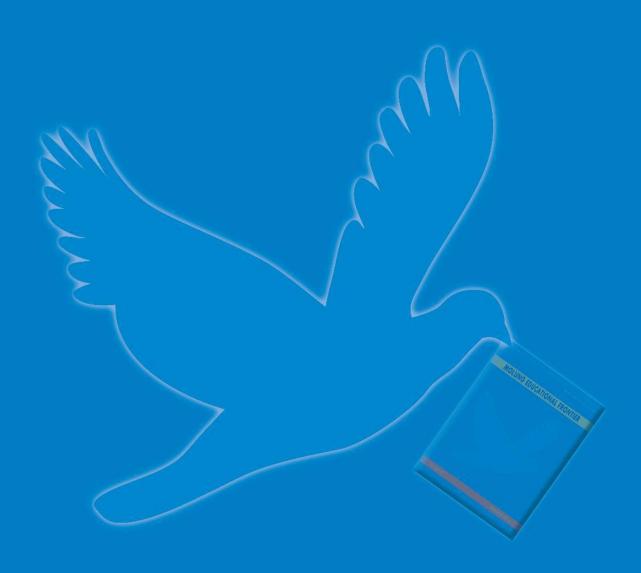
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Editorial

Most of our higher education is marked by traditional approach to teaching and learning. Years have passed without thinking of changing the educational structure to make it compatible with the changes that are seen in the global context. It is thus very significant to understand that the educational authorities have to reform the curriculum and improve pedagogical practices replete with research as a major component. Moreover, the state should also invest a considerable amount of money on goal directed research for development.

Realizing this fact, universities and higher education institutions as well as their faculties are engaged in research activities other than the ones they are awarded with PhD degrees. The findings of their research have been published in scholarly/periodical journals which have improved their standards over the years. Many articles published in peer reviewed/indexed journals have been cited and some of the journals have had a significant impact. This is certainly a matter of hope and happiness.

However, the achievements are still limited, only a small number of scholars have got access to those journals, there is inadequate budget to operate research activities. Even as scholarly journals are coming out, they may not have undergone the rigorous process of peer review which is the heart of any journal. Considering the way journals are published, there is not enough evidence to suggest that the task of research and publication is completely satisfactory.

In this context, Molung Foundation, a research institution based in Kathmandu, has been involved in research and publication. It has been publishing a journal named *Molung Educational Frontier*, on annual basis. It is an interdisciplinary journal that accepts research papers from any field - nature, society, and culture which can be linked to the governance/management, development, and prosperity in some way. Volume 9, December 2019 is also an issue that covers different fields of study and yet anchor the basis theme of development.

The Editorial Board is thankful to the leadership of Molung Foundation which has provided the space and logistics for the publication of this volume as before. We would also like to thank our article contributors and expect them to continue with their research activities and support us in ways they can.

December 15, 2019 Kathmandu, Nepal

Molung Educational Frontier

Volume 9, December 2019

Table of Contents

Name	Title	Page
Anil Rana	Consequences of International Migration:	1
Aswasthama B. Kharel	Facets of Democracy: An Overview	15
Badri Prasad Pokharel	Traumatic Testimony and Remembering	31
Bisna Acharya	Education Policy and Practices	41
Chandra Badana Rai	Teacher's Perception of Continuous	55
Dinesh Panthee	Teachers Professional Development	65
Khom Raj Kharel and Suman Kharel	Contribution of Foreign Direct	77
Madhu Giri	Cultural Crisis of Caste	91
Namita Poudel	Vulnerability and Disaster Resilience	109
Pradeep Kumar Giri	Turning Curse Side of	121
Pragya Paneru	Gender Discourses as a	129
Prakash M. Shrestha, Indra Bdr. karki, Narayan P. Chapagain, and Khem Narayan Paudyal	Study of Linke Turbidity	141
Ramji Timalsina	The Dichotomy of Pain	151
Keshab Prasad Adhikari	A Book Review on	165

Consequences of International Migration: A Qualitative Study on Migrants and Migrant's Parents in Chandragiri Municipality-13, Kathmandu

Anil Rana*

Abstract

Based on the primary information collected by using in-depth interviews among migrant students and their family members in Chandragiri Municipality-13 of Kathmandu, this paper explores some issues concerning the international migration of educated youths in sending society. In particular this paper explores the connection of those migrant students with their community of origin by means of remittance, investment and knowledge sharing and to examine consequences of such migrations in developing countries in general and in the community of origin in particular. Purposive sampling methods have been employed for selection of my participants for the study. Through the Saturation method fourteen respondents were selected for an interview. Among the respondents seven were migrants and seven were migrant's parents. This paper reaches two conclusions; first, Economic loss to sending society and second, they are unlikely to use knowledge and investment in sending society.

Key words: brain drain, migrant student, abroad study, sending society, educated youth

Introduction

Over the last five decades, a huge number of qualified youths from developing countries have undertaken higher studies and pursued lucrative occupations in developed countries. These developed countries include Australia, Canada, Norway, United Kingdom, United States of America and New Zealand (Master, 2016 cited from Konduah, 2018, p.1). The internationalization of higher education over the past few decades has resulted in significant movement of international students, i.e. students who migrate to study in another country. The number of international students enrolled in tertiary education across the OECD area increased by 7%, from 3.3 million to over 3.5 million between 2015 and 2016. In 2017, around 1, 450, 000 visas were granted to tertiary-level students, 1% more than in the previous year. There has been an almost continuous rise over the past decade, driven most recently by increasing flows to European and Asian destination countries (OECD, 2019). In OECD report, almost 2

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million of the total 3.5 million international tertiary-level students across the OECD area come from Asia, with Chinese students representing almost a fifth of all enrolments (789000). Other major Asian source countries of international students are India (262000) and Korea (100000). European students represent a fourth of all international students enrolled in OECD countries. Germany, France and Italy are the largest origin countries, with respectively 113000, 86000 and 63000 students in other OECD countries. Although only less than one in ten international students originates from Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, these regions experienced some of the fastest growth rates in emigration of tertiary-level students between 2013 and 2016. The enrolment of students from Africa and from Latin America and the Caribbean in OECD countries increased by approximately 17% in the last three years, compared with a growth of just 5% in international students from North America (ibid).

In the case of Nepal, an increasing number of educated individuals are choosing to study and work abroad. Over the past decade, the trend of moving abroad for study is increasing day by day. The number of Nepalese students in the US grew to about 10, 104 in the 2013 academic year, similarly 6, 397 for Australia, 5, 044 for India, 1826 for Japan and 1, 498 for the United Kingdom (UNICEF, 2013). Due to the flexible policy applied by Japan, Australia, Canada and other European countries for foreign students, it directly impacted undeveloped countries like Nepal for chances of studyabroad. According to UNICEF statistics, approximately 25, 000 Nepalese students went abroad for study in 2013, mainly in the USA, India, Australia, Japan, United Kingdom, Canada and other European Countries (ibid). Similarly, MOE Report (2017) suggests that the total no of objection letters issued to students increased from 26, 222 to 67,226 between 2010 and 2017. Among them 33,241 for Australia, 15,259 for Japan, 2,418 for USA, 192 for UK and 1,052 for Canada objection letter issued to students in 2017 (MOE, 2017). Above mentioned comment works here too, there is a substantial outflow of educated people from Nepal to the rest of the world. A significant number of educated people from Nepal choose to take advantage of overseas employment. A great proportion of them are part of the phenomenon of student non-return (except India) which means they have also gone through a period of training and education in their country of destination. This reflects in part the lack of opportunities for specialized study within the higher education system in Nepal, as well as the value placed on obtaining a "foreign" education in the Nepalese Society. Many research shows youths often went in the Gulf Country for employment, they are likely to send remittance and return back to their home country. But it is opposite to students who go abroad for the purpose of study in developed countries like USA, Australia, Japan, Canada and European Countries etc. they unlikely return back and rarely send remittance, instead they search for betterment of their life in their destination countries. Researchers argue

that many facilities in host nations lead to students to stay there permanently after their studies. Mitra (2014) as cited in Kounduah (2018) argues that the youths aspire to settle in developed countries where better facilities, remuneration packages and incentives are at the highest point of their livelihood. These better facilities coupled with quality of livelihood stimulate the decision of students not to return to their home countries after studies (Mitra, 2014, as cited in Konduah, 2018, p.2).

The growing trend of such migration for study abroad from developing countries has serious effects on each and every aspect of social life. For example, Gribble (2008) argues that the trend for students to study abroad looks set to continue and with it the strong likelihood that many will remain in the country in which they study. Success in the knowledge economy rests on the availability of highly skilled and qualified people, and the loss of the highly educated can have a deleterious effect on the social and economic development of sending countries (Gribble, 2008). Also Conventional theories of economic development and growth focus on nation-states and consider education a major determinant of long-term growth in developing countries, leading to the conclusion that migration of the educated citizens will hamper their economic growth since they will inevitably be replaced by the less educated, lower skilled individuals (Lucas, 1988, Bhagwati and Hamada, 1974, Piketty, 1997, as cited in Chaichian 2011). Among the migrants in developed countries, how many migrants have returned back to their hometown? how many migrants used their knowledge and investment in their home country. This paper concerns following issues; do students remit to family? What are the consequences of such a trend of migration on sending society? Do they invest their knowledge and money into sending countries? To investigate such curiosity the following objectives have been formulated

- ➤ To explore the connection of those migrant students with their community of origin by means of remittance, investment and knowledge sharing.
- ➤ To analyze the consequences of such migrations in developing countries in general and in the community of origin in particular.

Methodology

Chandragiri Municipality- ward no 13 has been chosen as a research site I conducted indepth interview with fourteen respondents to explore the facts and realities of migrants and migrant's parent's views on migration of educated youths towards the developed countries; as well as due to the lack of documents on the history of migration on Chandragiri, I have taken two key informant person to get information about migration history in Chandragiri.

To explore my research objectives, I have used a qualitative method. As I have used migrants and migrant's parents as a respondent to gather concrete real-life experiences in their own minds and in their own words on the issues of migration of educated youths to developed countries. Purposive sampling methods have been employed for selection of my participants for the study. Saturation method was used to select the sample size. I took interviews with migrant students and migrant's parents and reached in with adequate information when I finished the interview with seven students and seven parents. After that, information was repeated from respondents and did not get new information about what research question was looking for. Thus I stop to take interviews with other respondents.

Theoretical debate on International Migration

Modernization theory maintains that traditional societies will develop as they adopt more modern practices. Proponents of modernization theory claim that modern states are wealthier and more powerful and that their citizens are freer to enjoy a higher standard of living. In the case of migration, the modernization theory says that migration is the process of social mobility generated in the transition of the traditional society to a modern one (Rostow, 1960). Modernization theory gives priority to progress of traditional society to modernity by adopting characteristics of developed countries and explains migration is the key part of development for underdeveloped society which takes place from rural to urban or underdeveloped society to developed society or agriculture to industrial society or low income to high income for economic progress. It illustrates the consequence of such migration in sending society from the Eurocentric view and neglect sending society. The perspectives first and third generation brain gain debates motivated by this theory and generally argue that when people migrate from less developed to developed country, they learn advance technology, quality education, advance social and cultural values etc and remittance that can be important to develop the sending country after return. For example, Grubel and Scott (1996) as cited in Konduah (2018) suggest that flows of skilled migration the first generation brain drain does not have negative effects because the negative consequences produced by emigration of skilled labor are restricted and rewarded for by migrants' remittances (Grubel & Scott, 1996, as cited in Konduah, 2018, p.13). Similarly, the third generational argument also countered the second generational approach of brain drain debates and established the positive side of brain gain. For example, Gaillard & Gaillard argue that, after much criticism leveled against the brain drain phenomena, the concept resurfaced again with a more enthusiastic approach, designed to return highly skilled labor to their home countries to strengthen and reinforce the science and technology system.

