultural network for communication in the country. It is the nature of the Nepali culture, where the followers of several religions (Hindu, Buddhism, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Jain, etc.) live together in harmony. And as such no evidences of religious riots and war have been recorded to have occurred in the country. Thus Nepali culture is an unique example of a religious harmony in Nepal.

Nepal is an abode of a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural groups of people, who have lived here for centuries and developed their own belief, customs and tradition.

Their conglomeration, blending and acculturation is popularly known by the name of *Nepali culture*. In other words, the culture of entire ethnic groups is the name of Nepali culture which is what is called Nepal's *national life culture*. Reciprocity, feeling of nationalism, respect to each others; recognition of constitutional monarchy as a source of unifying force, functional interdependence of different caste groupings, religious tolerance and harmony, ascriptive status, Nepali law, indigeneous way of hospitality by offering "Namaste", dresses of Nepali people, etc.

Politically, the pillars of national integration process has been provided by the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal (1990) which is the fundamental law of the nation. Its primary goal is to provide social, economic and political justice to the people of the kingdom of Nepal. In order to achieve these goals, the constitution provides the means of "adult franchise, parliamentary form of government, constitutional monarchy and multi party system".

The Constitution (1990) explaining the term "nation" explicitly in the article 2 of the Part I states.

"The people of Nepal being united by bond of common aspirations and faith in the independence and integrity of the Nation, irrespective of religion, race, caste or tribe, collectively constitute the Nation".

The constitution has guaranteed the fundamental rights of the people in Nepal. These rights to equality, freedom, press and publication, information, and religion and cultural and educational rights. Thus the basic norms of the nation has been the democratic practices to be adopted by the state to maintain

law and order in the country and provide basic human rights and welfare to the people of Nepal.

Last but not the least, the Constitution (1990:17) asserts "His Majesty is the symbol of the Nepalese nation and the unity of the Nepalese people... His Majesty is to nourish and protect Nepal".

Emergence of Ethnic Organizations

The political awareness of Nepali people is reflected in the formation of new ethnic group organizations, that have grown like anything during the last one and a half decades especially after the holding of referendum in Nepal in 1980. Since then more than two dozen ethnic organizations have been reported to have been established mostly by people of caste groups other than Brahmin and Kshetry. Some are purely based to promote and preserve their cultural heritage, whereas other are primarily organization to advance the communal feeling in the country. The former types of organizations are complement to national integration, whereas the latter are dangerous to the stability of the country: the emergence of these organizations has caused many people raise their eye-brow as far as national integrity is concerned. Here, the researcher has attempted to collect some information about merits and demerits of these organization, their threat to national integrity and means and ways to encourage / discourage them in the present context.

It was reported to us that the formation of ethnic group organization raises the ethnic consciousness but their cast tell us about their rights (and less likely about their duties) and develops the feeling that their society should be developed. It will be helpful and positive for the particular caste groups provided they are free from politicization and have no support from foreign powers. However, some informants suggested that they are dangerous to the integration of the country as they always divide the ethnic groups, politicize them and are

communally oriented to achieve their goal. Some even argue that they are ethnocentric, too.

To the response of our question, "are they dangerous to national integration?" informants suggested that it is dangerous and threatening because they are always communally oriented in their goals and bring the feeling of communalism and regionalism. If allowed to grow, it will be like the cases of Sri Lanka and India. It will be positive if it is established on the spirit of "Garden of all".

To the question on "Ways to eliminate them", it was reported that only full-fledged democracy, multi-party and strong constitution could put ban on communal slogan and publicity, communal feelings, etc. The party could help neutralize this feeling. Some opined that ethnic organizations should be discouraged as party can help voice their concerns and grievances at the parliament. But parliament is no substitute for non-governmental organizations and private volunteer organizations in any country.

Conclusion and Discussion

Some of the problems that our nation has faced are briefly summarized below.

- (1) Many ethnic organizations have emerged over the last decades these organizations are primarily based on the principle of casteism and are intended to create communal conflict and tensions. Which are branded as communal organizations. The emergence of such organizations is very unfortunate to any country for its solidarity, integration, stability and survival specifically to a country like Nepal. It is estimated that there are presently as many as fifteen different ethnic organizations in Nepal. Some have the purpose of preserving their culture and upgrade their present lingual and ethnic status where as others are purely formed on communal basis so as to raise their

awareness to have more access to the available resources.

- (2) The declaration of Nepal as a Hindu state has been considered by the followers of other religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and Muslim, etc. as unilateral step to suppress and dominate religious freedom enjoyed by them for centuries. It is believed that they take this step as a way to alienate other religions from the mainstream of the nation.
- (3) Ethnic groups other than those speaking Nepali as a mother tongue claim that their proportion has been misreported in the official statistics of Nepal where 58.4 percent population are reported to be speaking Nepali. Their main charge is that the proportion of population speaking Nepali is not that high as the above data are over-reported.
- (4) The *social inequality* created by under-representation of different caste people in army, civil service and police and disproportionate representation in the legislative body and judiciary has been seen as one of the major problems of national integration. Voices have been raised from different corners of the country including people from Terai on the ground that they have not been receiving equal treatment by the state,
- (5) There are other problems, too. For example the rule of the country by those who speak Nepali language as a mother tongue and follower of Hinduism, treatment of the residents of Terai region as second class citizen and free movement of Indians to Nepal without any restrictions are causing some serious problems of integration in Nepal.

Policy Recommendations:

1. *At the Political Level*

- (a) A grand program should be designed to bring awareness

about the country, people, political system, constitution, etc for mass at the grassroot level so that the feeling of nationalism can be instilled in each and every Nepali citizen of the country.

- (b) The principle of "Share and care" should be adopted by the state at all levels so as to give people equal access to power and representation in legislature.
- (c) The state also should make a provision for proportional representation of all the caste, ethnic groups and social class according to the proportion of their population at the national body. A special attention should be given to the backward tribes, socially depressed caste, and people from remote and inaccessible area.
- (d) A quota system should be granted to the unprivileged people in civil, army and police services in the country.
- (e) Ethnic organizations should be encouraged to raise their voices and grievances regularly so that they can themselves be engaged with work of preserving their culture, language, tradition, etc. However care should be taken to avoid (even ban on restrictions on) organizations that are communally oriented in their goals.

2. *At the Social Level*

- (a) Equal status should be given to all religions practiced, mother tongues spoken and cultural practices followed in the country. No language should be allowed to advance at the cost of other languages.
- (b) The unique characteristics of Nepal is "Unity in diversity" and consequently the notion of "caste" should be preserved by maintaining in harmony and equality among all these caste groups. The intercaste mobility should be facilitated by allowing inter-caste and even inter-communal marriages (marriage between a Terai man and Hill or mountainous women and vice versa) which

will help mix the population with each other. Their offspring will be both socially as well as biologically adoptive to the heterogeneous condition of the country. This could be an one stage ahead towards the process of Nepalization in the country.

(c) The migration of hill people to the South has occurred in the country for some time even upto the extent of transmigration due to action of pull factors (economic opportunities) in Terai and push factors (hardships, natural calamities etc). in the hills and mountains. The continuation of the trend may cause similar problems by people in hills and mountains, even in Terai. This is just one way of human traffic among three ecological zones. This trend needs to be reversed back by developing pilgrimages, tourisms, industries and uses of water resources, establishment of universities and technical institutes in the hills and mountains so that two-way traffic of people take place from these ecological zones. This will allow blending of people, cultures, customs, etc and save the fertile land of Terai from heavy pressures on agricultural land.

(d) The constitution laws and texts books should be published in other national languages.

3. *At the Economic Level*

(a) The living standard of the people who are below absolute poverty line should be raised by raising their percapita income and providing productive employment opportunities to them.

(b) The programs such as income generation activities providing opportunity etc should be developed so as to eradicate poverty, both absolute as well as relative, from the society.

(c) The gap between the rich and the poor, inequitable distribution of resources among these ecological zones should be removed by allowing balanced regional development as well as providing equal access to the people regardless of their heterogeneous social backgrounds and status.

4. *At the Psychological Level*

The states should create a situation where people are free from exploitation, feel secured and have faith in the system designed for them and create an environment where people can trust each other and reciprocity can prevail in the society.

5. In order to achieve all these points mentioned above, it is necessary for the state (government) to develop a broad and comprehensive plan covering all aspects of national integration in the country. It should be both long as well as short-term in nature, specifically focussing on the areas which include;

- (i) Provision of research on all mother tongues by the Royal Academy for their preservation and promotion
- (ii) News and cultural programs of all mother tongues from Radio and TV.
- (iii) Constitution, Acts and Laws should be written in all languages,
- (iv) Use of major languages in the court / legislative and offices
- (v) Inclusion of mother tongues as an optional language,
- (vi) Quota system of opportunities to all ethnic groups,
- (vii) Equality in political participation by all caste and class,

(viii) Exact record of languages, castes and their distribution,

(ix) Making awareness programs across the country.

Lastly, the feeling of Nepalism can not be attained simply by wearing Nepali *Daura and Surwal* and a *Cap*. Nor can it be attained just by having a state religion and national language in the country. Nepal is the country of heterogeneous groups of people, where unity prevails in diversity. The mandatory use of "one language, one nation" is a biased policy which can't blend the traditional and cultural difference of the people. And a condition of mutual trust, hate and love can't be attained until the total culture of Nepali people can be amalgamated into one called the *national life culture* of Nepal. We believe that efforts should be geared toward that direction.

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The Failure of Confidence Mechanism:

Reflections on the 1990's Social Change Movement in the Light of Policy Measures Affecting Farming System in Nepal

- *Tulsi R. Pandey*

Introduction

A low level of income leading to inadequate access to food, cloths and shelter is the fact for a majority of farming households in Nepal. This state of people's (farmer's in our case) poverty is generally interpreted in terms of their ignorance to adopt new agrarian technology -- such as farm mechanics, chemical fertilizers, improved seeds and the like -- for an increase in agricultural production to enhance their economic well-being. This importance on technology for production growth cannot be denied. But the blame on people alone for their poverty ignores the effect of structural arrangements.

As Elliott (1975) observes, poverty of people in the Third World countries is a result of the structural process arranged for the enrichment of the elites. The elites, by virtue of their political and economic power, gear most of the resource of society towards their own benefit. However, to avoid the risk of possible question about legitimacy of such an askewed distribution, they regulate distributive channels in forms of new development interventions or reform measures to provide an image of competitive success for enrichment, but maintaining a selective bias in competition. Through this strategy, they neutralize revolutionary forces of society and increase their own confidence to rule. This is what Elliott calls the "confidence mechanism" of the elites to keep continuity of their interest in society.

But sometimes the confidence mechanism fails. The revolution terminating Panchayat rule in favour of multi-party system of government in Nepal, with new group of elites in formal power structure, can be taken as an example. This event raises three issues for an academic discussion: i) through what confidence mechanism had the Panchayat political elites ruled over the country amidst poverty of the peasants? Why did that confidence mechanism fail to get legitimacy of public support resulting to a change of the system through revolution? What challenge will the new group of elites have to face to fulfill the promise of revolution? This paper attempts to delve on these issues. Before this needs however, one clarification.

The 49 days long revolution (from Feb. 18, 1990 to April 9, 1990) headed by Nepali Congress with support of the United Left Front and backed by professionals, students and peasants forced the king to dismiss Panchayat rule in April 9, 1990. These various groups involved in the movement might have their own particular interests for such an involvement. They all were however, common to charge the previous system to have plunged the country into socio-economic damage creating hardships in the survival of the people. In a country

with above 90 percent of the population emanating agrarian livelihoods, the landless, marginal and small farm households accounting about 78 percent (NPC 1983; 3, 7) of the total farm population must be the ones to be highly affected from the systemic defects. It is also the support of this population to give legitimacy of the movement. The focus of this paper will be therefore, on examining the policies and programmes affecting farming systems in the country. Where the first section presents the anatomy of those policies and their effects, the second section will identify their structural roots. The third section notes some challenges ahead to fulfill the promise of revolution. Secondary materials are the basic sources of information.

Anatomy of Farm Related Policies and Their Effects

Discussions on policies and programmes affecting a system of farming require to define the concept "farming system" itself at the beginning. Farming system denotes to that total process in which a farm household with a set of inputs for agricultural production works to produce and use that product within a social setting. Farm inputs can be of three categories -- natural, technological and institutional. Natural inputs are the land, water and forest resources used for the purpose of production. Technological inputs include the types of farm tools, human skills, seeds, nutrients and power used for that purpose. Institutional inputs are the conditions of market, credit facilities and related policies which affect the use and distribution of inputs, labour and products. These input elements are set into motion through such activities: preparation of farm fields, planting of seeds, irrigating, weeding, protecting the crops and maintaining tools, implements, sources of power such as animals, machines and the like. The final product needs

then to be harvested, stored, processed, transported and consumed or marketed to complete one farming system cycle.

This wider coverage of farming system components suggests therefore, the same for policies affecting them. For the purpose of simplicity, those policies and programmes can be classified into two broader categories in terms of the nature of their effects. One category includes those which affect the productive base of farming households. Programmes related to land reform, resettlement, institutional credit and marketing, forest management, etc. fall under this category. Another category, of policies / programmes operate through affecting farmers' needs and obligations. Those related to population change, health and education, market extension etc. can be taken in this type.

While the operation of the second category of policies and programmes determine the extent of pressure upon farmers' resources and opportunities, that of the first category of programmes determine the extent to which those resources and opportunities are preserved and promoted. Given the pressure upon those resources and opportunities, the degree of positive contribution from the first category of policies and programmes conditions the quality of living of the farmers. Therefore, this section firstly describes the first group of policies and programmes under Panchayat rule with few notes about their background situation. Then, it dwells on the effect of the second category of programmes on the basis of which will be judged against the achievements of those of the first to observe the conditions of the peasants.

Policies and Programmes Affecting

Productive Base of Farming Households

It would give no justice to consider all farmer's problems to have originated only in Panchayat rule. In fact, the governments of pre-1950 Nepal, by assigning lands to a handful of elites -- such as the priests, royal family members, nobles,

officials, tax collectors, etc. -- had forced the mass of cultivators to work as their tenants (Regmi 1971; 1976; 1978). This tenant majority was not secure of its tenure nor was there a standard rate about the rent. Tenants could be evicted in favour of higher bids (HMG 1955: 38); Land rents could be appropriated in cash or in kind at any seasons (Regmi 1971: 80-81); tax collection was made under contractual arrangements providing contractors a right to charge any amount they could collect from the peasants, (Regmi 1976: 80-81); tenants were forced to pay unpaid labour to the government, its officials and local headman (Regmi 1971: Chap. vi). Land concentration was a problem also in state land in the lack of its ceiling. These conditions had forced many cultivators to bond themselves to money lenders' usury for raising money to meet their needs and obligations (Regmi 1971: 98-100). Alternatively, they had started to migrate towards India since the beginning of 19th century. Also the government endorsed this labor movement allowing the British to recruit the Gorkha force since 1885 (Rathaur 1987: 67).

In this chain of peasants' miseries had been able the 1951 revolution to raise public support for terminating the Rana rule. The multi party governments of the post-revolution decade had introduced therefore, some reform measures (e. g., land reform programmes) aiming at improving their agrarian conditions. But the political instability of this decade with frequent changes of governments did not help towards significant progress for their implementation. Except converting tax free lands of individuals to taxable form, no other changes appeared from those measures. At the mean time, the king in 1960, dissolved parliamentary rule banning the operation of political parties throughout the nation. Some of his charges for taking this action were the lack of economic discipline and "directionlessness" in 'planning based on crude economic theories' devoid of concern of people's problem in the multi-party system of government (Devkota 1980: 645-46). Resuming

absolute power under his control, the king introduced therefore, the partyless Panchayat system to operate for the next 29 years (before the 1990's revolution).

Also this system had introduced policies and programmes addressed to affect productive base of farming households. Those related to land reform, resettlement, institutional credit and marketing were some of the important. By principle, land reform and resettlement programmes had their avowed objectives for improving farmers' access to land and their labour relations; irrigation development and forest management programmes were to facilitate their access to water and forest products. Similarly, institutional credit and marketing were supposed to improve farmers' technology by providing them means and materials. All these programmes had a direct bearing on input-related components of a farming system. They might also have indirect effect on the system's output and production activities through a change in cropping.

In this discussion, policies and activities related to irrigation have been deliberately excluded. Such an exclusion is not to lessen the importance of irrigation. But since only 13 percent of the cultivated land of the country is affected by government-operated programmes (NPC 1985: 442), and they are site-specific in their design, irrigation projects affect people only of certain localities. They, therefore, need no further analysis in terms of equity of distribution. Moreover, other irrigation facilities, wherever they are available, are based on former-managed systems where government assistance is limited to the issuance of credit on construction materials. This conversation leads accordingly with the description of the characteristics of remaining programmes.

Land Reform

The immediate gain of the Panchayat rule was the abolition of unpaid labour obligation by a law in 1963 (HMG 1963: 119). In 1964, it also introduced the land reform

programme again with the following provisions (Zaman 1973: Part 1).

1. Redistribution of Land Above the Required Ceiling. The Lands Act 1964, fixed a ceiling on agricultural landholdings for both the owner and tenant families on a regional basis. The size for an owner family in the Terai (plain land bordering to India), hills and Kathmandu Valley was not to exceed 18.4, 4.9 and 3.1 hectares respectively, while that for a tenant family was 2.7, 1.0 and 0.5 hectares, respectively. Any land above the ceiling was to be resumed for redistribution to landless families.
2. Security of Tenancy Right and Fixation of Rent Rate. Peasants cultivating lands belonging to others were considered tenants and were protected by law to have their tenancy right secured and inheritable. Rent was fixed to a maximum of 50 percent of the main crop.
3. Interception of Debt and Compulsory Saving Scheme. Agricultural loans to the farmers during the time of its enforcement were to be assessed in terms of an interest rate or other obligations of the farmers and were to be stopped by the government. Tenants and landowners were to make in-kind saving on compulsory basis from the main crops grown on the land owned or cultivated, in order to raise funds for agricultural projects. Such savings were to be refunded at an annual interest of 5 percent after five years.
4. Abolition of Jimidar system of tax collection. By this provision land tax was to be collected directly by the government agencies rather than by local tax collecting functionaries.

Resettlement

Resettlement programme had its objective to improve productive base of landless households by providing them land. Started with the introduction of Rapti Valley Development

project in 1956 and accentuated by Malaria Eradication in the Terai (1958), Panchayat government further established Resettlement Company (1964) and Resettlement Department (1968) as formal bodies to arrange resettlements in wider national scale. Besides these, a number of ad hoc resettlement committee and commissions -- such as Zonal Commission, the One Man Commission, the Jhora Commission, the Tikapur Development Committee, the High Powered Forest Conservation Committees and Committees of Conservators and Exservicemen had been established over years to resolve resettlement problems in particular areas (K. C. 1986).

Forest Management

Forest management policies refer to the extent to which farmers use forest products for productive purposes (e.g., livestock raising, cultivation, etc). Until 1957 there were no specific government policies on forest management activities. People used it according to their needs without any local restriction except in certain areas which were under the control of communities (Furer-Haimendorf 1964: 105-112). In 1957, via a Private Forest Nationalization Act, the government claimed ownership over all forest areas except orchards and small plots of planted trees. All officials efforts until mid 1970s were geared towards this type of forest use and protection.

After the mid-1970s, the nationalization of forest resource in the lack of effective administrative machine for its control were believed to spur people to consume forest products without bearing any responsibility for its protection. It was thus, deemed necessary in 1976 to place some forest under community control for their appropriate use and protection (NNFP 1979: 15). Accordingly, since 1978, community forestry became one of Nepal's major forest management programmes (Manandhar 1982) - one believed to encourage people for its management for fulfilling their needs of daily life such as timber, fuelwood, leaves and grasses. Under this programme, communities were to be entrusted with three categories of

forest land -- Panchayat Forest, Panchayat Protected Forest, Leasehold Forest -- for their maintenance, protection and use. The first category was to constitute a degraded forest area in which a Panchayat (local level political and administrative unit) would have to reforests, protect and eventually claim the right to use its products. The second category, on the other, was to constitute forest land which a community would have to protect in exchange of 3/4 of its income. Under the third category, an individual or an institution could lease a degraded forest from the government to reforest and use the products.

Institutional Credit and Marketing

The chances of improving the economic standing of farming households through improved agricultural productivity was to depend also upon their investment potential and opportunity to buy inputs and sell their produce. To achieve this, farmers needed access to an effective source of agricultural credit and markets. Since 1960, some policies also had addressed to this problem.

The establishment of a Co-operative Development Bank (CDB) in 1963 was the beginning of an institutional credit arrangement for agriculture in Nepal. In 1966, the Land Reform Saving Corporation (LRSC) was established to channel savings as envisioned in the Compulsory Saving Scheme of the 1974 Lands Act. In 1967, CDB was converted to the Agricultural Development Bank/Nepal (ADB/N) to broaden the access to credit among farmers outside cooperative societies. Since 1975, the LRSC merged "to provide short-medium and long-term loans for agricultural development to individuals, cooperatives, village committees", as well as to groups of small farmers and "to provide loans to tenants to buy land which they had been cultivating" (Poudyal 1983: 11). There were 200 central, zonal, branch, sub-branch and depot. offices throughout the country to disburse the loan until 1989 (NRB: 24).

In 1974, procurement and diffusion of agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and implements became the task of

the Agricultural Input Corporation (AIC) -- a task previously done by the Agricultural Supply Corporation. Since then, AIC has been operating its programmes through district offices, cooperative societies and dealer merchants in different parts of the country (Yadav and Rawal 1981: 130); Singh and Shrestha 1981: 93). The cooperative societies were also supposed to arrange the marketing of agricultural produce and the purchase and sale of goods for daily needs (Agrawal 1984: 18).

Policy Effects of other Factors Affecting Farmers' Needs and Obligations

As there were explicit policies and programmes addressed to affect productive base of farming households (i. e., the condition of farmers' access to resource and their activities and opportunities), there were related policies towards population change, social service (e. g. education, health) development and market network expansion, which also affect farmers' needs and obligations. This section discusses the possible effects of these related policies on farmers' needs and obligations.

Population Change

The population of Nepal has increased rapidly in the past few decades. The 5.6 million population recorded in the first census of 1911 reached above 15 millions in 1981. This rate of growth, especially since 1950s, has been phenomenal. The decades of 1910s and 1920s observed a negative growth; the following decades, however, showed a steadily increasing positive growth rates: 1.1 in the 1930s, 2.2 in the 1940s, 1.6 in the 1950s, 2.1 in the 1960s, and 2.6 in the 1970s (CBS 1987: 7).

The negative growth of the 1910s and 1920s is interpreted in terms of lack of measures to control mortality and under-reporting/enumeration of existing population during census operations. The slow but positive rate of growth for the

1930s was thus interpreted as a result of under-enumeration of previous population census. Similarly, that of 1940s is interpreted as a result of repatriation of Nepalis engaged in World War II and improvements in the methods of 1952/54 census operation (Kansakar 1980: 12-14).

Repatriation was a case also for the 1950s. Other than this are, however, some other explanation for population growth since the 1950s. One was a gradual decline of mortality rate. The crude death rate for the early 1950s was estimated to be 36.7; it has decreased to 11.9 in the mid-1980s (compiled in CBS 1987: 298). This decline can be attributed to the improvements of medical facilities during this period. Together with Malaria Eradication Programme, there was also the spread of other immunization facilities, using DPT, BCG and cholera vaccinations. Attempts were also made to increase the number of hospitals, health posts and medical centres through a series of development plans (NPC 1985: 781-82).

But mortality decline do not constitute the sole explanation of population growth in Nepal. In 1958, at the same year the Malaria Eradication Programme started its operation, the Nepal Family Planning Association began to provide birth control service in certain areas. Since the mid-1960s, the dissemination of family planning services has become one of the avowed national policies of periodic development plans. Several agencies and institutions have also been affiliated with the national programme (CBS 1987: 312-28). Despite these efforts, however, growth rates steadily rise. Why is this so?

One of several explanations may be the low level of education of the country's population. In 1987, the literacy rate was estimated at 33 percent of the total population (CBS 1988: 6). No estimate was given, however, by sex. But if the 1981 figures can provide a guide, the literacy rate for females is only 1/3 the size for males (CBS 1986: 128). As most of the family planning campaigns are addressed to females, this situation may

result in a low understanding of contraceptive use. Similarly, emigration can affect the absolute population size of the Terai and urban areas which are the major destination of immigrants. But the absolute decline in the immigrant population from 1971 to 1981 (CBS 1987: 155) suggest no ground to estimate its contribution on overall growth rate unless it is empirically verified. Cultural factors may also be explanatory. For example, the cultural practice for preferring male children to perform the mortuary rites of parents in a Hindu society may prompt parents to have more children for the sake of having males.

More important than the cultural factor however, is the farmer's need to have more children for the sake of income for subsistence. The pre-1950s policies of exporting Nepal's unemployed labor force for increased state revenue continued after this period. Consequently, the tempo of extra-agricultural employment generation within the country remained almost stagnant; above 90 percent of population has always to depend on agriculture. For this reason emigration remained an effective source of income among rural households (Dahal, Rai and Manzardo 1977: 65-69; DeDaugal 1968: 46, Caplan 1970: 1013-21; Hitchcock 1966: 17). Given the stagnation in the internal employment structure, the increased population through mortality control has made emigration for subsistence an attractive alternative. It involved 2.4 percent of the total population in 1952/54 and increased to 3.5 percent in 1961 and 5.2 percent in 1961 (Rana and Thapa 1975: 45). This increasing need to emigrate inevitably required able bodied male children, thus promoting more births.

Social Service Development (Health and Education)

The development of health facilities helped to decrease mortality and by contributing to population increase exerted added pressure on farmers' resources. More specifically, these health facilities required farming households to spare more

money to avail themselves of health services. The same applies to education. The increase in the number of students at all school levels rose from a total of 10,434 in 1950 (Stiller and Yadav 1979: 225) to 2,434,188 in 1986 (CGS 1988, Tables 9 2,3,4,8). Since 1975, students from grades 1 to 5 were freed from school fees and reading materials (CBS 1988: 142). If they wanted to pursue their studies further, however, parents had to bear these school expenditures.

Extension of Market Networks

Until the middle of the 19th century, Nepalese villages were virtually shut off from external market forces. This closure was partly an offshoot of the problem of transportation in a mountainous topography, and largely the result of the rulers' intolerance to the entry of foreign merchants (Naraharinath and Acharya 1953: 18). Gradually "a growing taste of European luxuries among Nepal's rulers opened the door" for Indian traders, and since 1923, also for the import of goods from Japan through India (Blaikie et al. 1980: Part I, Mihali 1965: 11).

This exposure to external goods intensified after 1950s with the opening of rural interiors through transportation development. In 1951, Nepal only had a total of 376 kilometers of motorable roads of any kind. This increased to 6,306 kilometers in 1986 (CBS 1988: 119). This increase might not appear significant in terms of its coverage. What is important is that roads contributed to bring growing number of farmers near the market places. It also added new items such as spices, cigarettes, watches and the like in the farmers' homes (Caplan 1970: 91).

These types of increased expenditures of farming household could be termed as development only if they have been supported by a healthy growth in farmers' income through an improvement in their productive resources and opportunities. Let us explore, then, whether the policies and programmes affecting productive base of farming households have been able to sustain these expenditures.

The Balance Effect: Achievements of the Policies/Activities Affecting Productive Base of Farming Households

a. Land Reforms, Resettlement and Forest Management

These three policies and programmes—land reform, resettlement and forest management—though different in terms of the time and context of their origin, affect the use and distribution of land. They complement each other so much that a failure in one leads to a negative effect in the others. For this reason their performance is analyzed together.

Available information suggests a gloomy picture of land distribution resulting from the Lands Act of 1964. During 1961/62, 74.9 percent of the landholdings in Nepal had a size smaller than 1 hectare and covered only a total of 24.0 percent of all cultivated land. Another 19.9 percent of the total holdings had a size in between 1 to 4 hectares with their share of the total cultivated land at 35.7 percent. The remaining 5.2 percent of the total holdings covered 40.3 percent of the cultivated land which were above 4 hectares in size.