On the other hand, Wallerstein (1974) in his book "The Modern World System" states that there is unequal economic relation in the modern world which creates economic dominance of developed to underdeveloped countries and leads toward disparity between countries. According to him, "World-system" refers to the interregional and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries. Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, laborintensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Similarly, Andre Gunder Frank (1966a; 1969) was the frontrunner of the "dependency" theory, which hypothesized that global capitalism (and migration as one of its manifestations) contributed to the "development of underdevelopment". The dependency school views migration not just as detrimental to the economies of underdeveloped countries but also as one of the very causes of underdevelopment, rather than as a path towards development. According to this view, migration ruins stable peasant societies, undermines their economies and uproots their populations (De Hass, 2007, app.). Second generation debate on brain drain highly influenced by WEST/DT highly differences to first and third generation, this perspective advocates more on the negative effect of brain drain on sending society. For example, Dodani and Laporte in 2005 suggest brain drain is the migration of skilled human resources for trade, education, etc. Trained professionals are needed in every part of the world. However, better standards of living and quality of life, higher salaries, access to advanced technology and more stable political conditions in the developed countries attract talent from less developed areas. The majority of migration is from developing to developed countries. This is of growing concern worldwide because of its impact on developing countries. These countries have invested in the education and training of young professionals. This translates into a loss of considerable resources when these people migrate, with the direct benefit accruing to the recipient states who have not fork out the cost of educating them. The intellectuals of any country are some of the most expensive resources because of their training in terms of material cost and time, and most importantly, because of lost opportunity (p.487).

The World System and Dependency perspective opposes what modernization theory has argued about migration of educated people from undeveloped to developed countries. This perspective advocates that core countries import the semi skilled or less skilled human resources as raw materials to fulfill their labour shortage in market and many educated people migrate to developed country (USA, Australia, Japan, UK and other European countries etc.) from undeveloped country like Nepal either for employment or study with a hope of return to home country after learning advance

knowledge of developed countries or earning money to invest in home country. But later often they change their mind and stay there permanently instead of returning to return to their home country. This is the structure of the global capitalist economy which is composed of the unequal economic relation between core and periphery. In this way, less developed countries like Nepal lose their educated youth as well their investment over them and may lead to these countries on brain drain. This scenario of undeveloped countries bring more negative consequences on their development and make them more dependent on developed countries in contrast to what modernization theory suggests in the context of migration. Thus, in this paper I have explored the questions related to the ever increasing trend of students' exit from the country for the purpose of study and settlement in developed countries from the World system/ Dependency perspective.

Data analysis and Consequences of such Migration on Study Area 1. Cost and Uses of Migrant's Income

Most of the migrants in the study area had paid a high amount to their respective university for fee. They even needed financial support from their parents to pay university fees during their study abroad. Most of the students did jobs during their study but their income was not enough for expenses (Food, accommodation, fees, travel cost etc.) in the host nation, which caused less saving for them to remit to their family. I had asked such questions to migrant students "How much have you spent to go abroad?"; "where do you spend your income?" to collect information about their cost expenses for abroad study and how they spend their income in host countries. Among the migrant respondents, 4 out of 7 had spent more than 20 lakhs whereas 3 out of 7 had spent less than 15 lakhs for abroad study. Study revealed that 2 out of 7 went abroad with a spouse, often they save money and send money to family; whereas others 4 migrants often do not send remittance. Four out of seven respondents who finished their study and already got PR or citizenship spent more than 40-50% of their incomes (after paying tax) on accommodation and foods; 10% to pay bills, 20-30% loan instalment (auto, home etc.) and some of spends on travel which led to less saving for them. In the case of students, three out seven said that they spend 70-80% of their income in tuition fees, accommodation and food; and remaining travel expenses. For example, one of my 30 years old female respondents said:

I think, in that time about 10 to 12 lakhs, I had spent to come here. During the study, I had a part time job and often I spent all my income for study and accommodation. But now, after tax paying, I pay 40% of income for loan installments and around 30 -40 % for groceries, electricity, phone and gas bills etc, and 20% saving which I invest for travel every year.

Similarly from the migrant's parent point of view, Study showed that only one parent among the parent respondents said his son went abroad on a scholarship, whereas other parents managed money either selling their land or taking loan from bank to send their children. Parents paid at least 15 lakhs (1.5 million) in low amount whereas maximum amount was 30 lakhs (3 million) for university fees. For example, one of my 56 years old respondents whose sons are abroad; one in Australia and another in Dubai for work. He sent his son to Australia by selling his land. He said:

Umm... I am not sure the actual cost of how much I had spent at that time. But I think approximately around 25 lakhs I had given to my son to pay his university fees. I had sold my 4 ana land to manage money for him.

Study showed that students have paid large amounts of money to go abroad for study. Approximately 13.5 million Nepali currency had been exported to developed countries from seven students in the study area for their study. It is just an example from the research area, the volume will be increased if we compare to national level. Which indicates developed countries earn a lot of money from foreign students as revenue. All migrants often engaged in jobs (part time or full time) during the study and after getting PR. Information gathered from respondents explain that most of the students have high expenses in host nations for different purposes which cause them to save less. For example, those students already got PR or citizenship, spent more than 80% of their incomes (after paying tax) in accommodation and foods, to pay bills, loan installments (auto, home etc.) and some spend on travel which led to less saving for them. In the case of students, three out seven said they spend 70-80% of their income in tuition fees, accommodation and food; and remaining travel expenses.

2. Do migrants remit?

Generally, people have a conception that those people who went to a developed country often earn lots of money and send remittance to their family. But in reality it does not happen to students who migrate to abroad for study. My study showed it is unlikely that students have sent remittance to family in the study area. They often needed support from their parents. I had asked such a question to migrants (students) "Did you need financial support from your family during study?" "Do you send Remittance to your family?" to know either migrant remit to home or they need financial support during their study from parents. Study showed migrants who went abroad with spouses in dependent visas, they never needed financial support from parents, and they often remit to support their parents in Nepal. In the cases of other students, most migrants needed financial support from their family for tuition fees during study. Four out of seven migrants argued that they did not remit to family because of expensive fees, accommodation, food etc. in the host country. Among the

PR or citizenship holders of the host nation, Two out of four often remit to family because one of them is building a home in Nepal, other has to pay loan installment. And other two PR holders do not remit to families in Nepal because they invest money in host nations for their betterment of life. For example, one of my female respondents who have already got citizenship of Australia argues:

When I came here, I got support from my family to pay the university fee, often I collected money but sometimes I need family support to pay the fee. I did not send any remittance to Nepal, I have to collect money here to make our future bright here. But some time as a gift I did. When I go Nepal that time I spend money for my family otherwise no..!

Similarly from migrant's parents perspective, Study showed that out of total seven parent respondents, only two parents said their children send remittance to pay loan installment, three out of seven said no remittance since they left for study in abroad; whereas one parent said his son remitted money for him about 20 lakhs in his entire time in Australia. One of the parents said his younger son does not send but the elder son sends money for family expenses. On the other hand, six out of seven parents said they helped their children during study, only one parent argued that he did not help his son because he went with his wife. Both could work there thus they managed their all expenses there.

The study revealed that those migrants went with their spouse on a dependent visa, they never needed financial support from parents, and they often remit to support their parents in Nepal. Most of the migrants needed financial support from their family for tuition fees during study and often migrants did not remit to family because of expensive fees, accommodation, food etc. in the host country. Among the migrants who hold Permanent resident (PR) of respective host nations, only two out of four remit to family because one of them is building a home in Nepal and the other has to pay loan installment in Nepal. But others do not remit to family in Nepal because they invest money in host nations for their betterment of life. This information from respondents shows there are less chances of remitting from students to sending countries. Similarly, the information gathered from parent respondents reveal that among the parent respondents, only two parents said their children remit them to pay loan installment but others said their children do not remit them. Most of the parent respondents said their children needed financial support during the study; only one parent did not help his son because he went with his wife. Both have jobs thus they manage all their expenses by themselves.

In the study area, most of the students needed financial support from their parents to pay tuition fees abroad. Even if they work full time or part time basis, their income is not enough to manage their all expenses in the host nation. Study reveals that even if

they become permanent residents of their respective country they are unable to remit in the sending country, because of their high expenses in living cost and future planning to make betterment of their life in the host nation. From these findings we can conclude that what we expect from student migrants, in reality it does not happen.

3. Investment and Use of Knowledge

The highly influenced by modernization perspective, First generation approach on migration debate argues sending countries benefits from skilled migration than loss. Sending countries benefit from remittance by migrants and highly used of learned knowledge after returnee of migrants to sending countries. This approach is more concerned on brain gain for sending society rather than loss to sending society (Adams, 1968). Similarly Third generation approach on migration also gives priority to brain gain for both host and sending societies. These theories talk remittance, return of migrants, Diasporas and brain circulation can be possibly beneficial for sending countries (Gillard and Gillard, 2008). Generally, both perspectives emphasized the positive effect of brain drain in sending society by receiving remittance and use of migrant learned knowledge after returnee to home country. The study from the research area already concluded that there is unlikely remittance from those students who migrate to developed countries for study. Rather they needed financial support to pay their tuition fees. This section has provided the possibility of investment by migrants and uses of knowledge learned from host to home country. To reveal such curiosity in the research area, such questions were asked to migrant's parents; are there any chances to invest money & knowledge in home country by migrants? And would you like to stay there permanently or not? for students. Study showed only one parent was confident about returnee of his son, others said, there unlikely to be returnee of their children to Nepal. 5 Out of 7 parents said their children have already got Citizenship of respective country; whereas one parent said, his son just finished studying and applying for PR in Australia and another respondent said his daughter is still studying, but she has decided to apply PR after study. Most of the parents said their children have decided to make their future in a host country, thus there is less possibility to invest money and use their knowledge in Nepal. But some said if the government can make policy to utilize their knowledge here by providing facilities and opportunity for them, they will come. For example, one of my 52 years old respondents argued that when his son told him, "he has got citizenship of Australia". He felt he sold his son to others. He explored his frustration with the government and politics of Nepal. Even his son came back to Nepal to make future here but due to poor politics, lack of system, lack of opportunity, corruption etc he could not make his life better here. He said after completion of study of his son, he came to Nepal and stood here for three months, during that time he tried to do business here but he faced many

problems so later he decided to return to host country. He argued that even skills and educated people (abroad returnee) want to contribute their skills in Nepal but due to lack of government policy in proper management of returnee, they are forced to stay in the host country.

From the student's point of view, Study found that some students don't want to come; some said a 50-50% chance to return, whereas some migrants did not openly make the decision to either return or stay. Interesting thing was, among the migrants who said 50-50 chances to return, two have citizenship of host countries and one's wife has citizenship of host country. One of my 37 years old respondents who have US citizenship wants to return Nepal but due to the political, social and economic challenge for them, he does not want to return now. In the future, if the government creates an environment for them to return then there is a possibility for him to return. He said:

I want to come back to Nepal even though I have got US citizenship. There are still 50-50% chances to come to Nepal. My whole family is in Nepal and I am still unmarried and my family property is here. If political conditions become good in Nepal and the government provides facilities and creates opportunity for educated people then I will come. I am planning to do business here but nowadays the condition is not good. I hope government will succeed in creating an environment for us to come back to Nepal. If it does not happen then I will sell my property which can be helpful to invest in the USA.