The Lands Act of 1964 was supposed to improve this level of disparity and concentration in landholding. But the performance did not fulfill this expectation. Nearly 77 percent of the landholdings in 1971/72 and 66.6 percent of those in 1981/82 had a size less than 1 hectare. Altogether, their share over the cultivated land was not more than 25.9 percent in 1971/72 and a lower 17.3 percent in 1981/82. In contrast, 4.5 percent of the total landholdings in 1971/72 and a larger 5.4 percent of those in 1981/82 were above 5 hectares in size and covered 34.8 percent and 36.4 percent of the cultivated land during those respective periods (calculated from CBS 1986 Table 3.42).

This failure stemmed from both the programme provisions and the process of their implementations. Given a

situation where the average size of landholding per family was 0.54 hectares in the mountain, 0.74 hectare in the hill region and less than 2 hectares in the Terai (Dhital 1975: 99), the act approved a size of 18 hectares per owner-family in the Terai where lived 1/3 of the country's population (CBS 1987: 18) owning more than 2/3 of all cultivated land. Every son over 16 years of age and every unmarried daughter above 35 (effective from 1975) could constitute its own separate family for this purpose. Where there was no system of vital registration, one could imagine the loopholes engendered by these operations.

With these inadequacies, the programme was implemented on a phase-wise basis with much publicity and propaganda. This "provided a good opportunity to the landlord class to dispose land, divide it among sons and relatives or make false transfers and other arrangements for retaining control over the land in access to the prescribed ceiling" (Poudyal 1982: 30-31). Consequently, of the estimated 600,000 hectares of land made available for redistribution, only 66,380 hectares (or the 11 percent of the estimate) were classified above the ceiling after the implementation of the programme. Of those only about 34,000 hectares have been appropriated for redistribution (K. C. 1986: 6).

With regard to land rent, Zaman's (1973) evaluation of land reform revealed that even before the 1964 programme, most of the farmers had not paid the rent for more than 50 percent of the produce. The Act simply provided a legal sanction to this rate to threaten the position of tenants in areas where they were paying less than this amount. Moreover, security of tenancy right is not obtained for two reasons. First the sanction for a tenancy relation between an individual owner and his cultivator is itself an endorsement of feudalism. Second, by fixing the tenant's access to a maximum of only 2.7 hectares of land to cultivate in exchange for half of its produce, the Act created a large gap between tenant and owner cultivator with the latter to appropriate all produce from up to 18 hectares of

land. In this case, certificates of tenurial security did not serve to improve the tenants' access to productive resources.

Indeed the resettlement programme could be viewed as a measure devised to enable farmers to escape from marginalization and landlessness. As has been noted above, emigration had already been a traditional source of subsistence for farming households to meet their increased expenditure. Despite this increasing trend, emigration alone could not relieve the total burden brought about by a degraded agrarian structure. It was also unlikely that larger number of emigrants could be absorbed in a foreign destination. There were already indications that Nepalis were being expelled from Burma in the 1950s and later, from some parts of India as well (Pandey 1987a: 14). Given this condition, the Nepalese government felt it earlier to allow landless or marginal peasants to stay in the virtually ownerless forests of the Terai. Until 1980, the Resettlement Company and the Resettlement Department -- the two major institutions handling resettlement in Nepal -- had relocated 49,819 families in 58,599 hectares of land (Wallace 1981: 143) -- a process which continued until the end of the Panchayat system.

But the downpour of hill people in search of land in the Terai was to outweigh the number of people that resettlement programmes could handle. According to a World Bank estimate (1979: 21), an average of 7,000 families each year between 1966 to 1975 migrated to Terai for land. The regional growth pattern of the population, with the Terai having an annual growth of more than 4 percent in comparison to less than 2 percent for the hill and mountain regions and the Terai serving as destination of 78 percent of Nepal's internal migrants during the 1970s (CBS 1987: 155) add convincing support to that estimate.

The incapacity of resettlement programme to absorb peasants was reflected in the number of families it had resettled and in the decrease in the land sizes that had been distributed

to resettlers over time. The Rapti Valley Development Programme (1958) was too generous in allotting a size upto 33 hectares for each resettler family. This was brought down to a reasonable size of 2.7 hectares under a 1964 company programme. It was rendered to 2 hectares in 1974 and dwindled to 1 hectare in 1978 (Paudel 1980: 15). During mid-1980s, there were also some places (based on the author's observation in Nawalparasi district) where resettlers were only given 0.03 hectare of land.

The decrease in land size issued to resettler families had casted a bleak light on the future of resettlement programmes to provide peasants with sufficient land resources. Moreover, there still existed the question of fairness in the amount of land distributed under the programmes. Some studies (Ojha 1983: 34) have shown that some resettlement programmes were influenced by individual political motives disregarding the economic standing of resettled households. Other programmes – such as those in Nawalparasi district around the time of the national referendum (1979) – were instigated by the government to mobilize the votes and meet the survival crisis of the Panchayat Political System (Pandey 1984: Chap. 5). After the problem was resolved, resettlers from such areas were again evicted by official means to make their economic life constantly unstable.

This lack of sincerity and fairness in land distribution and the incapacity of the resettlement programmes to absorb land hungry peasants forced people to search for more resources. Indeed Terai forest areas have already witnessed the growth of unofficial settlements (Pandey 1987b) and the Hills have experienced constant clearing of marginal lands (Eckholm 1976: 77-78). As a result, the size of cultivated land in the country has increased through years – such as from about 1,700 thousand hectares in 1964 to 3,127 thousand hectares in the next sixteen years (compiled in Wallace 1987: 3). Together, the use of forest for fuelwood, fodder and grazing and for logging by

government agencies or their contractors have contributed to decrease the forest size from 6.4 million hectares around 1963 to about 4.3 million hectares in 1978 (NPC 1985: 476), a decrease of over one-third the size in just over a decade. Community approach towards forest management was a thin hope to improve this situation.

As programme in itself, afforestation by the government or its drive to urge local communities to regenerate, maintain and use their resources was a humble measure. But like in other programmes, the problem appeared to translate this ideology into effective operation. Reviewing the achievements of the past two periodic plans (a ten years period) the seventh plan had noted:

.....thought top priority was given in these two plans, only 57,000 hectares could be covered by afforestation. Thus, in two plans or in 10 years if 47,000 hectares have been afforested on the one hand, on the other side the destruction of the forest in one year is more than two times that of afforestation in 10 years (NPC 1985: 477).

There was still another disincentive for community forestry wherever it was planned to implement. Simply stated, communities under Panchayat protected forest provisions could not directly use the income from the forest under their management. Rather the income was to be forwarded to the central government which was supposed to return the income in the form of a grant. Whether communities retained their trust in this financial arrangement is itself a question heitherto unexplored.

b. Institutional Credit and Marketing

Despite the grim performance of policies and programmes related to land use and distribution, an effective performance of the institutional credit and marketing programmes could offer some hope to improve the farmers'

economic standing by helping, at least, to improve the productivity of their meager resources under their control. Unfortunately, the performance of these programmes remained equally dismal.

With regard to institutional credit, the Compulsory Saving Scheme of the 1964 Lands Act was able to raise an equivalent of USdollar 15 million within four years of its implementation (Baskota and Lohani 1985: 101). Unfortunately the administrative machinery assigned to dispense credit was inefficient in recording the collection and use of the savings. As a result, the funds were used for the personal benefits of those in charge of the scheme and led to the closure of the whole programme in 1969 (Poudyal 1983: 36).

From then onward, the government's bank loan programme appeared the only source of institutional credit for agricultural activities. However, available evidences show that the programme was inadequate in coverage and inequitable in distribution to meet the credit needs of farming households. According to an Asian Development Bank estimate, institutional credit could cover only 24 per cent of the total agricultural credit in the country (adopted in Adhikari 1987: 14). In terms of its distribution, the Nepal Rastra Bank's study in 1977 (adopted in Hamal, Bhattarai and Niraula 1987: 4) has shown that of the total credit given to different categories of farm households -- 67 per cent for the large, 36 per cent for the medium, 20 per cent for the small and a smaller 13 per cent for the marginal farm households -- was covered by institutional sources. Where above 70 per cent of farming households in the country are small and marginal farm households (NPC 1983: 37) above 80 per cent of their credit was granted by indigenous sources, i. e. local money lenders.

This pattern of loan distribution is expected given the provisions of the credit programmes. Under the programmes, farmers needed to deposit a collateral against the loan they

borrowed. Such provisions inevitably blocked the access of tenant cultivators to the programme as they were not owners who could deposit land as collateral. Also the small and marginal farmers only had limited sources in comparison to enlarge farm households. As expected, benefits went more to latter than the former.

In like manner, the distribution of chemical fertilizer favoured specific regions over time. During the 5th five-year plan (1975-80), for example, the sale of fertilizer in the country totaled 210,000 tons. Of this total 16 per cent went to the hills, 36 per cent went to the Kathmandu Valley and 48 per cent went to the Terai (Singh and Shrestha 1981: 93). A slight change appeared in this distribution pattern in the late 1980s. For instance, of the total 376 thousand metric tons of chemical fertilizer distributed during the first 9 months of the fiscal year 1988/89, 72 per cent went to the Terai, 9 per cent went to the Kathmandu Valley and 19 per cent went to the mountain and hill areas (HMG 1989: 31). This change in favour of the Terai against Kathmandu Valley is justified since the Terai shares about 2/3 of all cultivated land. But the share given to mountain and hill appears negligible in comparison to its share of population which is above 50 per cent of the total. Even in terms of agricultural land, the less than 20 per cent share of the chemical fertilizer allotted for mountain and hill areas was not favourable in comparison to the Terai; and it is the Terai where the land reform programme had permitted large landholdings.

In turn, the marketing of agricultural products was left completely to individual hands (Shivakoti and Pokharel 1989). Cooperative societies theoretically supposed to handle this business engaged, in practice, only on the supply of certain input such as fertilizer and on the sale of consumption goods. (Mishra and Satyal 1981: 87).

Structural Roots of Programmes Performances

The previous discussion shows three interconnected features of the performance patterns of policies and activities affecting the productive base of farming households, under Panchayat rule. These are.

1. The policies and programmes aimed towards distributive equity among households with different levels of access to agricultural resources were provisionally as well as operationally biased in favour of households with higher access to resources (such as land). Thus, they had little redistributive effect to improve the resource base of peasant majority.

2. Consequently, programmes related to distribute common resources in reserve (such as resettlement in the Terai forest) were under heavy pressure to reduce the size of the resource itself (i. e., forest land for the next generation) without being able to improve the resource needs of the peasant majority.

3. Seeing less and less prospects to improve farming opportunities under existing conditions, peasants were forced to find extra-local means of support (emigration) for their subsistence.

These features that went against the interest of farming households prompt us to dwell on the nature of structural arrangements for the formulation and implementation of those programmes. Policy planning and implementation can give due recognition to the interest of farming households only at conditions where they are represented in the formal bodies discharging those duties. As national policies and programmes they are decided by a national legislature and implemented by a bureaucracy designed for that purpose suggest therefore, the need of their representation in those structures.

Popular representation (in this case representation of peasant majority) in the legislative body requires two basic conditions. The first is a committed leadership to an ideology backed by the people who form the membership of that body. The second is an opportunity for the people to exert pressure on the body of membership through organizational means in case this legal body violates its commitments.

The first condition includes two components. One is a pool of candidates for leadership or membership to the legislative body; another is the election process to select that membership. The formation of Panchayat legislature (Rastriya Panchayat), as seen below, involved the second of these two components but lacked the other conditions.

Before the third amendment of Panchayat constitution (1980) election process was indirect. People had right only to elect members of local Panchayat bodies (village/town panchayats), where those of the national legislature were to be filtered from among these members through different stages of upward selection. There were also few nominees of the King.

The third amendment of the constitution made the election process rather direct, providing all adults the right to elect members for this legislative body. Whether before or after the amendment, however, what is similar was the condition which determined the character of candidates and/or elected members.

By banning the operation of political parties and interest groups with any ideological backing, panchayat system eliminated the possibilities for both the emergence and selection of an organized leadership to represent a group at any level of decision-making organization. On the other hand, the system bore and ideology of "class coordination" (HMG, 1987: Part 4), theoretically allowing all nationals at any level of socio-economic strata to play the political games equally as

"independents" or "nonpolitical men of integrity" (Joshi and Rose 1966: 406). Consequently the system neither committed itself to the supposed beneficiaries of development policies/activities nor allowed them to advance their interest through organized means. Because of a lack of "nationally organized platforms and clear-cut election manifesto promising the removal of economic and social injustice on ideological grounds" or a lack of direct commitment of existing organization to the suffers of those socio economic injustices, "the panchayat elections at all levels" involved merely an undisguised play of selfish and personal interest" (Shah 1982: 100). This personalism allowed those who had resources and connections to manipulate the situation.

Thus as the "representatives" did not represent the people, they did not have any commitment to perform for them. They could not be expected to pass progressive policies to improve the productive base of farming households -- i. e. policies that would go against their own interest. At this level of policy formation, the bureaucracy had little to implement. Moreover, whatever that was left to implement still faced two structural barriers.

The first related to the social background of bureaucrats themselves. Since 1956, employment in Nepalese bureaucracy was theoretically open to all Nepalese of any social and economic strata provided that they could meet the required education qualifications (HMG 1983). But this theoretical openness was difficult to apply in the concrete. For example, where the literacy rate of the country was estimated at only 33 per cent (CBS 1988: 6), more than half of the government civil service had drawn its members from Kathmandu Valley which contained about 3 per cent of the population (Shah 1982: 98) and 37 per cent of the 1981 urban population (calculated from CBS 1988: Tables 1.4 and 1.5). Similarly, as almost all the higher level educational institutions were, as still are, concentrated in urban areas, the remaining half of civil service

members should come mostly from urban areas outside the valley and from landowning village aristocrats who could support their children's education outside their locality. A bureaucracy drawn from this section of society would retain a different interest from that of other sections. And as any progressive policies would threaten this group's interest, bureaucrats were hardly inclined to implement such policies. This is why, even after 26 years of implementation (from 1964 to 1990), the land reform programme, as observed above, had not been able to appropriate more than half of that minimum land found above the legal ceiling. Even though, a son born 10 years after the 1964 Lands Act had been of age to retain his own share of landholding, Panchayat's plans had mentioned the need to implement land reform for appropriate improvement in landownership and utilization pattern (NPC 1985: 460), until the time of its demise.