A 22 years old female respondent who is studying her bachelor degree, she also said she doesn't want to return due to lack of quality life opportunities in Nepal. She said:

Right now, I am studying so I have not made any future plan yet. But in my opinion after completion of my study, I will apply for PR; my many friends have got PR. I am not thinking of going to Nepal and investing or doing a job in Nepal, because it's hard to get a good job, good living style and opportunity there.

Generally, student movement toward developed countries is highly motivated to return after completion of their study and making some money which they can use at home. Research area does not get rid of this concept. Often students from research areas went to developed countries in the hope of returning to home after completing their study and also parents had hope to return their children after learning and earning from abroad to home. My study found among the parent respondents, only one parent was confident about the returnee of his son and to engage in his previous work that he had done before at Nepal. But others said they are unlikely to return their children to Nepal. Study found most of the migrants unlikely to return. The study showed even migrants have a desire to return home, due to the political, social, economic challenges and lack of opportunity in sending countries, migrants are in wait and see situations with respect to

improvement of government policy and political stability in sending society. Most of the students decided to stay there for the betterment of their life rather than return home. This scenario of study area concludes less chance of using student's knowledge and investment in sending society, whereas most of the students do not contribute remittance to the sending country and they are planning to stay there permanently rather than return home.

Conclusion

Generally I found two conclusions; first, Economic loss to sending society and second, there is unlikely to use knowledge and investment in sending society. At first, in the study area, findings showed there were approximately 13.5 million Nepali currency had been exported to developed countries from seven students for their study. It is a simple example from a small study area. It increases when we compare to the national level. Parents had to spend a lot of money to send their children abroad for study either by taking loans or selling their land. Even family support financially to their children to pay tuition fees during their study except some students who went with a spouse on a dependent visa. Finding also suggests that most of the migrants were unable to remit to family during the study because of the expensive living cost and tuition fees. Even they do not remit to family after getting PR or work permit because they had to use most of their income to pay taxes, rent, loan installment (home, auto), mobile bills, accommodation cost etc and often they think to settle in host countries. This indicates loss of both the economy and human resources for the State.

Second, unlikely to use knowledge and investment in sending society. Findings show that after the completion of study, Students decide to settle in host nations rather than to return to sending countries to utilize their learned skills and knowledge. Study reveals that even some positive willingness from migrants to return home, but some lack in sending society (opportunity) than host country play a huge role to influence on their decision either return or stay. This information indicates that it is unlikely for them to return to sending society. Such a trend of migration leads to the disappearance of educated youth in the study area and it can be a challenging matter for them.

At last, I can conclude on the basis of my findings, the study area represents the periphery in the global economy who exports students to developed nations (Core countries) to fulfil labour shortage in key areas of the host nation. Host nations took maximum advantages from students by collecting revenue from tuition fees and maximum utilization of their labour during the study and after the completion of their study by keeping them as secondary citizens, which can be a huge contribution for national GDP of host countries. On the other hand, sending society gets less advantage

than the host country by exporting their educated youth to developed countries except maintaining some unemployment issues on a national level. Findings show that families invested a lot of money as well other social costs to make them youth from infant as a skilled human resource. Even they have to invest a high amount of cost to send them to developed countries for study and need to support them during their study. But in return, family and society get neither remittance from migrant nor presence of migrant at home to utilize their knowledge because of migrant decision to stay permanently in host country. This trend of migration and disappearance of educated youth from research areas leads to probable brain drain in research areas so research areas have largely to depend on developed countries for betterment of educated youth's life and in search of jobs.

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Facets of Democracy: An Overview

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Abstract

Democracy allows the expression of political preferences of citizens in a state. It advocates the rule of law, constraints on executive's power, and guarantees the provision of civil liberties. It also manages to ensure human rights and fundamental freedoms of people. In democracy, people are supposed to exercise their freely expressed will. Ordinary people hold the political power of the state and rule directly or through elected representatives inside a democratic form of government. Democracy is a participatory and liberal way of governing a country. Different countries in the world have been practicing various models of democracy. There remains the participation of people in government and policy-making of the state under democracy. But when the majority can pull the strings of the society without there being legislation for protecting the rights of the minority, it may create a severe risk of oppression. Many countries of the world at the present time are facing democratic deficits. In several countries, the democratic practices are not adequately regulated and governed, as a result, the rise of violations of rules of law is observed. Even a few countries practicing democracy are not living peacefully. This situation has put a significant question about the need and sustainability of democracy. Democracy is a widely used system of governance beyond having several challenges. Here the concept, origin, models, dimensions, practices, challenges, solutions, and future of democracy are dealt to understand the structure of ideal democracy.

Keywords: democracy, human rights, rule of law, sustainable development, election

Methodology

The methodology applied in maintaining this research paper includes documentary analysis qualitatively where different journals, public documents, organizational reports, articles, and books are referred, and their factual data are considered. For the brief analysis and description of different terminologies that have

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been used in this research paper, the discussions made by recognized authors in their international journals and books are cited. Similarly, several data are extracted from published historical reports as well. By the analysis of all those collected data sources and the opinions put forward by social scientists and analysts, this research paper has tried to sketch the way forward of the democratic practice in the world in the time to come.

Concept

Democracy is the word derived from Greek demokratia, coined from 'demos' and 'Kratos' in the 5th century BC (Before Christ) for denoting the political system existing in some Greek city-state, notably Athens. 'dēmos' meaning people, and 'Kratos' meaning rule (MOAD, 2018), therefore 'Democracy' is a system of government in which power is vested in the people (Dahl, 2012). Democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the public policy alternatives in such a way that the public can participate in the decisionmaking process (Schattschneider, 1960). Democracy is the diffusion of power, representation of interests, and recognition of minorities (Calhoun, 2018). It is the government of the people, by the people, for the people (Lincoln, 1863). In a democratic form of government in Athens, the institutions were continually evolving to ensure, intending to ensure that the 'demos' (people) were not dominated by the wealthy oligarchs. They had abused their power for centuries. Democracy practices the government by the people where the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or their elected agents under a free electoral system. Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom. Democracy is the institutionalization of freedom (Salsburg, 2005).

Democracy provides the general public with a chance to become personally involved with their government. It encourages equality among people in a positive way. It reduces issues with exploitation and is also a comparatively consistent form of government structure. Democracy provides a significantly less chance of people entering into armed conflicts and encourages centrism more than extremism. Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those who have been tired (Winston Churchill, 1947). The structure of democracy is dependent only upon the will of the majority, whereas democratic form requires more time for implementing changes. The conflict of interests within the government may occur in democracy. If power moves away from the people to only a privileged few under the democracy, it will only be a few steps away from a dictatorship. Therefore, democracy, when performed and regulated with proper concern and consent, becomes a fruitful system for the overall development of the country and prosperity.

The GSoD conceptual framework and its link to the Sustainable Development Goals



Fig (1)- Chart representing the fundamental determinants of a Democratic system

History of Democracy

Democracy began from the Greek city-state during the 6th Century, BC 508-507 BCE (Oliver, 1993) by Cleisthenes, followed by its re-emergence and rose from the 17th Century; to the present day. The Greek government system was closer to a real democracy as civilization was broken down into small city-states, and democratic practices were performed. Greek democratic institutions collapsed under the imperial onslaught of Macedonia and later of Rome (Riker, 2017). It is believed that Sumerian city-states have had some form of democratic setup initially. The Roman Empire (509-27 BCE) practiced representative democracy with the representatives from the Senate's nobility and representatives from the commoners in the Assembly; Cicero and other political philosophers explained that governmental and political power should come from the people. In the middle ages, the people's rights were advertised, and such requests were defended by the development of the courts' system. It introduced the ideas of king councils, assemblies, and eventually, parliamentary systems. Iceland had a parliament as early as 930 AD (Civatitis, 2018). Lots of democratic developments have been seen afterward, some of which were the Magna Carta of 1215 (British Library,

2015) followed by Petition of Right in 1628 (House of Commons, 1628) and Bill of Rights in 1689 (Yale Law School, 2008). Renaissance brought a new wave of modern democracy during the 16th Century.

The French Revolution in France gave the rights and powers back to the French people. The Reform Act of 7th June 1832 established the parliamentary reforms in Britain (UK; Parliament, 1832). In the 19th Century, many more countries became democracies, and the right to vote was expanded to almost all groups of people of those democratic nations. The two world wars, World War I, 1914-1918 (Library of Congress, 1919) and World War II, 1939-1945 (Chambers, 2000) of the 20th Century; brought chaos, took lives of millions of people, caused massive poverty and resulted in widespread of epidemic diseases along with the destruction of world humanity. It is questioned the significance and usefulness of democracy. Later on, education was felt essential as a weapon to safeguard democracy, so an emphasis on global education, was forwarded. Today we can observe both the praises and criticisms for democracy in different parts of the world and the discussions of various alternatives to democracy.

Models of Democracy

Different forms of democracy were and are being practiced in different parts of the world, some of which are discussed below:

1. Classical Democracy

Classical democracy refers to a direct democracy developed in ancient times in the Greek city-state of Athens. The mass meetings, lottery, and elections were used to be conducted under classical Democracy. The scope of participation was maintained in the office of the state. Thucydides (460-399 BC) claimed that Athenian Democracy was unique because its constitution, administrative system, and institution were not copied from any other method (Manutius, 1502). Classical Democracy was also called the tyranny of the minority. The treatment out of the slaves and immigrants did not prove the existence of rights and equality in Athenian society.

2. Protective Democracy

The central theme of Classical Democracy was the participation of all the citizens in the process of state and the Athenian, whereas the protective democracy highlights an entirely different aspect. It is simply known as a liberal democracy, which is a representative democracy with protection for individual freedom and property by the rule of law. It believes in popular sovereignty, but since people stop taking part in the state's process, they do it through their representatives. The importance of protecting the rights, liberties, and distribution of privileges is the division of powers among legislature, executive, and judiciary. This is all done in liberal democracies. There are also some measures to prevent the violation of rights and liberties.

Competition in all spheres is the feature of protective democracy. If the state administration and structures are re-arranged and re-modeled; adequately and successfully, it is believed that democracy will ultimately become defensive in practice. To draw a clear line between state and civil society is a critical aspect of defensive Democracy. The protagonists of defensive Democracy stressed all the boundaries of civil society, cultural and economic organization.

3. Developmental Democracy

If the liberty or the life of an individual is in danger, the state intervention is justified. So far as the action of the individual is concerned, their interests, or issues, they are allowed to enjoy absolute liberty. In a developmental democracy, the involvement of citizens is found, and the voting mechanism is held regularly. Representable Democracy and popular sovereignty has observed in Developmental democracy.

4. Participatory Democracy

Participatory democracy or Participative democracy emphasizes the board participation of constituent in the direction and operation of the political system. In other words, participatory Democracy is a form of government in which the cities have the opportunity to decide on public policy. Participatory Democracy is not a noble concept and has existed under various political designs since the Athenian Democracy. The theory of participatory Democracy developed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and later by J.S. Mill and G.D.H. Cole. The most crucial aim of participatory democracy is to make people interested in the political, legal and economical process of the state. Direct involvement will be able to enlighten participatory democracy. It is another purpose to kindle up the innovative qualities of man. Direct participation in the function and decision-making process is one of the executive's powers, features of participatory democracy. A system that has adopted a participatory democratic approach-modeled; and re-molds the social and political structure so that democracy can function smoothly. Rights and liberties are also emphasized by participatory democracy.