The second barrier relates to the relative strength of bureaucracy over the legislative body. That the bureaucracy did not represent the mass of peasants should not mean that there should be no bureaucracy or it be composed of uneducated majority. At this point, the availability of higher educational facilities for peasant families would be an undeniable recommendation for the long run. But the bureaucracy could still be forced to implement the positive features of existing policies if the legislative body could unite as an organized voice against bureaucratic indifference. Unfortunately, as observed above, the elected members of Nepalese legislature lacked group liability and were completely unorganized to amass the necessary group strength and thwart bureaucratic indifference.

These structural barriers were reflected even in the Decentralization Act of 1982 (HMG 1988). The preamble of the Act sought to enlist people's participation in the distribution of development resources and in the share of its benefits by encouraging them to frame and implement their development

plans For this purpose, the Ward Committees* of each village and town panchayat were to prepare their wards specific development plans which were to be integrated in their respective panchayat plans. Those village and town panchayat plans were then to be sent to their respective district panchayat upward, on the basis of which district development plans were to be determined. They would come into effect after the approval of the National Planning Commission -- the central planning body of the country.

The plans and programmes so approved were to be implemented by district, town and village panchayats or their wards based on the coverage of the programmes. Such implementation would have to be made through the formation of users' groups with the help of service centers established by the government. Issues under these plans and programmes included education, health, population, technology and marketing of agricultural activities as well as preservation and use of forest resource.

Although the Act was still to be implemented in full vigour, there were some provisions to discourage optimism. First among such provision was the right of central bureaucracy to determine what was to be incorporated in local development plans (Article 6). Second, the government had retained full right to reduce or control any taxes, fees, and contracts imposed by the Panchayats to raise their economic resource (Article 28). Third, government's donations to local development programmes would not always come in open grants; in many cases, the government also would determine the sectors of expenditure over which Panchayats would retain no right to change (Article 24). Fourth, given the structural context of determining the

* *Wards were the constituencies of village and/or town panchayat members. Each ward had an executive committee of elected members the Chairman of which would be the ex officio member of the concerned village and/or town panchayat.*

liability and commitment of Panchayat membership (as discussed above), it was only the Panchayat body with a government office at any level that could frame and implement local plans and programmes. The users' groups at any level were to be chaired only by any member of related Panchayat organizations (Article 19).

In the attack on these structural arrangement geared to favour the elites that to oppositional leaders had been able to amass public support to bring down the system. At this moment deems important to identify some challenges for the post revolutionary government(s).

Challenges for the Post-Revolutionary Government(s)

Public support to the 1990's social change movement can be observed into three basic components: (i) support to the direct process of anti-Panchayat movement, (ii) voting against to Panchayat elites in the subsequent parliamentary election, and (iii) providing right to Nepali congress party to frame new government with the United Marxist and Leninist party in strong opposition. A continuity of this type of support to these two parties is to depend, however, upon the degree of their fulfillment to their promise with the mass of population.

As noted in their respective election manifestos, Nepali Congress has its promise to establish political freedom and economic equity through a process of what it calls "democratic socialism". Similarly, the United Marxist and Leninist party has promised to pave a way towards communal control of the means of production for economic equity and for freedom to people from economic exploitation. A translation of either of these promises into concrete reality is, however, to depend upon the ways of their dealings with the following two structural challenges:

1. Challenge in Policy Formation: After the demolition of Panchayat rule, its elites were, though, ousted from formal power structure are, however, working as opposition group also in the system after the revolution. One of the challenges for the new group of elites in the government to frame progressive policies benefiting the masses will come. Therefore, from the opposition of this sections of society. The people supporting the system-change movement are helping to sweep away the Panchayat elites in the process of election may be able to support the government from this type of a challenge. But more important is whether the new group of elites will feel themselves be threatened of their interest from this type of policies will determine the structure of future development and the level of public support towards their activities.

1. Challenge in the Implementation of Development Policies: Despite a change in Political system, the bureaucrats have a fresh memory of their exercise of an absolute power unopposed from the people. Under the changed environment their activities will have to be guided and controlled by the people through their representatives. In this circumstance there are chances of the lack of bureaucratic cooperation towards the implementation of new policies and programmes.

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Building A New American Academic Anthropology

Tom Cox*

Opening Up and Reemphasizing Fieldwork

In 1843 Sir Richard Burton, the famous British scholar, explorer and linguist, disguised himself as a Pathan from Afghanistan, and went on a pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca. **Pilgrimage to EL-Medinah and Mecca**, the book which Burton wrote about his adventure, is an ethnographic classic. It gives a moving, richly detailed portrayal of the ritual activities, participants, and atmosphere of the pilgrimage; and, further, contains insightful descriptions of Islam and Arabian society.

In 1933, George Orwell wrote **Down and Out in Paris and London**, an account of life with tramps and hobos. Just as Burton had lived as an Arab, during his pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca, so too did Orwell live as a hobo; spending nights in shelters for the homeless, working the most menial of jobs (when he could find them) and forming close relationships with other tramps. In **Down and Out in Paris and London** Orwell vividly describes his tramping experiences and, at the end of the book, gives a remarkably objective and insightful discussion on the

consequences of destitution, and an itinerant lifestyle for the individuals involved. It is this discussion, and the accompanying descriptions, which give **Down and Out in Paris and London** both great sociological and literary value.

In 1973 Clifford Geertz, a well-known anthropologist, wrote an article entitled **From the Native's Point of view: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding**, in which he argued that good ethnography was a matter of a rather detached, analytical understanding of the symbolic structures through which natives interpret the world, rather than intense immersion into their lives. I agree with Geertz that good ethnography is not just a matter of going native. However, I also think that intense immersion into native life is not necessarily incompatible with social scientific objectivity, and, indeed, as the work of both Burton and Orwell show, may even facilitate the collection of ethnographic data.

Geertz's approach to ethnography has had the unfortunate consequence of deemphasizing the importance of fieldwork and, more specifically, participant observation, to anthropology. As a result, in many ethnographies that were written in the 1970's and early 1980's, the ethnographic data is fairly thin; and theoretically fancy language is used to fill in the resulting holes. These "ethnographies" stand in sharp contrast to some earlier accounts, like Evans-Pritchard's **Oracles, Witchcraft and Magic Among the Azande**, where theoretically important conclusions never move very far from the ethnographic data.

The mid-1980's saw a minor resurgence of accounts where theoretically important conclusions come right out of a rich ethnographic data base. **Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self** by Fred Myers and **Fluid Signs** by Valentine Daniels are especially important books in this regard. Another quality which these books share, is that they—like the earlier classics written by Evans-Pritchard, Burton and Orwell,—also show the processes through which beliefs and values are interpreted and negotiated.

Despite this minor resurgence, however, many American academic anthropologists have continued to deemphasize the importance of fieldwork and participant observation, and, consequently, continue to write narrow, ethnographically impoverished accounts, where the native's culture is chopped apart, stuffed under artificial headings and depicted in esoteric, reified, academic language.

Many of these accounts do not have nearly the same anthropological value as the ethnographically authoritative ones written by Burton, Orwell and other non-academic figures. And this raises a serious problem, that being that Burton, Orwell and other non-academic "ethnographers", are largely ignored by most American academic anthropologists. One major reason for this is that many American academic anthropologists seek to create a mystique, which dictates that the only people who can do "professional" anthropology are Ph.D.-holding academics.

To formally recognize the ethnographic contributions of largely "untrained" scholars, like Burton and Orwell, would be to break down this mystique. Indeed, advancement (i. e. receiving tenure and recognition) in American academic anthropology, depends upon (among many other things) supporting the mystique, on writing articles in esoteric academic language; publishing them in academic journals and only recognizing those scholars who do the same. The system, and accompanying attitudes, are self-perpetuating.

This perpetuation of the "academic mystique" needs to be done away with. American academic anthropologists need to open up, recognize, and be willing to learn from, people working outside academia.

This opening up must be complemented by a greater emphasis on participant observation, linguistic skills and more extended fieldwork. For only through these three things can a more genuine, ethnographically sound anthropology be deve-

loped. The time has long since passed for the Geertzian spell to be broken. If there is not an "opening up," and a new emphasis on fieldwork, academic anthropology will continue to stagnate, and the future of anthropology, the really important work, will be done by people outside academia.

The Need to Publicize Anthropology

Academics in many disciplines have gone out of their way to publicize their findings to a public, non-academic audience. In biology, for example, Stephen J. Gould and George Schaller, both very prominent scientists, have published many popular accounts of their work, specifically for the non-academic public. These accounts have done much to generate interest in biology, and thus attract more money and talent to the field.

American academic anthropologists, on the other hand, have made absolutely no effort to publicize the contributions that their discipline has made (to our understanding of humanity) to a non-academic audience. Why? One major reason is that American academic anthropologists are overly sensitive about being labelled as dilettantes. They are worried that if they wrote for the public they would not be regarded as serious, professional scholars. And, once again, advancement in the academic system depends on upholding this view.

Biologists and academics from other fields, do not seem to have this problem. George Schaller and Stephen J. Gould, have not had their reputations tarnished by writing popular accounts of their work.

These days many American academic anthropologists are complaining about the lack of money in their field, and an inability to attract talented graduate students. And yet the academics really have nobody but themselves to blame. Until they start taking a more active role in promoting their discipline to the public, the dearth of money and talent is likely to continue.

Afro-American Sociologists And Nepali Ethnography

Stephen L. Mikesell

Here comes the penalty which a land pays when it stifles free speech and free discussion and turns itself over entirely to propaganda. It does not make any difference if at the time the things advocated are absolutely right, the nation, nevertheless, becomes morally emasculated and mentally hogtied, and cannot evolve that healthy difference of opinion which leads to the discovery of truth under changing conditions.- W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Introduction

One need only look at the previous volumes of this journal to note that the development of the sociology and anthropology department in Nepal has been strongly influenced by Euro-American scholars and scholarship. Closer examination shows

that this influence over the department and the social sciences in Nepal has furthermore been white and, moreover, mostly male. From the perspective of Nepali social scientists, who are somewhat removed from the manner that problems are represented and experienced in the west, this observation may seem to be meaningless. However, even when knowledge presents itself as objective and detached, it has never been a passive observer or disinterested tool in the development of human society.² The acceptance of the disciplines of anthropology and sociology from the United States and western Europe according to the self-understandings of these disciplines as they are practiced there, also implies acceptance of their appraisal of the conditions which gave them birth. For social scientists and the people they study these conditions have been ones of colonialism, industrialization imperialism, the development of monopoly capitalism and transnational corporations, embourgeoisement etc;- processes in Nepal which are represented and legitimized by the word "development" or *bikas* In the U. S. and parts of Europe, the representation of these global processes has been interrelated with categories and representations of race and gender. Furthermore, in the United States, the dominant viewpoint is identified with white skin and the male gender-the race and gender categories with which the dominant group identifies itself, even though many of the people who call themselves white male are not in the dominant class and not all of the dominant class is white or male.³

Within the United States the categories of skin color and gender have underlain and permeated the development of the social sciences from their inception in the 19th Century, both in the manner that these categories have been addressed by the social sciences and in the manner that the individuals signified by them have been permitted to participate in intellectual intercourse. Thus, in borrowing from the United States and Western Europe, entire traditions of sociological thought are easily omitted from entering into the discourse of the social sciences in Nepal. Included among these omitted traditions are

those which have been developed by the oppressed populations of the United States—especially the progressive, critical and outspoken voices among them.⁴ These include view of Afro-Americans, Native and Hispanic Americans, and women of color. The later category includes women from all these other categories who taken together as the most repressed group, have found that their own problems in large part are not being addressed even within their own "minority" traditions.

In the U. S., these traditions are always prefixed with their minority status, such as black sociology or "women's" anthropology. This serves to denigrate the work and make it appear to be less worthy of consideration.

One device evolved by the whites was to tab whatever the blacks did with the prefix "Negro." We had Negro literature, Negro athletes, Negro politicians, Negro workers. The malignant ingeniousness of this device is that although it accurately described an objective biological fact or at least a sociological fact in America—it concealed the paramount psychological fact; that to the white mind, prefixing anything with "Negro" automatically consigned it to inferior category. A well-known example of the white necessity to deny due credit to blacks is in the realm of music. White musicians were famous for going to Harlem and other Negro cultural centers literally to steal the black man's music, carrying it back across the color line into the Great white world and passing off the watered-down loot as their own original creations. Blacks, meanwhile, were ridiculed as Negro musicians playing inferior coon music (Cleaver 1968; 79-80)

Indeed one of my academic advisors (male of course) even directly told me that women's anthropology was not worth considering; few other professors, except a Marxist Africanist

man and a Marxist woman, suggested that I even study either black or women's viewpoints; and only the latter suggested both.

If courses to the various "minority studies" are at all available to students within sociology and anthropology departments, they are generally presented as electives—subjects that students are free to study but do not necessarily have to master or take too seriously. Furthermore, minority students experience frequent indirect or even direct hazing and harassment. For example, women students and faculty report that the faculty in male dominated departments pay much more frequent complement to their clothes than to their work (which is minor compared to other problems). All minority students and faculty are subject to verbal and physical abuse. Finally, when certain black leaders have become too threatening then the machines of the media and state are mobilized to silence them. I give a rather lengthy quote by Eldridge Cleaver [one of the more militant spokespersons of Afro-Americans, I will admit] not only to illustrate my point, but because the same methods are used by Euro-American interests to passivate people in the Third world.