5. Cosmopolitan Democracy

Cosmopolitan Democracy is the political theory that explores the application of norms and values of democracy at the transnational and the global sphere. It argues about the global governance of the people (Rosenberg, 2011). A cosmopolitan democracy would seek to entrench and develop democratic institutions at the regional and international levels. The Cosmopolitan model of democracy is a compromise between the importance, significance and requirements of nation-states on the one hand and the globalization or cosmopolitisation of politics, economy, and culture on the others. It has suggested that the global parliament should be set up to deal with global

issues and a military body to settle military matters. For the purpose of tackling the legal issues, a judicial body should be set up or present the International Court of Justice (ICJ, 2018) armed with more powers.

Dimensions of Democracy

Democracy is based on two competing visions of democratic ideals, such as majoritarian principles and consensus principles. They are describing the dimensions of democracy. It distinguished into majoritarian, consensus, and direct democracy. In majoritarian democracy, the government ruled by most people for which mass participation of people required. Here citizens can control the government as long as they have enough mechanisms for participation. Referenda, initiatives, and recalls were used to decide government policies. In consensus democracy, the inclusive government is made by the involvement of as many people as favorable with a majority of support from society merely being a minimal threshold. In a direct democracy, people decide on policy initiatives directly. The three significant dimensions of democracy are power, participation, and wisdom (Co-Intelligence Institute, 2018). In democracy, power is in the hands of general people with their involvement in the political affairs of the country, where people choose their representatives to rule the nation using their wisdom and rationality.

Broadly dimensions of democracy were observed as social democracy, economic democracy, and Political democracy. Social democracy has a democratic government that serves to promote the welfare of the people. Mass media is seen to be free of governmental controls in Social democracy. The government under social Democracy also actively takes action for poverty reduction and the promotion of equality among all genders. Social Democracy thus is expected to be an evolutionary form of democratic socialism that aims to achieve socialism through an established political process rather than a social revolution. Social democracy has its core value of freedom, equality, and fraternity and the fulfillment of fundamental rights. An economic democratic ecosystem can exist within capitalist or socialist societies. Economic Democracy proposes shifting decision-making power from corporate stakeholders to a larger group of public stakeholders, including workers, suppliers, and the broader public. Therefore, who contributes to the production is entitled to have his/her share of wage and allowances in economic democracy. In a political democracy, there is equal sharing of political power by the nation's citizens, where citizens gain the ability to legislate, which they perform by delegating the legislative function to their elected representatives. Political democracy is supposed to work more smoothly and systematically in the presence of social democracy. Besides, procedural and substantive democracy studied under the dimensions of democracy. Procedural democracy emphasizes the procedures and

institutions of democracy, where democracy is observed to have free and fair elections, political equality, and fair competition among political parties, legislative assemblies, and constitutional governments. Participation and competition saw as criteria for procedural democracy, which produces an electorally-legitimated government. Substantive democracy is comprised of representation of people. Political affairs were carried out by the general people in a substantive democracy. It is also known as a functional democracy.

Practices of Democracy in the World

Democracy has undergone a remarkable global expansion over the past four decades all over the world. It includes the development of suffrage, and strengthening of electoral process, institutions and actors central to a healthy democracy. Democracy continues to spread to countries that never experienced democracy before. Since 2008, eleven states transitioned to democracy for the first time in their history, out of which Burkina Faso and Myanmar in 2015 and Armenia and Malaysia in 2018 got transitioned to democracy.

End of World War I led to the birth of many democracies (Roser, 2019). The majority of the World's Democracies concentrated in North America and North and West Europe during 1975. North America in 2019/020 contains 100 percent of democratic countries, and Europe includes 93 percent of them, followed by Latin America (86 percent of the states). Europe consist of the largest share of the world's democracy (39 countries), followed by Africa (20 countries), and Latin America and the Caribbean (19 countries). The total number of democracies is equal to the combined total of hybrid regimes and non-democracies in Asia. In contrast, in Africa and the Middle East, democracies constitute less than half of total countries only (International IDEA, 2019).

Democracy has risen in quantity but is lagging in quality. The frequent failures of both new and established democracies to deliver on their promises have undermined the commitment to democratic practices in the present situation. Democratic deficits like the decline in many traditional forms of civic engagement, reduced participation in the formal institutions of democracy, and declining trust in all institutions, especially institutions of government, observed. These deficits are being exacerbated by deeply rooted economic inequality and increasing polarization socially, economically, and politically.

The process of globalization has also produced democratic deficits in global governance. The share of democracies with weak democratic performance has increased in the last decade from 20 percentages in 2008 to 25 percent in 2019 (International

IDEA, 2019). The increase in the share of countries with the democratic deficit saw with democratic aspects such as Fundamental Rights, Social Group Equality, Civil Society Participation and Electoral Participation. Democratic backsliding, a form of democratic erosion involving the gradual and intentional weakening of checks and balance and civil liberties, has become more frequent in the last decade globally.

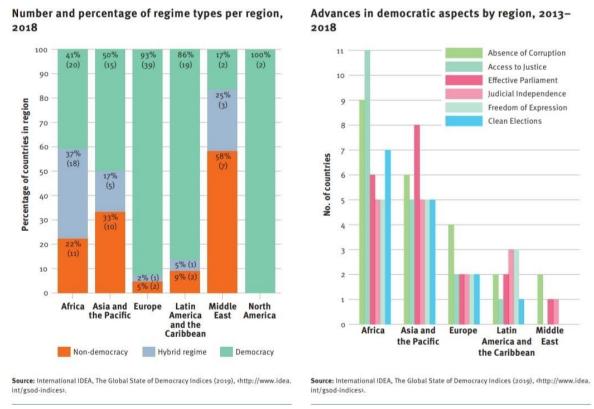


Fig (2) - Graph indicating democratic ratios of countries in different continents (left) and a graph representing democratic advancement that has happened in the continents from 2013 to 2018 (right).

Courses of Democracy in Nepal

Nepal is a newly declared federal democratic republic nation of the 21st Century; in the world. Democratic movements were started back in the 1940s as the campaign against the autocratic family regime of the Ranas was launched by the people and civil society. This invention of democratic activities in Nepal initiated by the Praja Parishad Party (1937) and the Nagaarik Adhikar Samitee. Shukraraj Shastri, Dharmabhakta Mathema, Dashrath Chand, and Gangalal Shrestha were sentenced to death in 1941 in the accusation of 'Parcha Kanda' against Ranas. The death sentences to these four heroic leaders of Nepal accelerated the protest against the autocratic and oppressive rule

of Ranas in the nation. Labors in Biratnagar Jute Mill revolted against Rana in 1947 through a strike campaign. The Democratic revolution in 1951 established the democracy by the declaration of King Tribhuvan with the drafting of a new constitution through a constituent Assembly, Democracy found the freedom of practice of civil and political rights by the people.

King Mahendra, the immediate successor of King Tribhuvan, dissolved the parliament formed through the first general election in 1959 and abandoned the political parties taking all the power into his hands in 1961, using article 55 of 'Constitution for Kingdom of Nepal 1959'. Then the Partyless Panchayat system got imposed in the nation. Political parties again started revolting against the Partyless Panchayat System in various ways. Thus, the Panchayat government compelled to hold a referendum in 1980. Still, the result favored the Reformed Panchayat System (55 percentage of the total votes) over Multiparty Democracy (45 percentage of the total votes). Democratic thrusts of people could not get addressed by reformed Panchayat system because of which through the collective efforts of political parties and the general public, Mass Movement I launched in the country that abolished the Panchayat system and established Multiparty Democracy with a constitutional Monarchy in 1990. Restoration of Democracy:

The Maoist party started an armed insurgency in 1996 in Nepal. The Royal massacre took place in 2002 that left no one alive from King Birendra's family by which younger brother Gyanendra became the new King of Nepal. King Gyanendra overthrew the government led by Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and took all the executive powers into his hands. Many governments were formed and dissolved under the King, which could not meet the objectives of the king, and people because of which the King started his direct rule in 2005. But general people were not satisfied with this move of the King. Then Mass Movement II got created in April 2006, organized jointly by seven political parties and revolutionary Maoists to restore the parliament and electing of the Constituent Assembly. Thus king Gyanendra was compelled to restore the parliament. The first-ever election of the Constituent Assembly in the history of Nepal held in 2008 and in 2009, Nepal has formally declared a federal republic with the complete abolishment of Monarchy. The dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly resulted in the election of the Second Constituent Assembly in 2013 with the promulgation of a new constitution in 2015, thus smoothing the democratic movements and practices in Nepal. Some of the democratic ways in Nepal as per the 'Constitution of Nepal 2015' are secularism, federalism, sovereignty and state authority vested in the general public, independent and fair judiciary, administrative rights on Council of

Ministers, full press freedom, citizenship by descent to a child of a Nepali father or mother and so on.

Public Participation in Government and Policy Decision Making

Public participation is how public concerns, needs, and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making. It is taken as two-way communication and interaction with the overall goal of better decision-making that is supported by the public. All decisions in a Democracy should involve public participation. People participate through voting, expressing opinions on general issues and governmental actions, forming interest groups or holding public demonstrations to influence government decisions, lobbying, filing lawsuits to contest government actions, physically interfering with the execution of objectionable policy decisions, acting in partnership with government agencies, and even producing films, songs and artistic events to mobilize public attention to issues. Public participation also focused on providing input to ongoing decisions about implementation.

It is difficult to envision anything but positive outcomes from people joining the policy process, collaborating bringing positive social, environmental, and economic changes. An increase in community participation in government decisions can produce essential benefits and effective outcomes. In order to make the participatory process, it is crucial to know the technique which requires a representative cross-section of people. Time may be necessary to allow participants to develop a shared understanding of the context for the specific participatory process. Participatory methods have evolved from a variety of fields, including various academic disciplines, conflict resolution and international development. Decision making includes rational and irrational decision making where sound decision consists of the identification of problem or opportunity, brainstorming the alternating solution, and so on. In contrast, the irrational decision making comprises responding to the need for judgment and emotions. When public participation is implemented then there should be mutual trust between government and people.

Challenges of Democracy

Democracy from the very beginning of its establishment has faced numerous challenges, some of which are resolved, whereas few are yet to be determined. Challenge is that difficulty, which carries an opportunity for progress. Democratic challenges are categorized into foundational challenges, challenges of expansion of Democracy and the challenges to deepen the Democracy. Foundational challenges include the challenges to a democratic setup for the transition to Democracy like the

establishment of the sovereign state, the formation of the constitution. Expansion challenges cover the challenge regarding the distribution of power to local people, including women, and minority groups as representatives for the development and maintenance of democratic control. Deepening challenges of democracy comprise challenges for strengthening political institutions and practices of democracy and the care of equality amongst all people to deepen the roots of Democracy. Democratic challenges can be of different kinds that a country may face, such as challenges regarding constitution's design, democratic rights, working of public and private institutions, elections, decentralization and accommodation of diversity, political organization, and many more. Democracy has faced challenges to overcome extreme polarization resulting in democratic decay. Intense partisan polarization has created extensive enmity among political opponents allowing incumbents to justify abuses of democratic norms to restrain the opposition. The unequal economic resources of different nations resulting in economic inequalities driven by global economic forces may threaten the survival and viability of democracy, diminishing the democratic qualities of the nations. Sometimes populism and populist movements in a country also seem to have challenged basic norms of liberal Democracy, causing volatile situations in the country. The challenge for sustaining multi-ethnic democracies is also seen as a significant problem in various nations as restrictions and unequal representation of ethnic minorities in such nations have diminished their democratic quality. Weak institutional structures and functioning is also one of the significant challenges of contemporary democracies. Similarly, due to the electoral cycles, democracies struggle to focus on long-term problems, usually ending up in short-term policy approaches. Competitions among political parties have made the constant need for money for politicians to get elected in the elections. Due to this, democratic systems are being prone to be captured by wealthy and elite groups. Competitive elections formant may generate conflict undercutting a strong sense of national unity and purpose. Chronic voter's ignorance and irrationality have caused problems in performing ideal democratic practices.

Democracy entails the spirit of freedom, the rule of law, independence, self-reliance and above all, the will to achieve and keep them. In developing countries like Nepal, the challenges of fragile democracy are compounded more by poverty and illiteracy. The unsuccessful decentralization process failed to empower the people at the grassroots level for self-governance, self-reliance, and socio-economic development. Corruption by and inefficiency of the political leaders, officers, and bureaucrats has resulted in a lack of trust of the general public, which badly affects the proper and systematic working of democracy in those countries. Anti-social elements such as

forcing or bribing people to vote for a particular candidate or party in the elections and rigging cause democratic misconduct. Socio-economic inequalities amongst the people have resulted in boycotting poor people to reach political power or win any elections. And lately, many voters are giving weight to the caste and religion of the political candidates. Representatives elected based on caste or religion might work for the welfare of the people belonging only to their caste or religion, which degrades the democratic quality. Criminal activities, wars, violence, terrorism, and political riots massively challenge the ideal democratic conducts. Therefore, a large number of challenges should be addressed by a nation to ensure success for the perfect democracy in that nation.

The Solution to the Challenges of Democracy

Challenges help for problem identification and bring out constructive solutions for those problems. Every challenge is an opportunity to progress. Similarly, democratic challenges bring opportunities to develop effective democratic conducts, therefore leading the prosperity of the nation to the path of peace and development. Ideal democratic practice is achieved through the first and foremost provider of fundamental rights to all country people. Democratic institutions and democratic principles should be strengthened. The General Section of people should be empowered through these democratic institutions. Democratic reforms should be carried out by political parties, activists, movement groups, and politically- conscious citizens. Ordinary citizens, too, should participate in political affairs. Wrong political parties should be discouraged through a carefully-devised change in the law.

The existing non-democratic regimes should be brought down. The military should not control the government. Thus a sovereign and functional state should be created. Democratic power should be extended to local governments, facilitating decentralization. Federal principles should be expanded to all the national units of the nation. Political empowerment should be provisioned to women as well as minority groups. The influence of elite groups, wealthy, and influential people in democratic decisions should be checked and balanced. Democratic accountability should be maintained through institutional reforms like electoral reforms, reforms to candidate selection, etc. Similarly, deeper social, economic, and even democratic reforms should be conducted. Innovative ways should be focused on maintaining the sustainability of multi-ethnic democracies. Corruption should be controlled and eliminated through a strict rule of law. The efficiency of political leaders, officers, and bureaucrats, should be improved. Anti-social elements like rigging in elections should be discouraged. Racial disputes, violence and wars should be eliminated through strict government rules and supervision. Global education should be promoted. Therefore, good governance should

be maintained along with proper addressing of public concern that collectively helps to establish ideal practical democracy in every nation.

Future of Democracy

In changing world, it is uncertain whether modern Democracy will be kept up with the transforming changes. Information and technological revolution is having profound effects on the economy, society and politics positively as well as negatively. Also, millions of people in the developing world are rising out of poverty, and there has been an increase in a non-ideological and secular approach. Because of this, it's harder to predict the opportunities, threats and effectiveness that a 'Democracy' would have. But the value, viability and future of democracy are more contented now than ever before in modern history.

Corruption, the weak rule of law, inequality, low-level of trust in political institutions, unemployment, and rising nationalism threatens democracy. So, democracy needs to be strengthened more. The 'Third Wave' of democracy has swept through Southern Europe, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, Africa, and several South-East Asian Countries, transitions to democracy have become a global phenomenon (Freedom House, 2019). The preferred form of government in most parts of the world is a Liberal Democracy. The quality of democracy has a direct bearing on a country's ability to meet current and future challenges. So, good governance, civil discourse on public policymaking, absence of corruption, provision of employment to all, the proper rule of law, transparent and accountable authority and other more elements are required for the sustainability of democracy.

Conclusion

Democracy is the form of government in which the ruling power is vested in ordinary people, and political power is exercised by them. Genuine democracy includes essential elements like the competition of parties and individuals in an election with the elections being fair and free, political equality, universal adult suffrage, majority decision, and governmental transparency and accountability. However, the expansion of democracy has not been smooth, and straight. Democratic erosion is occurring in different settings and contexts. New democracies have often become weak and fragile, whereas old democracies struggle to guarantee equitable and sustainable economic and social development. Thus, Democracy needs to show and meet the expectation regarding the sustainable development of the nation through good governance, the

proper rule of law, freedom of assembly and speech, inclusiveness, equality, membership consent, voting, minority rights, and other better democratic practices. Without the existence of these norms and values democracy cannot sustain.

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Traumatic Testimony and Remembering in "The Lankuri Tree will Blossom Again"

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Abstract

This paper examines Rajendra Bimal's "The Lankuri Tree Will Blossom Again" is a post-conflict narrative which describes a poor and insurgency affected family living in the very hinterland of Nepal and their traumatic experience: fleeing away from home for safety, leaving the very adorable daughter to an unknown person and determining to live with the situation going on during the Maoist war. The story has been analyzed from the author's narrative of adversity and trauma along with some thematic description. The themes include: perception of impending violence, trauma in the lives of commoners and gradual development from severe stress to determination to face the challenge. Nepal's ten years long insurgency, a great loss in the country in the name of bringing peace and solidarity, has taken the lives of thousands of people and millions of others have been mentally and physically wounded. Hence, they are in trauma and their testimony has been a significant inscription of the history for those who want to know how innocent and common people were targeted. Here, I examine the story from personal trauma to the conflict generated consequences in the lives of affected people using content analysis of the personal, group, and socio-political factors associated with Bimal's understanding of the People's War, and of violence. Discussing the expected findings, this article centers on the common people's fear of war and embedded peace in the country. Rajendra Bimal's "The Lankuri Tree Will Blossom Again", as a traumatic testimony of the insurgency, has been analyzed in this article to bring out the facts.

Keywords: insurgency, peace, People's War, testimony, trauma,

Introduction

The Maoists' People's War ended in 2006, making the second popular movement a huge success. It united both rebels and parliamentary parties against the king who had seized absolute power, a legacy of centuries' old feudalism of the Hindu Kingdom. It was built on a codified

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framework of social, economic, and political exclusion which marginalized indigenous people, lower castes and women. After the abolition of the monarchy with prevailing peace in the country, the country saw the first constitution assembly election in 2008. It made the rebel party the largest one that helped form a coalition government on its lead. Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda', the rebels' supremo became the Prime Minister. But Nepal remained in political limbo as the country's transitional justice process remained blocked by the political impasse. Coalition governments featuring prime ministers from all major parties came and went without proper consensus on fundamental issues: federalism, ethnic identity, settlement of former Maoist combatants and the like.

In the meantime, narrative as a structure for scaffolding one's experience where people are told stories to one another since before the invention of writing, and some of our earliest recorded thinkers found the proper structure of a story to be worthy of inquiry. The intention behind creating such a narrative form is invoked in a regimented structure. There are rules that govern proper storytelling. This is an invitation for avantgarde artists to break the rules and further explore the creative space. But sometimes, it becomes very complex to justify the structure of narratives because the description, evaluation and interpretation of a given text as literary discourse depends on many purely socio-cultural norm system. Even the narratives seem complex to perceive for the readers to comprehend for the time being. The theories of trauma and testimonies are grounded in Western assumptions and traditions, which would be different from others because in their works a Eurocentric perspective is apparent in the works of individual critics such as Cathy Caruth, Dominck Lacrapa and Judith Herman, and theorists who have historicized the concept of trauma such as Ruth Levs and Allan Young. Now, the electronic syndicated version of the consciousness-raising about the painful realities of the victims has become a 'hot cake' for many means of media which offertestimonies to painful past that serves for many critics as perhaps the best example for demonstrating the limits if not an outright failure of a cultural politics of trauma. Traumatic experience has gained its ground of exploration not only in the paper forms, but rather electronic digital gadgets have obtained a good platform for both presenters and victims to let others know about the painful past. With the help of trauma theory and the importance of testimony in writing narratives, I have brought out Rajendra Bimal's "The Lankuri Tree Will Blossom Again" to show the trauma of the victims of the People's War instigated by the Maoists that caused the deaths of more than fifteen thousand people and how people like Kaude and Cheuki witness the horrific events and their traumatic testimony remains meaningful to unfold many truth claims.

Theoretical Discussion

Trauma a Way to Unfold the Painful Memory

In the twenty-first century, the trauma theory has become an important way to

understand a wide variety of contemporary events. In the most general sense, it is used to examine the ways in which past painful experiences are processed with the help of literary texts. It further attempts to analyze different ways by which traumatic occurrences are "demonstrated, processed, exposed, and repressed throughout a variety of literary and historical texts" (Caruth, 1995, *Unclaimed35*). Here, the authors as well as the victims might attempt to negotiate and resolve their own personal traumas with the help of their writings, and sometimes with the help of fictional characters in their literary texts they serve to record and pronounce cultural traumas.

Such pain would hardly be healed as expected generally, in the sense of a returning to the catastrophe that happened before. However, keeping the painful wound open would definitely help one to translate it via art. Caruth (1995) is still in the view that trauma occurs as the response to an unexpected or overwhelming painful violent events that happened in the past but occasionally returned later repeatedly in flashbacks, nightmares, and other repetitive phenomena(*Trauma Exploration* 91). In any form, the trauma would not let anyone free. Here, trauma directly, or indirectly related to social and cultural contexts as events that caused trauma in human being's lives would be cultural, political or social upbringings.

Elucidating trauma as part of a culture, Jeffrey C. Alexander (2004) views that trauma occurs when members of the community feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event (1). It leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness making their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways.

But Ron Eyerman (2003) has a different point of view about cultural trauma: "Resolving cultural trauma can resolve the articulation of collective identity and collective memory, as individual story meld into collective history through forms and processes of collective representation. Collective identity refers to a process of 'we formation', a process both historically rooted and rooted in history" (74). Cultural trauma is deeply rooted in the collective devastation from which the survivors can hardly escape the memory of the traumatic past that generally affects the groups. To elaborate his ideas about it, he further states,

Cultural trauma always engages a meaningful struggle, a grappling with an event that involves identifying the nature of the pain and the nature of the victim and the attribution of responsibility. It calls attention to the negotiated recollection of events and to the role of representation. There is power involved here as well, the power of political elites for example, of mass media in selecting what will be represented, and thus affecting what will be forgotten as well as remembered. (83)

Cultural trauma, in this way, makes others different as it evokes survivors to identify their own status and responsibility.

A prominent critic of trauma theory, Jenny Edkins (2003), has yet a different opinion about trauma, which she views is more than a shocking encounter with brutality or death. In a sense, it is the betrayal of a promise or an expectation. It takes place when the very power that the survivors were convinced will protect, and give them security which would become, sometimes, even their tormentors (103). In contrast, Dominick LaCapra (2001) opines that everyone can be a subject to cultural trauma. For him, the victim is not a psychological category, but it is a social, political, and ethical category because victims of certain events will in all likelihood be traumatized by them in anyway (72). Here, the victims with the memory of perpetrators and their mistreat travels socially, and culturally along with the memory of the events, that would never let the victims away.

Avishai Margalet (2005) has defined trauma in a different way. She notes that it is a shared memory of historical events that goes beyond the experience of anyone alive, is a memory and not necessarily a memory that, through the dimension of diachronic labor, ends up at an actual event. She further argues, "This kind of memory reaches alleged memories of the past but not necessarily past events" (59). Trauma, while creating void in individual and community is viable to destroy the existing principalities of culture of a group of people.