One tactic by which the rulers of America have kept the bemused millions of Negroes in optimum subjugation has been a conscious systematic emasculation of Negro leadership. Through an elaborate system of sanctions, rewards, penalties, and persecutions—with, more often than not members of the black bourgeoisie acting as hatchet men—any Negro who sought leadership over the black masses and refused to become a tool of the white power structure was either cast into prison, killed, hounded out of the country, or blasted into obscurity and isolation in his own land and among his own people. His isolation was assured by the publicity boycotts alternated with

character assassination in the mass media, and by the fratricidal power plays of Uncle Toms⁵ who control the Negro community on behalf of the white power structure. The classic illustrations of this quash-the-black-Militant policy are the careers of Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois [sic], and Paul Robeson.

Garvey who in the first quarter of this century sparked a black mass movement based in America but international in scope and potential, was caste into federal prison and then exiled to England. (The sociologist) W. E. B. DuBois, one of the intellectual giants of the modern world, was silenced and isolated in America as viciously and effectively as the racist regime in South Africa has silenced and isolated such leaders of the black masses as Chief Albert Luthuli, or as the British, in Kenya, once silenced and isolated Jomo Kenyatta. After attempts to caste him into prison on trumped-up charges had failed, DuBois went into exile in Ghana and later renounced the bitter citizenship of the land of his birth.

Paul Robeson was at the apex of an illustrious career as a signer and actor earning over \$200,000 a year, when he began speaking out passionately in behalf of his people, unable to balance the luxury of his own life with the squalor of the black masses from which he sprang and of which he was proud. The response of the black masses to his charisma alarmed both the Uncle Toms and the white power structure, and Paul Robeson was marked for destruction. Through a coordinated effort, Robeson became the object of economic boycott and character assassination.

Broken financially, and heartbroken to see black Uncle Toms working assiduously to defeat him and keep their own people down, Robeson's spirit was crushed, his health subverted, and his career destroyed.

By crushing black leaders, while inflating the images of Uncle Toms and celebrities from the apolitical world of sport and play, the mass media were able to channel and control the aspirations and goals of the black masses [Clever 1968:88].

In academia, a method that these alternative voice have been silenced is that the "minority" viewpoints are addressed from within their own separate disciplines such as of American, Women's, Native American or Hispanic studies departments. While having separate departments provides a refuge from a white male-dominated world, it also means that it is even more difficult for the minority ideas to challenge, transform and merge with the dominant ideas. Consequently, in regard to Black Sociology in particular, most students in sociology and anthropology pass through their entire course of study without ever being introduced to the work of great names such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Franklin Frazier, Charles Johnson, St. Clair Drake or Oliver C. Cox. They never come to know that in his study, *The Philadelphia Negro*, for example, Du Bois (1899d) pioneered ethnographic participant observation and the survey method. They are never introduced to the rich, unanswered, one-sided dialogue in which these and subsequent scholars engaged with the mainstream white sociological tradition.

Although this dialogue- a dialogue in which one of the voice is suppressed- is called "black" sociology, it is much more encompassing than the white male dominated social sciences which present themselves as the entire disciplines of anthropology or sociology. Always for the Afro-American,

Woman, Hispanic and Native American in the United States, an aspect of their scholarship has necessarily been the working out their relationship to the society and scholarly discipline with which they are part yet which does not recognize or accept them or their viewpoint as legitimate. For the mainstream white male on the other hand his problem has just been one of formulating and presenting his view of society according to scientific principles and terms, while begrudgingly and selectively allowing black and other minority voices to emerge only at times when pressures coursing through the society became too strong to resist. And even when these voices are allowed to emerge, they are generally tempered to make them acceptable to ruling class viewpoints or co-opted to serve these ruling class interests against the very people who created them.

Regarding ethnography in particular, not only have minority voices been silenced in scholarship, but minority positions within the societies studied are ignored or silenced. Ethnography generally presents generalized pictures of societies from the viewpoint of high status, high class, high caste and high status males. The problems which have been framed as legitimate subjects of study further direct people away from the problems of the lower classes and the oppressed. For example, among foreign women doing work in Nepal, the scholarship is very often as nearly regressive and patronizing towards women as that of men. Class interest thus asserts itself over a gender one. Regarding Afro-American or low-class anthropologists and sociologists - male or female - I know of none who are working in Nepal. This in part because there are few of them, and those individuals are forced to confront their problems right at home.

Due to their disadvantaged position and low status within both their profession and the society, Afro-American

sociologists were combining theory and practice long before the word praxis became fashionable in mainstream social science. Simply in trying to do their scholarship, the Afro-American sociologists were forced to confront their own personal and group conditions and status within the society. This forced them (and other minorities) from the outset to combine theory and practice, and objectivity and advocacy.

...for the social sciences and the humanities, race "the problem" penetrates the very work itself, and there is no way out of the dilemma save to fuse into the work itself one's commitment to one's people and one's commitment to the "objective truth" of scholarship and the "objective standards" of enduring art.

Given the depth and pervasiveness of racism in the United States, if a man or a woman is a historian and black, then he or she is compelled to work out a distinctive role balance between scholarship and advocacy, between creativity and commitment.

...Whatever the gross unfairness of the racial pressures on the black play wright or essayist, the work itself must still come first and stand on its own; it is almost inevitably (though not necessarily) "about race" yet it cannot be exclusively assessed "according to race"... "when his work is recognized it is usually pointed to as the work of a Negro. He is a competent Negro sociologist, an able Negro economist, an outstanding Negro historian. Such recognition is as much the product of the racist mentality as the Negro restrooms in the Montgomery airport" ⁶

Judgement of the work itself - implied in such phrases as "a competent sociologist," "an

able economist" - would constitute the essential standard if other things were equal that is, if the society in general had been guaranteeing a rough equality of access to scholars and writers irrespective of skin color. Since that has not been the case, and still is not, despite rapid changes in the direction of equality of opportunity, the racial designations are going to be applied by the dominant group in any case, whether from motives of discrimination, condescension patronage, mechanical liberalism, or whatever. Therefore, the black social scientist owe it to himself and the black community to fashion his own sense of balance inside the work itself - objective, scholarly analysis of the racial situation, its history and its structure, and passionate advocacy of freedom, justice, and group identity

The consequence of the need to combine scholarship and advocacy is that Afro - American work from its inception pioneered in a very personal way the same reflexive trend that the dominant tradition of sociologists and anthropologists are now discovering and developing as their own in a detached academic sort of way (primarily through often watered down reinterpretations of the works of Marx, Engels, Gramsci and their epigones). The consequence of having to combine theory and practice has meant that many Afro-American sociologists have left sociology and engaged in more direct and practical kinds of work, while at the same time publishing a rich corpus of material from their experience.

Typically, even now, only a few at the "radical" end of the spectrum of the social sciences are entering into dialogue with the Afro-American sociological tradition. Yet, Afro-American reflexivity has long had the mainstream tradition in

its purview. Thus whereas the mainstream social sciences offer just a partial view of the human experience in the U. S. and the world, Afro-American sociology must include both sides. Afro-American sociology has not meant just a study of races, it has meant a study of the relationship of black to whites, of oppressed to oppressor, of the relation of the various oppressed among themselves, of the peoples of the world to European and American expansion, and of the conditions generally which have given rise to relationships in which people are oppressed according to the color of their skin and other social categories. Indeed, due to its partial viewpoint, mainstream sociology should be the one prefixed with "white male" - the oppressor's representation of the world.

Better yet, however, is that the significant voices of Afro-Americans assert themselves and be acknowledged in theoretical discourse, allowing real, radical alternatives to be brought to the fore in scholarship and society. For scholars in Nepal; it is essential not to accept sociology and anthropology according to the dominant self-definitions as handed from western countries, especially since the most powerful voices most easily transfer themselves to Nepal, however inappropriate may be their grafts⁷. The experiences of Afro-Americans and other colonized peoples of the world (including women) have been suppressed or devalued. Yet these voices will provide a multidimensional understanding of sociology and the world which they take as their subject.

Generally the minority western scholars have much more in common with the great majority of the people of Nepal since they are in an analogous position towards western power interest as the great mass of the people in Nepal and the rest of the Third world. Their studies provide an alternative model from that of the mainstream *bikas* (development) ideology which has had such disastrous consequences in the bankrupted continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe, as well as for the poor of the United States and Western

Europe (and, needless to say, for the people of Nepal during the panchayat period in Nepal). And as Du Bois (1985 a: 241-2) points out, initiative for transformation of the world will come from those belonging "to the disinherited of modern culture" and not from "from those who now so largely own and rule the world"

W. E. B. Du Bois

Of the most prominent early Afro-American sociologists, including Charles Johnson, Frazier, St Clair Dreak Horace Cayton and Oliver C. Cox, Dr W. E. B. Du Bois stands out as one of the greatest sociologists who ever lived. Throughout his ninety-five year life, until he died in 1963 in Ghana, he analyzed American society and world events in acute detail, Living his words in the last sentence of the quote at the top of this paper, he continued to change his role and analytic perspective as the situation of the world changed around him and his own experience grew.

In the decade prior to 1895, he studied at Fisk, Harvard and Berlin "under the tutelage of an array of scholars whose combined distinction touched few, if any other young Americans". (Broderick 1974.3) In 1896, he engaged in his more than a year-long participant observation study of Philadelphia Afro-Americans (mentioned above).

"Using a lengthy questionnaire, he did a house-to-house survey of all the black families in the ward. He compiled voluminous data on patterns of migration into and within the city, family structure, income, occupations, property holdings, social stratification, black community institutions, politics, pauperism. The data gave a dismal portrait of unemployment, job discrimination by both employers and trade unions, wretched housing, family breakdowns, substantial criminality, and widespread health and hygienic problems. On the

other hand, Du Bois's monograph was a brilliant description of the contours and functioning of the black community, its institutions, and its mechanism for social survival and advancement" (Rudwick 1974 28).

He addressed the color bar, by which Afro-Americans were prevented from entering mainstream laboring occupations; even the quarter of the population engaged in business were being pushed out by white immigration and large-scale capital. He showed how the social problems, which characterized blacks, reflected economic problems. He directly tied together economic status and family structure. And he identified three factors responsible for the "pressing series of social problems" of blacks in Philadelphia: the legacy of slavery, influx of new migrants from a changing rural economy in the Southern states, and "the environment in which a Negro finds - the world of custom and thought in which he must live and work, the physical surroundings of house and home and ward the moral encouragements and discouragements which he encounters".

This latter statement was made more than a half century before the anthropologist Oscar Lewis coined the term "culture of poverty". Similarly, his emphasis on "the impact of discrimination of the personalities and aspirations of black men and women" (Rudwick 1974:32) foreshadowed studies in culture and personality. And "in stressing the importance of migration, Du Bois also prefigured a subject that would interest later sociologists studying black urban communities" (I bid: 32) Unlike Oscar Lewis or the culture and personality school, Du Bois placed his analysis in a broad social, economical, political ideological and historical context.

He approached his subject in terms of a class analysis, which included four social "grades" or classes: upper class or "aristocracy" (one-tenth) "respectable working class" (a half) "the poor" (a third), and the group with criminal records (6%).

His identification of great social variability knocked down the dominant racist stereotype which conceived of all black in terms of the last smallest group. It also differed very much from the generalizing, normative tendency that characterizes much of cultural anthropology even today. Compare the following statement to such characterizations of people described in terms of Magar, Gurung, Newar, Nepali or Japanese and American culture, which slips so easily from the lips of so many anthropologists.

"There is always a strong tendency . . . to consider the Negroes as composing one practically homogeneous mass. This view has of course a certain justification: the people of Negro descent in this land have had a common history, suffer to-day common disabilities, and contribute to one general set of social problems. Yet, if the numerous statistics supplied in the volume 'have emphasized any one fact it is that wide variations in antecedents, wealth, intelligence, and general efficiency have already been differentiated within this group (Du Bois 1999 : 309)" [Rudwick 1974 : 34]

In addition to writing "a conscientious and perceptive sociological study Du Bois, in his combination of theory and practice, took the role of social reformer. On the one hand, he called for "a radical change in public opinion" from the whites. On the other, he saw that the greatest responsibility for change lay with the black people themselves: in protest in, economic and social cooperation in unity of all classes of blacks.

From 1897 to 1914 he attempted to begin a major series of sociological studies of blacks from a position at Atlanta University. Despite extremely poor funding of less than \$500 a year, he was able to produce a large series of monographs, providing a storehouse of information from the period and initiating for the first time serious sociological research into

Afro-Americans. Again, his work combined an emphasis on social reform along with scholarly description. However, there was little interest in his work, and saw that the pressing problems demanded that he leave academia. Nevertheless, through the rest of his life he continued to publish a major book every five years, along with an immense number of articles addressing events and conditions in the world.

An example of the impressive depth and breadth of his analysis, with the Afro-American perspective expressed in all its breadth and intricacy is Du Bois' 729 page work, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* published in 1935. In this work he analyzes the mostly unsuccessful struggle of the blacks to free themselves from slavery and gain full citizenship right during and after the American Civil War. He destroys the myth of American history that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves, showing rather that the black slaves themselves went on a mass strike on the plantations during the Civil War (1860-65), either refusing to work or fleeing to the initially unreceptive United States armies. Lincoln's proclamation of freedom for the slaves was merely a recognition of what the blacks had already taken into their own hands, and it was forced upon him by the need for 200,000 black Americans to man the U. S. armies in the face of the growing resistance of white workers to a fight which they increasingly saw to be a war benefitting capitalists.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the northern capitalists (still represented by the Republican Party) combined with the large southern landowners (represented by the Democratic Party) who they had just defeated, in order to destroy the labor movement in the United States by dividing white from black. The recently freed blacks in the Southern United States were thrown back into new kind of slavery based on share-cropping, insuring the renewed supply of cheap raw materials for northern United States factories. The great masses of white poor in the south, who again were unemployed because they could not compete against the black laborers, were recruited into the Klu

Klux Klan terrorist organization to immobilize the Afro-American and suppress their freedom movement. This of course made the white laborer's position all the worse vis-a-vis the large landholders and capitalists. In the western states of the United States, large capitalists destroyed the small free holding peasant farmer. In the industrial north, the large capitalists co-opted the labor movement, by making the white workers become obsessed with protecting their high-paid jobs from Afro-Americans and women, rather than directing their demands at the capitalists. The result was to deeply effect not only the future development of the United States, but the trajectory of development throughout the world to this very day.