For Edkins (2003), "trauma can never be a purely individual event, in the same way as there cannot be a private language, because it always already involves the community or the cultural setting in which people are placed" (106).But Gene Ray (2005) showing the sublimity of trauma in human life after a long span of time, has delineated the importance of trauma clarifying the relationship between the artistic category as she states,

Trauma is real damage. This suggests that the sublime pertains to the artistic and cultural representation of traumatic damage. Certain art works seem to bring us to the borders of traumatic encounter in ways that are disturbing and provoking, even painfully so, but also at the same time aesthetically enjoyable. This enjoyment is made possible by the element of semblance or illusion in artistic representations. Artworks of this kind somehow seem to mimic compellingly the trauma that is their referent. The sublime work, it seems, is not the wound itself, but is the effective mimesis of the wound. (135)

On the whole, the sublime carries with it a demand. It is something like an objective social imperative, to radically politicalize the notion of mourning, and for Ray, the mourning of trauma is a critical process of enlightenment and disenchantment.

Duncan Bell (2006) has brought out the facts of wars and victims along with the significance of trauma. It has been used to explain and justify obscene brutality – conflict, torture and death in wars. For instance, "One effect of the trauma troupe has been to create a universal suffering subject outside of history. Individuals are reduced to bodies in pain. Yet pain is always local. To universalize it is to remove the specifics of an individual's history; it is to situate in the realm of moral edification" (10). The notion of trauma can be helpful to encapsulate the impact of painful events while forming communal identities and the perception of the traumatic past is eligible to play a pivotal role in shaping different aspects of global politics.

Similarly, Jenny Edkins (2003) has quoted traumatic memory as "thread thrown" in Tony Morrison's words, and particularly opined memories of traumatic events can be seen between the dead and those who survive "to hold the dead in our arms is an impossible gesture of solidarity and compassion in the face of 'the wit of eternity'. What is being remembered, or perhaps more accurately re-constituted, is relationality, that radical interconnectedness that has been so shockingly betrayed in and through the violence of trauma" (99). In one sense, it is not that death is too traumatic as survival, or at least survival in the face of particularly brutal deaths can have the same apprehension of other threats in life. She has seen it as betrayal both in the sense of giving away and of revealing radical relationality in human relationships either in community, language or symbolic order. Jenny Edkins (2003) further argues:

... trauma is the betrayal of a promise or an expectation. Trauma can be seen as an encounter that betrays our faith in previously established personal and social worlds and calls into question the resolutions of impossible questions that people have arrived at in order to continue with day to day life. ... It is betrayed in two senses. First, there is a betrayal of trust that threatens that relationality: relationality expressed as national or family belonging turns out to be unreliable, for example. Second, the radical relationality that is normally forgotten is revealed or made apparent. (109)

So what trauma or painful experience does is a revelation of the way in which the social order is radically incomplete and fragile to others.

While Edkins (2003) elaborated trauma in relation to betrayal, K. M. Fierke (2006) has tried to distinguish between traumatic and ordinary memory that builds on the unconscious theory. How traumatic memory works, he clarifies:

Traumatic memory lies outside verbal-semantic linguistic representation and involves bodily skills, habits, reflex actions and classically conditioned responses. Whether through repression, dissociation, or neurological shutdown, or the impossibility of representing horrific events, the trauma is not available to

consciousness or speech. The experience of trauma, thus, becomes fixed or frozen in time. It refuses to be represented as past, but, is perpetually reexperienced in a painful dissociated traumatic present. This assumes a distinction between conscious representation and unconscious repression. (120)

Unlike traumatic memory, ordinary memory is declarative and has the ability to be consciously aware but traumatic memory helps one locate in each past moment.

Discussion and Results

Trauma and Testimony in "The Lankuri Tree will Blossom Again"

"The Lankuri Tree will Blossom Again" written on the background of the People's War and its grim consequences, Rajendra Bimal (2007), as a neutral observer of the insurgency, has portrayed a horrific story of the trauma of a grief-stricken family living in a remote village terribly gripped by both warring forces. The story, mainly talks about Kaude, a resident of Balkot village in the western region, who has just come back to his home and old parents after fifteen years of wandering and working "like the beast of burden" (Bimal 63) in Indian cities with empty hand. He finds his parents poverty-stricken and sister Cheuki missing "having heard about the suffering of his family" (63). He is fed up with the situation going on in his village "getting gradually enveloped in fear and terror all around" (60). Having heard how the Maoists cadres destroyed the lives of common people in the People's War by forwarding the slogan of "one family – one person" (60), he is badly shocked. The continuing struggles of the Army and the Maoists "like the stories of monsters in the fairy tales are heard every day, but only in whispers" (61). The patrolling of security force even by helicopter "hovering in the sky made the panic-stricken villagers stampede and hide in desperation" (61). The people are afraid even to pronounce "the "M" of the Maoists and the "A" of the Army" (61). He misses his sister Cheuki a lot and tries to find out her whereabouts. Actually, being afraid of her enlisting in the People's Liberation Army from each family, Kaude's mother had left her in Gurung dai's hotel at Narayanghat. But later, she went with a Marwari family in Kathmandu, then "began to work as a liquor server in a cabin restaurant somewhere in the city, then ran away with a Khatri boy running a bar in Jhapa, and she again ran away with a boy from terai after getting pregnant" (61). Kaude does not know anything about her. He finds himself very helpless seeing his father bedridden and sobbing mother. But he still hopes well in future as "new buds and then the flowers in full blossom with their fragrance will be casting a spell all around" (65). Finally, he decides not to leave his aging parents and live with them, anticipating peace and solidarity in his war-ridden village. Trauma as presented in "The Lankuri Tree Will Blossom Again" is somewhat different. Here, the events which are called traumatic are overwhelming, but they are also a

revelation. Such horrible events "strip away the diverse community accepted meanings by which we lead our lives in our various communities. They reveal the contingency of social order and in some cases, how it conceals its own impossibilities" (Edkin, 2003, 5). The revelation of certain events one after another may reverberate one into the painful past.

The events happened in the life of Cheuki and Kaude in the very hinterland of Midwestern Nepal sandwiched between biting poverty and ferocity imposed by the battle of the Maoists and the government forces are the principal force that had brought many impeccable changes in the rural life of that place. The storyteller Bimal (2007) states, "Such events question the settled assumption about who we might be as humans and what we might be capable of" (5). Cheuki, Kaude, and their helpless poor old parents, along with their neighbors have anything except witnessing the horrific warmongering forces, which would make their life even more panic.

Returning to the village after fifteen years, Kaude has witnessed the scene of his village in the following lines:

... having returned village he has begun to experience the entire village getting gradually enveloped in fear and terror all around. Having heard how the Maoists destroyed the lives of the youth in the People's War by chanting the slogan of "one family – one person," cold chill went down his spine. He saw himself the whirring of security force's helicopter, hovering in the sky made the panic-stricken villagers stampede and hide in desperation. (61)

The hilly family like this in panic-stricken and poverty-imposed conditions would not have better off life, let alone the insurgency which forced parents to leave their children in the hands of fugitives in fear of being abducted or enrolled in the People Liberation Army (PLA). After losing the children for many years as they did not return home, the family would have to reminisce them time and again of their past life and their life would be like of what Carat (2007) delineates, "The flashback, it seems, provides a form of recall that survives at the cost of willed memory or of the very continuity of conscious thought" (*Truama Exploration* 152). Kaude remembers how his lovely sister Cheuki had to flee away from the village. Bimal narrates her condition like this, "After all, his lovely sister Cheuki fled across the mountains lest she be kidnapped and is forced to suffer the extreme harshness without any care. Or she might be in the grip of the security force!" (61). It is because there was no other option except doing this.

For fear of being entrapped in the web of insurgency, her mother had to take her to Narayangadh walking on foot for seven days, and night with empty stomach. Even they did not know anyone there as it is narrated in the story:

By the time they reached Narayangadh, their legs had turned all black and blue and were swollen like the legs of the patient of elephantiasis. They kept on looking into each other's eyes, sitting in a place and shedding the tears like the incessant showers of monsoon falling off the eaves. They were so hungry that their stomachs were rumbling, but they had nothing to eat. Their seven days of incessant walking with their empty bellies had made their body as numbs as that of a leper. (62)

Selling a small silver ring, which was the sole property they ever had, both mother and daughter had meal, the mother left Cheuki to the Gerung day. After that, her life started as it is described in the story:

After some days, Cheeky went to Kathmandu with a Marwari, then having been beaten by his wife, she began to work as a liquor server in a cabin restaurant somewhere in the city, then she ran away with a Khatri, running a bar in Jhapa and she again ran with a Madhise after getting pregnant. The mother knew as far as this much. Where might Cheuki be at the moment, dead or alive? Mother does not know anything either. (63)

Even, her whereabouts is unknown, the father spends his time coughing —" whoop .. whoop" a non-cured sickness, the mother helpless to the situation. Moreover, Kaude even more helpless has returned home empty hand after serving various places in Benaras, enduring several mistreats from his bosses. The condition of Kaude can be seen in Cathy Caruth's (1995) words, "While the traumatized are called upon to see and to relive the insistent reality of the past, they recover a past that encounters consciousness only through the very denial of active recollection" (*Truama Exploration* 152). He did not want to remember the past either of his or his sister's, but neither he could forget it, nor could he relieve himself from this traumatized condition. Rather his old parents have strong aggression against the rebels because of whom they think society dismantled, and Cheuki is lost. They shower their agitation against the Maoists and compulsion to live there in spite of several calamities:

Now it has become very hard to survive in the hills. Nobody knows, what these *Mahabadi*do.

The old speaks in an irritable voice – "How many times should I tell you 'Don't say Mahabadi, say Maobadi?""

"What will they do? The dacoits and thieves have been rampant in all villages. Nobody even offers a shelter for anybody else, let alone any sort of work. What will we get even if we move to Nepalgunj?" Spoke the old women. (Bimal 64)

The society has been writhed, and people living there have been crippled very badly. But Kaude looks at his old parents' pathetic condition and surroundings, still does not get anything that could soothe him, instead remains in the traumatic condition, "Having

heard this, Kaude feels depressed. He retires to his own bed. In the flash of lightning, he looks up at the hills and gazes into the mountain, but all have sung into darkness. It seems to him that entire Nepal is a dark well where the worms of poverty like he himself keep on wriggling" (64). Observing each other's painful suffering, they start shedding tears. The storyteller narrates their condition in the following lines, "The swirling flood of these three people's tears as fresh as the spring water was sucked into the dark helm of Balkot" (65). Hoping the bright future that the Lankuri will blossom again, they try to soothe each other.

Conclusion

The traumatic conditions in the context of Nepal, therefore, are mostly caused by the decade-long armed conflict, poor governance, political instability. Moreover, they are the results of preoccupation with major national political agenda, including peace building, constitution-writing, implementation of the constitution, and staterestructuring always remain a challenge for the stakeholders. The challenges faced by peace builders include poverty, high levels of corruption, the entrenched hierarchy of the caste system, and the multiplication of ethnicities and regional and religious identities. Not a single individual has been prosecuted for war-time atrocities, and many known perpetrators of heinous crimes are occupying high positions in government institutions, including military as well as rebels. Issues concerning crimes encroached upon women and children, the conflict victims, have also been left unaddressed. This situation made many people, such as rebels, literary figures, victims, etc., imprint the decade-long conflicts and their experiences in written forms. They have presented many characters who, resembling actual experiences forborne during the conflict, have undergone with trauma – the painful past, suffering, facing death and threats each time. They are the specimen of the victims of painful horrific past, who may be among the kin of the abovementioned dead or more than one hundred thousand displaced people. They have not yet forgotten the misery. Hence, they are in trauma, suffering in any way from which they have not escaped yet because they cannot forget their past, which every time haunts them. Now, to get relief from this trauma, it is always important to share what one has forborne in life – expressing their painful traumatic past to someone keeping their feud away from the self. It can be the sole solution to heal their painful past, and to lead them to the path of peace, brotherhood, and reconciliation. They can once again live together in the same society harmoniously.

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Education Policies and Practices for Basic and Primary Education Development in Nepal

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Abstract

Education policies are considered as the strategic link between the education's vision and day-to-day operations of education system of a nation. The comprehensive education policies allow to the decision makers and employees to understand their role and responsibilities within predefined limits. Education policies allow management to guide operations without constant management intervention. Education policies in Nepal have been considered as a predetermined course of action which is established to provide a guide toward accepted strategies and objectives. These policies identify the key activities and provide a general strategy to decision-makers on how to handle issues as they arise. Policies also help to eliminate the common misunderstandings by identifying job responsibilities and establishing boundaries for the job holders. The present study deals with the issues regarding Education Policy Practice focusing on development of basic and primary education in Nepal. Therefore, the major concern of the study is to examine the development of basic and primary education in Nepal.

Keywords: primary education, educational policy, job holders, decision-makers, and descriptive statistics

Introduction

Basic and primary education is the base for an educational career for the children. Primary education is the child's first formally organized learning and the instrument for learning of fundamental skills, understandings, attitudes, and habits essential to the educated citizen. Primary education is the instruments for eradicate illiteracy which forms a bond of common understanding and effort that gives strength to the youngers. In the primary education, children develop rapidly in mental, moral, emotional, and physical attainments. Thus, primary education is assumed to be essential for social, political, religious, economic, and cultural development of a nation (NNEPC, 1956).

Primary education comprises five years of schooling in Nepal. The existing five

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years' primary education structure was the form of the structure of 1951 to 1971 AD. Primary education consisted of only three years of schooling during the period between 1971-1981 AD, when the National Education System Plan (NESP) was implemented in Nepal. NESP was based on its emphasis on literacy education alone at primary level and introducing pre-vocational subjects from Grade four onward (Bajracharya, Thapa&Chitrakar, 1998). As per the Ministry of Education report 2015, the minimum entry age for primary education level was 5 years. Earlier primary education or the first level of education comprising of five years of schooling has currently been extended to additional three upper grades to make 8 years (Grade 1-8) as basic education. The school sector reform plan (SSRP) has determined that basic education as a human right as provisioned in the law and stresses on mother tongue as the medium of instruction in early grades of primary education (MoE,2015).

The Government of Nepal has launched the Basic and Primary Education Project (BEEP) in 1992, focusing on three aspects: (I) improvement in the quality of education, (ii) improvement in the access to basic and primary education, and (iii) strengthening of the administration and management of the sub-sector. In order to achieve these objectives, the project replicated a number of successful activities of the Seti Education for Rural Development Project (SERDP) and Primary Education Project (PEP). The Project serves as the government's major strategy for achieving the basic education goals for Nepal by the turn of the century (MoE, May 1997, p. 149). BPEP-II Program Implementation Plan (PIP) has proposed a legal provision for compulsory schooling with full enforcement within its program purview. The plan purposed three types of program activities for the CPE districts for the plan period: first, a trial piloting of preparation, evaluation, and approval of SIP in selected clusters; second, application of SIP approach to the structuring of the district primary education plan; and third, formulation of primary education development plans by aggregating and screening SIPs. Besides, BPEP II felt the need of piloting different modalities in SMC formation in the CPE districts (MFA, 2004, pp. 91-92).

Review of Literature

Basic and primary education has to ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to disadvantaged castes and ethnic minority groups, have universal access to and participation in a completely free and compulsory primary/basic education of good quality. The term 'all children' signifies all children within 5-9 years for primary and 5 to 12 years for basic education irrespective of their gender, caste, ethnicity, or other circumstances. Nepal employed a number of strategies for universal primary and basic education.

Policies, plans, programs, and projects are always in hierarchical order and aligned with

development activities. Hence a policy, as a set of decisions, is oriented towards a long-term purpose or a particular problem. In this regards policies have two basic functions. The reactive functions are as immediate response to an emergency, while proactive functions are pursued for reform and enhancing social well-being (Torjman, 2005). In the same manner, policies can be explicit or implicit, single decision or group of decisions which may set out directives for guiding future decisions, initiate or retard action, or guide implementation of previous decisions (Sapru, 2000).

Dhungana (2010) had conducted case study on Urban Poor Education: Policy and Practices in Nepal. The study was qualitative inquiry based upon the review of government policy papers, action plan, budgeting, statements, and commitments. The desk reviews were supplemented by discussions with educationists those making key contributions in the policy development. The study even explored some of the ongoing practices addressing poor urban education in the Kathmandu Valley. The Nepal interim constitution claimed the education up to secondary level assumed be citizenry right. But the policy, legislations and practices were not compatible to the constitutional motto. That demanded an extensive review of all educational policy and practices of the country.

The 1980s and 1990s saw an emphasis on Education for All. In fulfilling its mission of universal primary education, Nepal undertook the following important measures: free primary education, free textbook distribution, scholarship programs, requirement of one female teacher, continuous assessment system, removal of gender disparity, decentralized planning and piloting of free primary education to make it compulsory (CERID, 2004, p.1.).

The goal for universal primary education/basic education is to ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to disadvantaged castes and ethnic minority groups, would have universal access to and participation in a completely free and compulsory primary/basic education of good quality. The term 'all children' signifies all children within 5-9 years for primary and 5 to 12 years for basic education irrespective of their gender, caste, ethnicity or any other circumstances.

The first strategy has to be brought school closer to the habitat, ensuring that a school is within easy walking distance for every child, not more than 30 minutes. Another significant strategy relates to removing economic barriers; schools are free. No regular fees are charged for registration, tuition, or school operation, and textbooks are provided free of cost. Incentives for children such as school meals, dress and free textbooks to school children need to be continued. Similarly, functional literacy and income-generating activities for parents need to be made accessible for target groups.

Effective implementation of policy provisions such as primary education in mother tongue is still far from being realized, its implementation needs to be emphasized with appropriate provisions. Similarly, appropriate provisions still need to be developed to ensure education for children with disabilities (MoE, 2015, pp. 62-64).

The Constitution of Nepal 1990, which was formulated after the political movement completed attaining democratic rights had ensured the education right to the citizen. The constitution of 1990 had not clearly granted as education right to the people. The Constitution of Nepal (2015) has granted that every citizen shall have the right to access to basic education and every citizen shall have the right to compulsory and free basic education, and free education up to the secondary level. It signifies that basic education has been provisioned as the fundamental right of every citizen. Thus, the education policies are guidelines, and course of action of government or other institutions designed to assist, and influence consistent and transparent decision making. Influenced by national and international arrangements of culture, ideologies and economy, public policies reflect the development priorities of a country and are instruments of government employed to address the public problems. Policies, plans, programs and projects are always in hierarchical and aligned with development activities. Hence a policy, as a set of decisions, is oriented towards a long-term purpose or to a particular problem.

The reactive functions are immediate response to an emergency while proactive functions are pursued for reform and enhancing social well-being. In the same manner, policies can be explicit or implicit, single decision or group of decisions which may set out directives for guiding future decisions, initiate or retard action, or guide implementation of previous decisions. The present study is based on the education policy provisions and practices focusing on the development of present status of basic and primary education in Nepal.

Research Gap

Based on the literature review, key issues for education policy and practice have been identified as finding educational opportunities, accessing training, finding recognition of foreign credential education and training, and experience. Similarly, the other issues include awareness about education policies and processing policy documents. The responsibilities of the government of Nepal, cooperation between the Ministry of Education, other ministries, and non-governmental agencies and, diplomatic mission and their effectiveness are other pertinent issues of discussion. There is a lack of research on the difference between policyholders' expectations and perceived service regarding basic and primary education to Nepalese people. As the present situation demands the study of "Education policy and practices in Nepal: Analyzing the present

status of basic and primary education." There has not been yet the study applying the descriptive method and the sample taken was small in the past study. Till the date, there has not been conducted such study of education policy and practices in Nepal.

Research Questions

Education policy and practices in Nepal has become one of the specific issues for creating milestone to improve literacy rate and bases for education development. The following research questions are developed to support the research study:

- (i) What are the policy provisions for basic and primary education in Nepal?
- (ii) What is the status of development of basic and primary education in Nepal?

Research Objectives

The general objective of the study is to examine the policy and practices prevailing in basic and primary education in Nepal. The specific objectives of this study are:

- (i) To study the policy provisions for basic and primary education in Nepal.
- (ii) To assess the present status of development of basic and primary education in Nepal.

This study deals with the issues regarding Education Policy and Practice in Nepal focusing on the present status of basic and primary education development. Nepal has formulated and implemented education development policies in different time interval focusing overall education development in Nepal. Therefore, the major concern of the study is to explore the development of present status of basic and primary education in Nepal.

Research Methodology

The present study attempts to investigate the education policy and practices in Nepal. The study is specially focused on the present status of basic and primary education development in Nepal. Research methodology deals the specific area where the study is conducted and data collection procedures. This study is descriptive and analytical nature based on secondary data. The descriptive and explanatory research is designed for the empirically speculating the research questions for this study. In the case of a descriptive research design, different tables and examples have been presented as necessary.

Keeping in view the objectives of this study, secondary sources of data are applied. The data collection process is an act performed by the educational researchers that provides a deeper understanding and exploration of live experiences and reality

from the informants. The sources of secondary information are official records, publications, annual reports, policy documents, study reports related to other published and unpublished information. Government and non-government agencies and various other publications, book, journals, papers and internet. The data collected in this study is used to generate descriptive statistics as well as inferential statistics.

Expected Outcome

The paper will be produce publications in journals and published on the internet site. Similarly, the various aspects of the research that are useful and relevant to society will be published in the research journals. The findings of the study will be useful to the government of Nepal towards protecting the educational rights of children and their families in the future. This research study is expected to suggest the way of effective implementation of education policies.

Results and Discussions

Policies towards the Development of Basic and Primary Education

Nepal National Education Planning Commission laid the foundation for national education system within the framework of national unity, democracy, and the development of College of Education, 1956). The All-round National Education Commission, 1962 added nationalism and the prevailing political ideology to the national education system. However, during the period of 1956-1970, national education efforts were focused more on expanding access rather than on doctrine. The 1980s and the 1990s saw an emphasis on Education for All. In fulfilling its mission of universal primary education, Nepal undertook the following important measures: free primary education, free textbook distribution, scholarship programs, requirement of one female teacher, continuous assessment system, removal of gender disparity, decentralized planning, and piloting of free primary education to make it compulsory.

The goal for universal primary education/basic education was to ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to disadvantaged castes and ethnic minority groups, have universal access to and participation in a completely free and compulsory primary/basic education of good quality. The term 'all children' signifies all children within 5-9 years for primary and 5 to 12 years for basic education irrespective of their gender, caste, ethnicity or any other circumstances.

The Seventh Plan (1985-1990) recognized primary education as one of the basic needs of people and made a provision for the initiation of compulsory education by municipalities. The Plan put forth various programs such as free education up to Grade 5, free textbook and female education, to achieve the target of primary education

expansion policy by 2000. However, massive illiteracy (60%) and the low proportion of girls' participation in primary schools emerged as a challenge by the end of the plan period.