America thus stepped forward in the first blossoming of the modern age and added to the Art of Beauty, gift of the Renaissance, and to the Freedom of Belief, gift of Martin Luther and Leo X, a vision of democratic self-government: the domination of political life by the intelligent decision of free and self-sustaining men. What an idea and what an area for its realization—endless land of richest fertility, natural resources such as Earth seldom exhibited before, a population infinite in variety of universal gift, burned in the fires of poverty and caste, yearning toward the Unknown God, and self-reliant pioneers, unafraid of man or devil. It was the Supreme Adventure, in the last Great Battle of the West, for that human freedom which would release the human spirit from the lower lust for mere meat, and set it free to dream and sing.

And then some unjust God leaned, laughing over the ramparts of heaven and dropped a black man in the midst.

It transformed the world. It turned democracy back to Roman Imperialism and Fascism, it restored caste and oligarchy, it replaced freedom

with slavery and withdraw the name of humanity from the vast majority of human beings.

But not without a struggle. Not without writhing and rending of spirit and pitiable wall of lost souls. They said: slavery was wrong but not all wrong; slavery must perish and not simply move; God made black men; God made slavery, the will of God be done; slavery to the glory of God and black men as his servants and ours; slavery as a way to freedom—the freedom of blacks, the freedom of whites; white freedom as the goal of the world and black slavery as the path there to. Up with the white world, down with the black .

Then came this battle called Civil War, beginning Kansas in 1854, and ending the presidential election of 1876—twenty awful years. The slave went free, stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery. The whole weight of America was thrown to color caste. The colored world went down before England France, Germany, Russia, Italy and America. Anew slavery arose. The upward moving of white labor was betrayed into wars for profit based on color caste. Democracy died save in the hearts of black folk.

Indeed, the plight of the white working class throughout the world today is directly traceable to Negro slavery in America, on which modern commerce and industry was founded, and which persisted to threaten free labor until it was partially overthrown in 1863. The resulting color caste founded retained by capitalism was adopted, forwarded and approved by white labor and resulted in subordination of colored labor to white profits the world over. Thus the majority of the

world's laborers, by the insistence of white labor, became the basis of a system of industry which ruined democracy and showed its perfect fruit in World War and Depression. And this book seeks to tell that story [Du Bois 1935-30].

While addressing the history of the United States in this book, W. E. B. Du Bois addressed significance of what was happening in the United States and Europe for the countries of the Third World in an immense body of subsequent works.

All over the world, the organized economic power of Europe driven by the new capitalism and implemented by the new science and technique, fell upon ancient static cultures, ripped them apart, left them in helpless ruin and built a mass of poverty, ignorance and disease, that contrasted so painfully with what Europe was accomplishing, that Europe not unnaturally concluded that everything European was right and progressive, and everything Asiatic and African was decadent and barbaric. Then it was that gradually Europe, despite her bitter struggle not to admit it, began to realize that much she had ruined or distorted was necessary to real civilization; and that while Asia and Africa were at present too prone and helpless to reform an ailing world, nevertheless Europe was likely to commit suicide after all her magnificent effort, unless she proceeded to rid herself of the worst of the consequences which she had herself evoked.

Europe today with an accumulation of knowledge of this universe, built up laboriously and triumphantly over five long centuries, is unable to redeem mankind because most men, bound mind and body in the shackles of European

profit, are too ignorant to appreciate and help preserve and extend this priceless treasure. Rolling in unprecedented wealth and capable by her miraculous technique, of indefinitely extending and multiplying this wealth, Europe finds herself bankrupt because of wars waged to defend this wealth and make more; and weighed down in every part of the world by an array of sheer sordid poverty on the part of the very people, whose work rightly directed, would give every human being a decent living. With a knowledge of the human brain and body capable of prolonging life twenty years beyond the biblical three-score-and-ten, Europe faces a world swept by preventable disease among colonial Millions, her own birthrate declining because of luxury and indulgence, followed by the deliberate murder of ten million of her most promising young men in desperate effort to save that world which she has created [Du Bois 1985a :239-240].

Du Bois sees the solution to the great ills that have been brought onto the world as laying in bringing the broad participation of the great masses of people into running the world. In this regard he has much to say for the present endeavor to develop democracy in Nepal

..When it comes to democracy, the placing of political power in the hands of the mass of intelligent people there are many who regard this step as philanthropy and withal dangerous philanthropy. They think of the right to vote as a concession from the cultured elite to the inexperienced and irresponsible mass, with the threat of slowing up or even attacking civilization. Such retrogression has occurred and may occur in the progress of democracy; but the vaster

possibility and the real promise of democracy is adding to human capacities and culture from hitherto untapped sources of cultural variety and power. Democracy is tapping the great possibilities of mankind from unused and unsuspected reservoirs of human greatness. Instead of envying and seeking desperately outer and foreign sources of civilization, you may find in these magnificent mountains a genius and variety of human culture, which once released from poverty, ignorance and disease, will help guide the world. Once the human soul is thus freed; then and only then is peace possible. There will be no need to fight for food, for healthy homes, for free speech; for these will not depend on force, but increasingly on knowledge, reason and art [Ibid 242-3].

This discussion is a timely today for Nepal and the world as it was when it was written when Europe was emerging from the midst of a terrible war. This war had came to Europe because democracy had been suppressed as the large corporation which had emerged in the last part of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries were threatened by mass worker movements across Europe and the United States in the 1920 and 1930s. These businesses preferred to put state power into the hands of fascists who directed the economics of European countries towards their needs than give power over to the people. Immense profits were made in the gigantic war which was then needed to destroy the fascist regimes which had been slipped into power by these corporations. Subsequent to the War, Du Bois's plea was ignored, and the world again is on the edge of an immense crisis being precipitated by immense international debt, environmental destruction, a continual preparation for war, corporate greed, and the continued disenfranchisement of the great masses of people.

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¹See particularly the articles discussing the development of the department and discipline of anthropology. In volume 1, see Dor Bahadur Bista, "Nepal School of Sociology/Anthropology," pp. 6-11, Krishna B. Bhattachan, "Sociology and Anthropology Curriculum and the Needs of Nepal", pp. 11-28, and "Romanticism and 'Development' in Nepalese Anthropology", pp. 29-45. In volume II, see Om Gurung, "Sociology and Anthropology: An Emerging Field of Study in Nepal", pp. 4-12 and Bishnu Bhandari, "The Past and Future of Sociology in Nepal", pp. 13-23. The editorship of the two journals are also cases in point.

²Jurgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, London (1971).

³This is comparable to the domination of Nepali Society by Brahmanic ideas, which for the most part represent the interests of the ruling class, although not all high caste individuals belong to the ruling class. Unlike in Europe, caste categories originally developed in combination with the development domination of landed property over the society in its various stages. In India especially it has been taken up by the capitalists- both foreign and domestic- to secure the hold of capital over the society, and thus continues with a

somewhat different content. The category of race, however, developed with capitalism, entirely replacing the concept of "estates", which had characterized the rule of landed property in Europe in preceding ages. Given quite historical trajectories of the development of landed property and the state in Western Europe and South Asia, neither the terms "estate", "guild", nor "race" are interchangeable with caste, even if each shares certain common features with caste.

From a functional perspective (i. e., in terms of imposing the rule of a certain class, dividing the labor force, enforcing a certain division of labor according descent, controlling marriage) though not developmental one, caste is more a subset of race being a manifestation of caste. The so-called "caste school of race", which presented race as caste, attempted to give race and objective existence in the United States by equating it with caste. The flaw was that caste also lacks an objective existence, and can just as well be the object of the criticism which was directed at this theory by sociologists such as Oliver C. Cox.

In an article in preparation, I am showing developmentally and functionally that caste and citizenship originally addressed the same problem of establishing a class rule of a small group of people over the vast majority of people by extension of kinship categories. Their differences are tied up with the particular historical conditions which framed the expansion of the city state from Mesopotamia into South Asia and Greece respectively.

⁴For example, the one Afro-American introduced to Nepali students in the course of study for their SLC examinations in Nepali as Booker T. Washington. Yet he is widely criticized by Afro-Americans for compromising the movement for human rights to the big business interests which controlled the post-Civil War United States. As this quote demonstrate his policy is basically the same as the supplied to third world countries generally, and thus it is no surprise that an American designed

education system should eulogize Carver in young people's text books, while remaining silent about other more critical Afro-American viewpoints.

Above all, Mr. Washington had not the slightest doubt that the current organization of industry in the United State was normal and right; that capital was accumulated by thrift; that labor was rightfully bought and fed and that profits were rightly the result of buying the product of labor. He therefore proposed that the Negro take this path toward eventual equality working hard and skillfully to earn a living, and beyond that to accumulate in the hand of more thrifty and gifted individuals, enough capital to hire employees and make money. He expected that the black owners of property would thus gain recognition from other property holders and gradually rise in the scale of society. As a first step toward this new capitalism, Washington especially stressed landholding, wide-spread peasant proprietorship and even large-scale farming among Negroes.

'As a practical path toward these things, Mr. Washington's program included giving up of political rights, at least temporarily; the giving up of agitation for civil rights; and the insistence upon training young Negroes for farming and industry through industrial schools and a vocational program of education. This plan launched in 1895, and triumphant from that date until about 1910, was in reality an alliance with white capital and was rewarded by large contributions toward Negro education, especially to such schools as conformed to the Hampton and Tuskegee type. It was rightly regarded as a clever and far-sighted compromise which, if it would not solve, would at least peacefully postpone the solution of a baffling internal problem of race conflict" (Du Bois 1985b: 114).

⁵"A black eager to win the approval of white and willing to cooperate with them".

⁶John Hope Franklin, "The Dilemma of the Negro American Scholar", in Herbart Hill, ed., *Soon One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 61

⁷The white-male view point dominates the major journals and books, reflecting both the dominance of this viewpoint over the discipline and the publishing houses. Furthermore, Nepali exchange students almost invariably go to departments dominated by white males, particularly those which are defined as prestigious. I know of no Nepali students who have studied in the great Black colleges such as Howard, Fisk, or Atlanta. I know of one person studying at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, which has a much more ethnically mix faculty and student body than more prestigious universities. A major reason, certainly, is that these universities have much lower operating budgets and may not be able to offer financing. Another reason, however, may be that these have been attributed lower status than white universities (by white scholars) and lack their prominence. Finally, a large portion of students from Nepal, like elsewhere, see their education as establishing them in privileged class positions and prestigious occupations in Nepal and the global political economy. From this standpoint, schools built for the oppressed rather than the oppressor are much less desirable. If I seem critical here, I am sorry to say that it is just as much self criticism.



Case Studies On Domestic Servants: Reflections On Rural Poverty¹

- Saubhagya Shah²

1. Introduction

This is a descriptive paper that attempts to explore the working and living conditions of child (under 15 years of age) *Kaamgarne* (domestic servants) in a lower middle class neighborhood in the city of Kathmandu. Since the condition of being a child servant is not generally of one's volition but rather a desperate survival mechanism, this paper will also link the chronic rural poverty with the continuous and growing use of child labour, particularly among Nepal's urban middle class households.

1. A Part of this paper was presented at the First National Congress 'Structure and Transition: Society, Poverty and Politics in Nepal' organized by the Sociological/Anthropological Society of Nepal (SASON), Kathmandu, Sept. 4-6, 1992.

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The work is divided into six units. The brief introduction will be followed by a discussion of the methodology employed for the study. The third chapter seeks to portray a picture of rural peasant poverty in Nepal with the use of existing statistical indicators. That is followed by three selected case studies. The last unit draws conclusions from the case studies and makes tentative inferences on the causes and implications of poverty for the domestic servants.

2. Methodology

This study utilizes the case study method in order to gain a more qualitative insight into the daily life and labour of *Kaamgarne* children. Without in any way undermining the significance of the quantitative method, the primary focus on the case study method for this particular study lies in the author's desire to escape from some of the obvious limitations of statistics and portray the human side of poverty that is often lost in an over-reliance on numbers. As Oscar Lewis stated in his book *Five Families*, "Not all aspects of the human being can be studied statistically". The case study method, with its focus on everyday events and interactions, is a very appropriate technique that can complement quantitative findings. This method explores the unique experiences of individuals, in this case the *Kaamgarne* children, and provides qualitative insight into the actual working and living condition of the servants. Such understanding, it is hoped, can lead to a better appreciation of the poverty scenario as opposed to those that rely solely upon quantitative indicators that may miss the "trees for the forest".

The present case studies are the product of the author's six months of residence in Ward No. 22 of Kathmandu Municipality during 1991-92. The author lived in a rented room in the same house as the subject of case study no. 3 and the other two case study subjects worked in adjoining houses. The

case studies are basically constructed from first-hand observation, informal discussions with the *Kaamgarne* (who were quite shy in the beginning), their *Sahus* or *Maliks* (masters who were outright suspicious at first) and the guardians and parents of the child workers themselves.

During the stay in the locality, the author became acquainted with several residents in that area and was able to observe the *Kaamgarne*s in those families during social visits. Although twelve *Kaamgarne* Children became quite well known to the author, only three are represented here due to space constraints and also because the three particular masters were relatively open and helpful in answering the research questions. On the express request of these masters, the first name of the *Kaamgarne* children has been altered to maintain anonymity.

3. Overview on Nepalese Rural Poverty

As an overwhelmingly agrarian country with over 93 percent (Unicef, 1992: XII) of the economically active population engaged in agriculture related occupations, land in Nepal is necessarily the major form of economic wealth and socio-political power and prestige. Currently 26 percent of Nepal's total landmass of 147,000 km² is under cultivation and 43 percent of the agricultural land lies in the Terai while 48 percent falls in the Midhills, the rest lying in the Mountain zone. A mere 21 percent of the total cultivable land is irrigated and there is very little mechanization in agricultural production (Unicef 1987: 27). All of these factors ensure one of the lowest per unit area productivity in South Asia. Productivity generally exists at a subsistence level and the actual per hectare yield for rice, maize, barley and millet has been gradually declining in the Nepalese midhills during the period 1971-1981 (Unicef 1987: 31).

Not only are there great technological and ecological constraints but the socio-economic structure also hinders

greater productivity in agriculture. The top 6 percent of the land holding families still control 44 percent of all cultivable lands while the bottom 94 percent of the households own the remaining 56 percent (Sainju, 1988:83) despite various efforts undertaken by the state for a more equitable distribution. The extreme nature of economic inequality is similarly attested by the fact that the wealthiest 10 percent of the people earn 47 percent of the total income while the poorest 40 percent receive only nine percent (Unicef, 1987: 16)

There are nearly 2 million farm households in the country and an average household owns 1.13 ha. (CBS, 1991: 61) of land. Nearly 50 percent of all the holdings are less than 0.5 ha. in size which is insufficient to cover the food needs of an average family of five to six Members (Unicef, 1987: 28).

According to government figures, 42.5 percent of all Nepalese fall below the officially defined poverty line assessed at Rs. 10,667 (US dollar 500) per family per year where the national per capita income is US \$ 170 per year (Unicef, 1987: 16). However, a recent World Bank report estimates that more than 70 percent may fall below this poverty line (Unicef, 1992: 1). A significant proportion of peasant families are unable to grow sufficient food to feed their families for all twelve months. As a result nearly 50 percent of all children under age five group suffer from malnutrition and 78 percent of all women suffer iron deficiency anaemia (Unicef, 1991: 19). The poverty situation is further aggravated by the fact that more than 60 percent of the rural population is illiterate (CBS, 2048-49: 2). Of the 64 percent who enroll in primary school, a mere 27 percent are able to complete the level due to complex set of socio-cultural factors (Unicef, 1991: 13).

Out of necessity a majority of peasant families are forced to supplement their meager yield from their landholdings by either portering, working as agricultural labourer,

construction workers or in a variety of other manual and unskilled labour. Likewise, as a survival strategy, a large number also migrate both within and outside the country in search of economic opportunities (Unicef, 1987: 9). The 1981 census recorded 187,795 people absent from households (but remained within the country) and most of them had left for finding work as agricultural labourer, and other manual employment. However, a even larger number, 402,977, had gone outside the country, mostly India, to find labouring and other service work (CBS, 1991: 16)

Abject poverty, gradually shrinking landholdings, declining productivity and a general lack of socio-economic opportunities in the midhills has been forcing lakhs of people to immigrate into relatively unpopulated areas of Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram in India and also into Bhutan and Sikkim since the 18th century. Similarly, hundreds of thousands of people go to India for seasonal manual labour work as coolies, construction workers and labourers. Others may stay there for longer periods and work in factories or as the ubiquitous *Darwan* (watchmen).

Foreign armed forces is another avenue for hill people seeking better opportunities. Made notorious by the name Gurkha, currently there are estimated to be at least 150 thousand Nepali men in the Indian Army, police and paramilitary forces such as the Border Security Force, Indo Tibetan Border Police, Assam Rifles etc. However, the exact number of Nepali in foreign armies is usually not disclosed due to "security reasons." Another couple of thousands are employed in the British Army and Singapore Police. Recently, the expanding economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and the construction boom in the Gulf countries is also attracting a large number of Nepali manual labourers.

The women and the girls have also been forced to followed their menfolk abroad in an attempt to escape the

vicious cycle of poverty, but with a difference. While their men sell their labour, the women are compelled to sell their bodies. Currently, it is estimated that there are no less than 153,000 Nepali girls forced into prostitution in India. (CWIN, 1992: 16). Annually 5-7 thousand girls aged 10-14 from the Nepali hills are sold to brothels in cities like Bombay Delhi and Calcutta (Unicef, 1991: 21). Delhi alone is estimated to have 18,000 Nepali child labourers and 30,000 girls under the age of 16 working in brothels (Banskota, 1992: 10). The poverty at homes compels young children to move from villages to urban centres and from the hills to the Terai. The number of such migrant *Kaamgarne* children was estimated to be around 45,000 in 1988 in Kathmandu alone (Sainju, 1988: 83). In overall terms, it is estimated that over 4.5 Million Children or nearly 60 percent of the under 15 age group contributes labour with a typical work day of upto 15 working hours (CWIN, 1988: 160). Invariably it is these children who will miss out school or other trainings. The harsh reality of poverty takes an especially heavy toll on children, the poorest of the poor and the most vulnerable among the weak. From around age five their labour is used, sold or exploited depending upon their condition and the nature of the contract.

4. Case Studies

Case Study - One

As one enters the brown three storied house through the metal door, one invariably sees a little girl crouching over a pile of dirty dishes - diligently scrubbing and rinsing the pressure cookers, pots, pans and plates. The cement landing with a water tap under the stair case is where Rupa Sharma, the family *Kaamgarne Kete* (girl) does most of her work, cleaning dishes, washing clothes and filling and ferrying water jars to the kitchen on the top floor.

The dimple cheeked Rupa has been working for this

middle class family in ward 22 for the past one year, although it is not the first family she has worked for. Earlier she worked for a foreign merchant family for some fifteen days, but quit after they made her "sleep on the cold floor". She was brought to work in Kathmandu from her home in Kavre district by her maternal grandmother. Grandmother herself has been working for some years at the house of Rupa's *Malik's* (master's) *Salee* (Sister-in-law). Asked why she had to come to Kathmandu, "*Gharma Khana Pugena*" (there wasn't enough to eat at home) Rupa says shyly. After separating from his father and two brothers, Rupa's father ended up with 8 *Ropani*[⊖] of *Pakho* (unirrigated/dry land) and 1 *Ropani* of *Khet* (irrigated paddy field) from the ancestral property. The 28 year old man and his wife, 25, till the land but the yield is insufficient to feed the four daughters and one son. "*Muskil le saat mahina chalchha*" (hardly lasts seven months), Ram Prasad says. During the agriculture off season, he tries to supplement his income by working as a cook, construction labourer or porter in Kathmandu; Rupa's other *Bahini* (younger sister) Sita works as a servant in Rupa's employer's younger *salee's* house in Butwal. The other two younger sisters help their parents and tend the few heads of cattle and goats, the youngest son is too small to help yet.

For her age, Rupa has a busy schedule. She must get up around six in the morning, otherwise she will be late for the morning milk queue. She then makes 'bed tea' and wakes her master's family of three with steaming cups of tea. Soon it's time to clean and carry water from the tap on the landing. On most mornings, Rupa then makes a second trip to the bazaar to purchase vegetables, rice or other items. Upon return, She cuts vegetables, picks out chaff and rocks from the rice and starts cooking for the master who has to leave by 9:30 for work. She also has to ensure that a continuous supply of boiled water is available. She now turns into a efficient waitress, serving the

[⊖]Approximately 20 *Ropanis* to a hectare.

meal energetically to the family. When the family finishes eating their meal, another long bout with dishes commences for Rupa at the scullery. Between numerous errands for her master and mistresses, she quickly gobbles her *Dal Bhaat* (soup and rice) and puts on her coarse blue faded frock. She grabs her bag and rushes off to school around 11 A.M. which is 10 minutes walk away.

Attending school is the payment for her labour. When the 'negotiations' were made, Rupa's mother had insisted that she wanted no 'wage' for her daughter's service, -only that Rupa be sent to school as long as she wants to. Indeed, Rupa's parents get no money. Her two meals a day and may be some snack, two sets of clothing a year, some medicine when she is ill and the schooling is what Rupa earns of her labour.

Rupa is enrolled in class one and although primary education is officially supposed to be free, the school still charges Rs. 350 annually as registration fee. Additionally her master's spend about Rs. 30 monthly on her books, copies and pencils. The primary reason why her parents decided to send her to work in Kathmandu was simple economics - it would mean one less month to feed and secondly, because they couldn't afford her school expense in their own village school.

Rupa, who looks rather small for her 11 years is quite intelligent. Her teacher says she works hard, but she failed her maths in the quarterly exams. She tries to fit in her homework and study sessions when there is a relative lull in her numerous errands and tasks placed on her and when she can find a quiet corner in the house. But her study often is cut short when any of the family members ask her to bring a glass of water, make tea, rush to the market or do errands in the neighbourhood. The school ends at 3:30 P. M. and Rupa gets back home, often tired and hungry. She may get some *Khaja* and tea, but she is taught not to ask many things and express her needs. There may be a brief rest for her now depending on

whether there are any guests at home or many errands to be done. Rupa's work load increases to the number and frequency of guest arrivals. Soon she has to make tea and then start cleaning dishes again. Some days she does laundry as well. Occasionally when there is no water in the tap, she must carry 10 litre pitchers of water from the tap ten blocks down the street.

Then the evening round commences for Rupa with a trip to the market again. She returns and starts with the *Daal*, *Bhaat*; her mistress usually cooks the vegetables. She has to serve the food in the living room if someone decides to have dinner with the TV. When everyone has eaten (not everyone eats at the same time) and the dishes are taken care of, Rupa eats quietly alone. She then sweeps and scrubs the kitchen. By now it is nearly 10-10.30 P. M. Though she is often exhausted by this hour, she may not be able to go to bed if the family is watching late night TV programme. When the family retires to their beds, Rupa pulls out the bedding from beneath the sofa and spreads it on the floor and is soon fast asleep beneath the big TV cabinet, totally exhausted by the long day's labours.

And she gets no leave; seven days a week, four weeks a month. Rupa works. She goes home with her parents for a few days during *Dashain*, *Tihar* or *Teej* and Her father or mother come every 3 or 4 months to visit her. The mother especially is particular that Rupa should not miss school, that is why she does not insist on taking Rupa home often. Very infrequently, Rupa shows signs of home sickness, but if asked, she quickly says nothing is wrong.

She has to address her masters with the honorific '*hazur*' and never talk back. She is also disciplined never to sit on the beds, chairs or sofa in the house—she usually curls up in an obscure corner of the house when there is no immediate work to be done. Asked one day alone what she hoped to do in the

future 'I don't know what it will be' she said demurely adding 'but I must study hard'. It is to be seen how far her study - her mother's wish can go.

Case Study - Two

The thin boy with ill fitting clothes can be often seen absorbed with the *Gorkhapatra* or other vernacular weeklies at the neighbourhood newspaper stand. He couldn't be a schoolboy, his over sized clothes and his odd reading hours - during the mid day - betray that. Upon inquiry, it was found that this voracious reader, Gorae Giri (14 years old), was another *Kaamgarne* in a nearby middle class joint family. Gorae is originally from Jumla. His father died some five years ago and his mother passed away the next year. Of his three siblings, the *Dai* (elder brother), a deaf mute, is a farm labour for a lancholding family in Bajura district and his Didi (elder sister) is married and has children in Jumla. Gorae's *Bhai* (younger brother) was brought to Kathmandu as a *Kaamgarne* by a civil servant who had been posted in Jumla. Even after working in Kathmandu for some three years, Gorae has not met his younger brother who came to Kathmandu a year earlier. He has, however heard that his *Bhai* is well taken care of and even sent to school.

Gorae's siblings had started working as *Kaamgarnes* and hired helps in their native village when their parents were alive; usually washing dishes, fetching firewood, or tending cattle. Gorae's father had drifted to Jumla from Palpa with nothing, he made his living by selling firewood in the district headquarter. It got especially hard for the father to make ends meet without any landed property or kinship support when he started a family with a local girl. After the father died, Gorae worked for the local Pradhan Pancha for a year but when his mother died next year, he moved to a teacher's house who encouraged him to continue schooling. However, after the fifth grade, Gorae decided to quit school, he says he was "ashamed of his servant status among his class mates".

Some three years ago, the teacher for whom Gorae worked, decided to send Gorae to her sister who was married and lived in Kathmandu. As a domestic servant in Kathmandu, Gorae has a long day. He is usually up by 5.30 A. M., making and serving the "bed tea". Gorae's master, who works as a junior officer in a large hotel and the wife works for a bank, also have a older *Kaamgarne* boy. Between the two of them, Gorae and his colleague sweep the floor, fetch water from the community tap, and purchase groceries. As both the master and his wife work in offices, the morning meals have to be ready early. When everybody in the family has eaten, the two boys get to eat. After the meals, the kitchen has to be cleaned and the pile of dishes washed. Later, there are usually some clothes to be washed and ironed.

Around noon the boys are done with their morning chores. Gorae's partner goes out for a few hours to a carpenter's shop to do apprenticeship. It is during this time that Gorae runs off to the nearby news stall where he can read a paper for 15 paisa each. He doesn't get any salary or wages for his labour, but he does get some spending money every now and then (not more than Rs, 40 a month). He spends most of this money at the newspaper stand. He reads on almost any topic, his recent craze is the Thai Airbus accident. He was particularly worried that they hadn't found the black box.

Besides the small pocket money, Gorae gets clothing, some medicine when he is sick, and of course, meals and some snacks. However, he has been promised that when he gets "thulo" (older), he will be provided with a salaried employment somewhere (Nep *Jagir Milaideene*). His master offered to have him enrolled in a school, but supposedly Gorae refused that. For Gorae, the future consists of the day when he will have his 'Jagir'. Recently, he has been talking about joining the army. He somedays goes to watch the parades at the army grounds at Tundikhel.

The traumas of his family tragedy has given him a sad looking appearance. Moreover, a childhood spent as a domestic servant has made him shy and reclusive boy. Unless required, he avoids other people and makes minimum conversation. His masters 'train' him not to express emotions or feelings and he is encouraged to be obedient and detached. Gorae is constantly made aware of his inferior position in the household; he must not sit with his masters, he must address them with honorific 'Hazar', and be spoken in turn to with the lowly 'Tah'. Asked how he felt about his work in Kathmandu, "Jahan gayepani karma ma dukha lekheko chha" (Where ever I go, I'm destined to suffer) he said in a pained voice.

Around 4 'O' clock its time to make tea and 'khaaja' for the family. The people from the offices return. After cleaning the dishes, Gorae usually goes to the market for vegetables and other supplies. The evening meal is readied by 8 PM, the family womenfolk may also help with some of the cooking. The family eats by 8.30 PM, and the two *Kaamgarne* boys start doing the dirty dishes and cleaning the kitchen. Gorae is lucky there is another person to share the drudgery. When the evening round is completed, Gorae usually goes to watch the TV. The world news interests him and so does sports. The two 'Kaamgarne' then go to sleep on the floor on the 'Matan' (space outside the kitchen).

Case Study - Three

For her tender 10 years Kamala Thapa Magar has undergone a lot. When she was only 7 years old Kamala's mother ran away from the first husband and settled with a new man, her *fufu's* (father's sister) son. Kamala and two younger brothers also came with the mother. However, the step father wasn't as kind as he could be and made life difficult for the three children, especially Kamala.

Kamala has now been employed as a *Kaamgarne* in a middle-level travel officer's house. Earlier, it had been arranged

to pay her Rs. 60 per month, but 5 months ago her employees hired another Tharu girl from Bardiya. Subsequently her salary was reduced to Rs. 50 a month reasoning that her work load would be reduced with another servant sharing the work. The two girls work together from early morning sweeping the house, washing dishes, purchasing groceries and cooking. After the family has eaten and the master has gone for work, the girls usually have to do some laundry. Afterwards they have a few hours of rest during the afternoon. The girls usually spend the afternoon break either resting or talking with the other neighbourhood *Kaamgarnes*.

The evening work shift begins around 3.30. Kamala has to go to the nearby school bus stop to receive the family's children returning from school. The children usually dump the oversized bags and lunch boxes on to Kamala on the way back as they do when she walks them to the bus stop in the morning. One of the school boy is aged 10 and his 5-year old sister is in nursery classe. Kamala had also gone to school for 3 years in Tistung, but she was unable to continue. Now it is most ironic to observe her lugging two heavy bags of books to and from the school bus when she probably will never have an opportunity to study herself.

This is not Kamala's first job. Before coming as a servant here she worked for 19 months weaving carpets in a factory in Jawalakhel. The inadequate nutrition, unhealthy working condition and the dust made her very sick with respiratory problems. She was forced to quit that work and stay with her *fufu* who has been working as a servant for Kamala's master's *Jethan* (brother-in-law) for 14 years. The *fufu* promptly arranged for Kamala to work in the present place thinking that the work in a house would not be nearly as strenuous as carpet weaving.

Kamala's mother tends the three younger sons and looks after the meager land holding in Tistung, Makawanpur

district. The produce from the land is insufficient to feed the family, much less pay the Rs. 8,000 debt the family incurred when the mother got sick two years ago during the birth of her last son from her new husband. Now Kamala's father works in Kathmandu as a porter, truck loader or a pushcart *walla* depending upon which job is available. On an average day he makes anywhere between Rs. 35 to 70, provided he can find work. He goes back to Tistung during planting and harvesting season to help his wife manage the agricultural work. "Even with so much sweat and labour, I still can't properly feed the children" said 31 year old Kamala's father while taking a break from cement loading job at Kalimati. Last week, Kamala went to her home for a few days' visit. Her masters have now learnt that she won't be coming back to work for them anymore. Her parents have decided, now that Kamala feels a little better, she should work again at the carpet factory because it brings more money than a domestic servant. The masters feel betrayed by an ungrateful street bum to whom they had been very "kind and generous". After all, hadn't they fed her, clothed her and most of all - bought her a golden *Fuli* (ornament worn on the nose) from Kamala's six months' savings?

5. Discussions

One way or the other these three case studies can be linked with the pervasive poverty in the midhills of Nepal. The two children in the case studies, Rupa and Kamala were from families that owned less than average sized land holdings. Gorae's parents were landless, never owning a house, much less land Rupa and Kamala's families are able to produce sufficient food for about six months, while Gorae's parents, when they were alive, had to meet all their costs of living through the sale of firewood and their own labouring. Low yield from agriculture, insufficient earnings make day to day survival difficult for these families. Like Rupa's father Ram Prasad says "*Aik chhak ramro sanga khana pani garo parchha*" (it's hard to eat one meal regularly). The extremely small land holdings coupled

with declining soil fertility and accelerating soil erosion is making it increasingly difficult for peasants like Rupa and Kamala's families to make ends meet even at the bare subsistence level. To eke out an existence for themselves, they are compelled to seek seasonal and temporary labour service elsewhere, even the children.

For example take the case of Rupa's father, while the mother takes care of the children and home, the father comes to Kathmandu when there is no agricultural works at home and works as either a construction labourer carrying bricks and cement or as a cook at an orphanage near Pashupati. Obviously, this alone does not provide enough food and schooling for this Brahmin family. Admittedly, education is a strong value for Rupa's parents, especially the mother even though both of them are illiterate themselves. As a consequence the parents have sent their two eldest daughters to work as domestic servants, so that they may get some schooling which they can't afford to give themselves. Kamala's case is more or less similar, coming from a step father's house who is heavily in debt and unable to feed the family most of the year, she had to first work as a carpet weaver at age eight and when her health failed, she worked as a *Kaamgarne* for a family.

Gorae's Case is the most extreme. Never owning any fixed assets like land or house, his parents lived practically on the toil of their day to day wages, there never was any saving to fall back on. Once they got ill and unable to work, the food also began to dry up. Not only did Gorae's parents not receive any medicine but they got insufficient food during their illness - which hastened their premature death. Once they died, the children were one by one picked up by people looking for '*Kaamgarne*'.

The economics of *Kaamgarne keta* and *keti* looks exploitative. For two meals a day (which is often the left over from the master's eating) two or three pairs of clothes (which

can often be the hand-me-downs of the master's children) and occasionally, a monthly salary of Rs. 60 or less, the children are made to labour long hours. A CWIN survey conducted on child labour in Kathmandu has also come up with similar findings regarding the pay and remuneration (CWIN, 1992: 11). Of course this doesn't apply to Rupa and Gorae, the former gets schooling and latter gets some pocket money instead of regular wage. In return, the children usually put in at least 8-10 hours of labour from 5-6 in the morning till late at night, seven days a week. Considering that the minimum starting salary for government peons has been set at Rs. 1,100 for 7 hours a day 6-days a week work, what the children get or the masters make out of the arrangement does seem unjust. In this case acute poverty creates conditions where the bargaining position of the children or their parents is practically non-existent. When this point is mentioned, the *sahujees* or *maliks* usually retort that the *Kaamgarne*s are getting a much better deal than had they been with their families in the villages. As one master with two child *nokers* (servant) said, "here they at least don't have to worry about getting two regular meals a day and some money on the side". Others argue that the *Kaamgarne* child doesn't have to do the same amount of strenuous physical labour like in the village, such as firewood and fodder collection, agricultural work, etc.

As for the parents of the *Kaamgarne* children, they are resigned to their children working out of necessity. As far as immediate household needs go, it's one less mouth to feed and if it is a better deal the child would bring in some cash, however small, and education in the case of people like Rupa. It is a bare survival strategy for the poor. "At least the children get to eat and go to school" says Rupa's mother sadly when inquired how she felt about both her daughter workings far from home.

But there is more to it than the stark economics of child labour. A host of socio-cultural issues are involved. From

his/her early formative age, the child *Kaamgarne* is strictly trained to be deferential and subservient to the master's family. The socialization is achieved through various ways; the servant has to address his masters with the honorific terms 'Hazur' and 'Tapa'in'; he/she must never sit on the bed/sofa/chair or rugs of his masters and in turn the '*Kaamgarne*' will be addressed by the lowly term '*Tah*'.

The attitude of superiority and inferiority are also reinforced by other processes. For example, the *Kaamgarne* children almost invariably eat last when all the family has eaten. The children were also conditioned to be impersonal in the master's house, they are discouraged from showing any love, affection or sentiment. When Kamala's mother visits her daughter, Kamala looks awkwardly at her mother and doesn't know what to do - almost filled with guilt while the masters are present. But one day I spied her sitting on her mother's lap alone in the kitchen. While the mother combed and tended her hair, Kamala was whining and hugging her mother, being a real child, but when she saw me watching she stood up with a guilty expression. In extreme cases, the *Kaamgarne* child may be depersonalized, viewed more as a functional work unit than a person. A few masters even frankly admitted that a servant in the home enhances the social standing, rather like a status symbol giving the image of wealth. Among middle class families who can keep *Kaamgarne*s, young children, especially girls are preferred for a number of obvious reasons; a study carried out by Rupa Dhital for CWIN on child workers in Kathmandu gives the boy-girl ratio as 1:9 and sexual abuses are also reported against female child servants. (VO:W, 1991: 21). First, the young child can be physically controlled more thoroughly, there is no fear of insubordination to threaten the master's power. Secondly, small child servants occupy less space to sleep, need less amount of clothing and eat much less. Of course they need to be paid very little as well. And when they can be had "for the price of two star beers" as one

malik of a girl servant said, they definitely are within the affordability range for many.

The condition of being a child *Kaamgarne* in most cases not only mentally subjugates and expropriates the childhood of the kids, but it also effectively precludes other better opportunities and growth for the future. Because a servant develops no marketable skills, he/she will probably remain a servant for life thus perpetuating the cycles of poverty. As attested by the case studies, a network of servitude and client relationships evolve. Not only does a person remain a servant all his/her life, but will probably also induct their near relatives into the domestic servant network like Rupa's and Kamala's grandmother and *fufu* did. In many cases, it is also likely for servants from the same family or area to work for the same master or his kin group for generations. Therefore, the problem of poverty seems to be not only intragenerational but also intergenerational for lack of viable opportunity at social mobility.

It is indeed few fortunate *Kaamgarne*s who can find time, encouragement and the will to get education or acquire skills after their long work hours. Since the pay is paltry, there is no question either of saving enough and starting one's own business' or farm. Even if the child, like Kamala, quits one master he/she will probably continue with similar menial works; restaurant dish washer, porter, construction worker or carpet weaver. For those without the minimum education or other skills it is hard to break out from the cycle of hard labour and poverty. This constriction of opportunities naturally breeds fatalistic outlooks. Even at such imaginative age, Rupa and Gorae have begun expressing such outlooks as "I don't know what will happen", "it's in God hands" or Kamala saying with a bit of sarcasm "life will pass scrubbing dishes" about her future. They are already "submerged in the culture of silence", to quote Paulo Freire (Freire 1982: 11).

6. Reflections

Though limited in scope, these three case studies show several important lessons about developments in Nepal today, particularly with respect to children. Foremost, increasing the overall life chances of children as well as many other vulnerable sectors of Nepali society may entail substantial restructuring of current Nepali socio-economic relations. Egalitarian relationships that secure and protect the interests of all – instead of only the most powerful – will lead to a more equitable distribution of Nepal's limited resources; this, in turn, will lessen the pervasive poverty that forces children into labour, prostitution, etc., or at the very least, into illiteracy, disease and the like. Anything short of such socio economic transformation will only give the appearance of development instead of attacking the roots of the problem.

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Errata

<u>Page</u>	<u>Para</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Incorrect</u>	<u>Correct</u>
1	4	20	Up dhyay	Upadhyay
2	1	1	conservation. Which	conservation which
5	2	6	dicline	decline
7	3	24	getting	delete word
12	3	25	foresters'	foresters
13	1	8	forestry	forestry
13	2	26	in	In
15	4	19	to	of
15	5	18	village In	village. In
25	2	19	lead. ers	leaders
29	2	9	patterns. customs	patterns, customs
30	2	22	and like	and the like
31	2	13	nices	neices
31	3	22	her	delete
32	1	2	enermous	enormous
35	4	26	mans's	man's
35	2	5	kitchen Domestic	kitchen. Domestic
37	1	1	appaling	appalling
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46	4	12	Gerden city	Garden City
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58	1	6	Within	with in
58	2	15	3	three
58	2	16	deats	deals
59	5	13	interation	interaction
60	2	7	agency,s	agency's
60	2	7	traget	target
60	3	21	greminates	germinates
60	4	27	droad	broad
60	5	33	any	and
61	2	23	devided	divided
64	1	3	subsidizajon	subsidization
64	1	6	nationTl	national
64	5	29	does	did
67	6	28	Definations	Definitions
69	2	3	Ganesh Gurung	Ganesh Man Gurung
69	5	20	Lecturer and Reader	Readers
74	2	33	questions.	questions;
75	3	9	conflict free	conflict-free
76	1	9	pious and	delete words
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77	1	1	Ths	The
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78	2	8	national in tegration is the	national integra- tion is the

78	2	13	life have	life should have
78	2	15	are heard	should be heard
78	2	16	minority is given	minority given
78	2	17	are	delate word
78	2	18	demends	demands
78	2	18	are	delete word
78	2	22	forpeople'sbenefits	for people's benefits
80	1	6	including,	including
80	2	11	botherhood	brotherhood
81	3	14	one country	one religion
81	3	15	other languages	other religions and languages
82	3	11	people All	people. All
82	4	18	backward	backward
82	5	28	maker in	makers in
82	6	30	practiced	practised
83	1	6	Language, religion	language, one religion
83	1	3	and culture	and one culture
83	1	9	society The	society. The
84	6	22	religion, language	religion, one language
84	6	22	and culture	and one culture
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87	1	1	multi ethnic	multi-ethnic
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90	3	12	584	58.4
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91	6	23	practiced	practised
94	3	9	one nation.	one nation, one religion
96	1	6	system	systems
96	1	3	farmer's	farmers'
96	1	5	mechanics	machines
97	1	10	biase	bias
98	1	3	3, 7	37
99	3	13	against	delete the word
100	2	3	multi party	multi-party
101	3	10	former-managed	farmer-managed
102	5	1	system of tax collec- tion	System of Tax Collection
103	2	10	officials	official
104	1	5	eventually	eventually
106	3	1	do	does
107	2	10	1013	113
108	1	4	CGS	CBS
109	2	7	52	5.2
110	1	2	hectares	hectare
113	1	4	justover	just over
113	3	1	thought	though
113	4	2	semply	simply
116	title	1	Programmes	Programmes'
117	5	2	panchayat	Panchayat
118	2	2	thom	them
122	1	2	oustee	ousted
122	1	8	ane	are
122	1	11	them selves	themselves

122	2	1	1	2.
122	2	2	Political	political
122	2	3	havs	have
123	8	1	Griskna	Grishma
123	10	1	World	World Food
123	13	2	in	delete the word
125	2	1	Politice	Politics
125	8	2	Kawasiti	Kawasati