The Eighth Plan (1992-1997) reiterated the government's commitment to achieve the goal of universal primary education and raise the literacy rate to 67% by 2000. The plan envisaged empowerment of local government bodies to launch compulsory primary education on pilot basis if, however, they decided to implement the scheme. Besides, it also made the provision of one female teacher in each primary school and literacy program for girls unable to attend formal school.

The policy of the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) was to upgrade the quality of basic and primary education with focus on gender equity and educational opportunity to disadvantaged communities. In the context of making primary education compulsory, the plan adopted the expansion policy on the basis of experiences gained from the field. The various programs envisaged in the plan document include: gradual implementation of the Continuous Assessment System, implementation of the Liberal Promotion Policy up to Grade 3 on experimental basis, preliminary effort to provide primary education in the mother tongue and simple, and efficient distribution of textbooks.

Tenth Plan (2002-2007) laid stress on decentralization for quality education, and on providing day-meal and scholarships to disadvantaged groups for attaining 90 % enrolment. The implementation of free and compulsory primary education would be gradually followed as per the government proclamation and commitment. For this, the Plan made a provision for the development of institutional, managerial, and physical infrastructure framework.

To ensure free and primary education for all, the EFA Plan of Action (2001-2015) Nepal posed questions of reaching the disadvantaged and deprived children, removing gender disparities, and addressing the needs of various special needs for children. It also outlined the measures taken by Government of Nepal such as school improvement and expansion program, school feeding program, and special programs for girls and disadvantaged communities.

The expansion and development of quality primary education to fulfill the national commitment of 'Education for All' and increase the access of the rising number of primary school graduates to the secondary level education and develop secondary education so as to make the higher secondary level as the last destination of the school level education. Corresponding to the declared policy and international commitment of providing education to all by 2015 AD of Government of Nepal gradually implement the program of compulsory primary education and improve institutional, managerial and physical infrastructure accordingly (NPC, 2002, pp. 436-

440).

The Education for All (EFA), Teacher Education Project (TEP), Secondary Education Support Program (SESP), Community School Support Program (CSSP) and Food for Education (FfE) were the programs implemented in line with the spirit of decentralization and community support. Recently, the Ministry of Education (MoE) has developed a Core Document for the School Sector Reform (SSR). The Core document has elaborated policy directions, articulated strategies, and introduced new sets of quality led interventions for improving governance, management and resource mobilization in school education, aiming at improving efficiency and ensuring students.' learning with restructuring the school structure as Basic Level (Grade 1-8) and Secondary Level (Grade 9 to 12) (MOE: A glimpse 2010, pp. 13-14).

Status of Basic and Primary Education in Nepal

The objective of education is not only limited to skill development of general literacy among citizens. There has been huge impact of education in socialization, and raising group recognition. Besides this, education, as a basis for social uplift of different strata of the society, plays a key role in boosting social dynamism and promoting equity. Education has remained as an indispensable means to achieve higher gross domestic product (GDP) growth as availability of skilled and productive citizens can be increased through the education. The effect of results obtained through appropriate investment made by the state in education sector as per the expectation of multidimensional roles of education in country's overall development. As per objectives of education policy, the number of enrollment of Basic Grade (1-5), (6-8) and Basic Grade (1-8) has satisfactory. The province wise net enrollment at primary and basic education has been shown in Table-1:

Table-1Net Student Enrollment at Basic and Primary Education by Province in 2018/19

Province/Level	Basic Grade (1-5)			Basic Gr	ade (6-8)		Basic Grade (1-8)		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Province-1	274947	278601	553548	152679	151796	304475	427626	430397	923862
Province-2	379613	373024	752637	127620	123212	250832	507233	496236	1003469
Bagmati	330386	339196	669582	192785	194166	386951	523171	533362	1056533
Gandaki	155385	155677	311062	95851	95870	191721	251547	251547	503094
Province-5	337698	347981	685679	158211	160093	318314	500717	511304	1012021
Karnali	158211	160093	318304	75976	74521	150497	234187	234614	468801
Sudurpashchim	218952	220838	439790	108120	105839	213959	327072	326677	653749
Total	1855192	1875410	3730602	758563	753701	1512264	2771553	2353740	5125293

Source: Economic Surveys 2018/19.

The Figure 1 depicts the enrollment status of Primary education (1-5) on the basis of seven provinces. Province 2 shows the highest number of enrollment at primary education, and Karnali province reflects the lowest number of enrollment in the

Academic year 2018/19.

Figure-1: Net student enrollment at primary grade (1-5) by Province

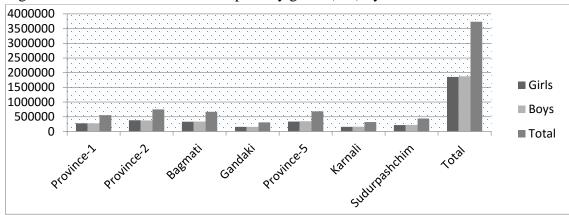


Figure-2: Student Enrollment at Basic Grade (6-8) by Province

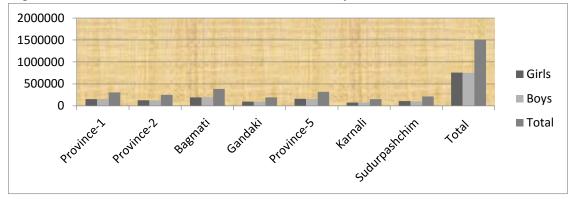


Figure-2 represents the enrollment status of Basic Grade (6-8) on the basis of seven provinces. Bagmati Province shows the highest number of enrollment at basic grade (6-8) whereas Karnali province reflects the lowest number of enrollment in the Academic year 2018/19.

Figure-3: Student enrollment at basic grade (1-8) by Province

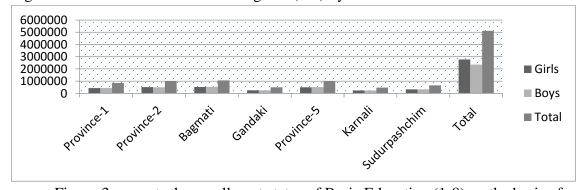


Figure-3 presents the enrollment status of Basic Education (1-8) on the basis of

seven provinces. Bagmati Province shows the highest number of enrollment at basic grade (1-8) whereas Karnali province reflects the lowest number of enrollment in the Academic year 2018/19. In the academic year 2018/19, altogether 51 lakh 25 thousand and 293 students were enrolled, whereas 54.08 percent girls and 45.92 percent of boys in the 2018/19. In the academic year 2018/19, net enrollment into primary level (grade 1-5) has reached 96.5 percent and 92.7 percent into basic level (1-8). The Net enrollment at basic and primary level seems to be satisfactory. Province 1 shows the highest rate in primary and basic level, whereas Bagmati Province depicts the lowest one in primary level (1-5) and Province 2 represents the lowest one in basic level (1-8). The trends of net enrollment rate of primary level (1-5) basic grade (6-8) and basic level (1-8) have been shown in Table 2 and figures 4, 5 and 6.

Table-2Net Student Enrollment Rate by Province in 2018/19

Province/Level	Basic Grade (1-5)			Basic Grade (6-8)			Basic Grade (1-8)		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Province-1	96.0	97.8	96.9	93.2	93.6	93.4	94.6	95.7	95.2
Province-2	94.6	96.4	95.5	59.3	68.2	63.8	77.0	82.3	79.6
Bagmati	95.4	96.2	95.8	93.4	93.8	93.6	94.4	95.0	94.7
Gandaki	95.3	96.7	96.0	93.4	95.2	94.3	94.3	96.0	95.1
Province-5	96.1	97.6	96.8	84.2	87.9	86.0	90.1	92.7	91.4
Karnali	96.2	97.8	97.0	87.8	91.9	89.9	92.0	94.9	93.4
Sudurpashchim	96.2	97.8	97.0	92.3	94.3	93.3	94.2	96.0	95.1
Total	95.7	97.2	96.5	87.5	90.2	88.9	91.6	93.7	92.7

Source: Economic Survey (2018/19)

Figure 4: Net student enrollment rate in primary level (1-5) by Province

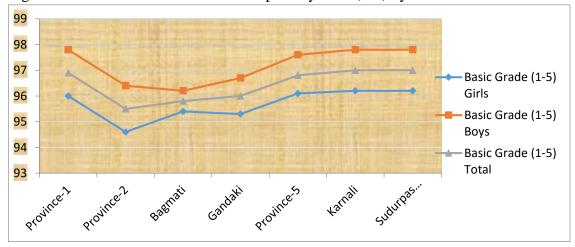


Figure-4 depicts the seven province-wise status of net enrollment of girls, boys, and

total students net enrollment at basic grade (1-5) in the academic year 2018/19. According to data and figures, boys' net enrollment number is higher than girls' enrollment.

Figure 5: Net student enrollment rate in primary level (6-8) by Province

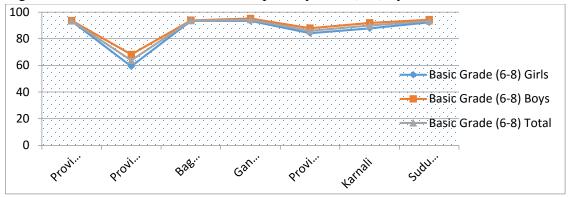


Figure-5 depicts the seven province-wise status of net enrollment of girls, boys and total students net enrollment at basic grade (6-8) in the academic year 2018/19. According to data and figures, the net enrollment rate of boys and girls seems cross rate.

Figure 6: Net student enrollment rate in basic level (1-8) by Province

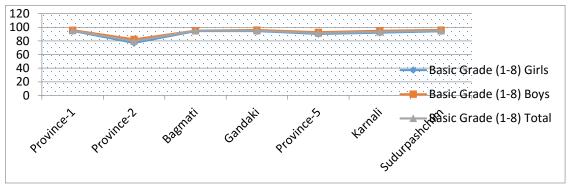


Figure-6 represents the seven province-wise net enrollment status of girls, boys, and total students net enrollment at basic grade (1-8) in the academic year 2018/19. According to data and figures, the net enrollment rate of boys and girls seems similar to this level.

Conclusions

Education policies show what a country has been prioritizing and what resources have been invested by a country to achieve predetermined education development objectives. Thus, the education policies are guidelines as well course of the action of the government or other institutions designed to assist, and influence consistent and transparent decision making. Influenced by national and international arrangements of culture, ideologies and economy, public policies reflect the development priorities of a

country and are instruments of government employed to address the public problems. Policies, plans, programs and projects are always in hierarchical and aligned with development activities. There is also a need for assessment on education policy and practice and necessary to understand the impact of policies on basic and primary education development, and the effectiveness of the implementation mechanism, find out the causes seen on various occasions related to the concerned policies that have virtually made the present policy less relevant, find out the relevance of the need to adapt education policy to the changing regional and international environment, analysis on the need to provide integrated support and incentive package to education sectors with a view to enhancing their competitive strength at home and abroad and review the education policies of different plan periods for the betterment.

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Teacher's Perception of Continuous Assessment System at Basic Level

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Abstract

The continuous assessment system (CAS) has been recognized as an integral part of everyday classroom instruction at the basic level of education. This study aims to explore the teachers' perceptions towards continuous assessment systems at the basic level. It was designed in a qualitative model and using a semi-structured interview schedule. For Participants, six basic level school teachers were selected purposely from three selected schools in Kathmandu district. The interviews covered sociodemographic data, perceptions towards CAS, teaching styles, and personal experience using CAS, and challenges towards using CAS. An inductive analysis was used to allow for the patterns and themes to emerge. The finding of the study showed that most of the teachers were positive and only a few had negative perceptions towards the CAS along with its tools like portfolio, project work, and homework. Lack of CAS training for teachers, insufficient materials, resources, and infrastructures also seems to be a great challenge to the teachers. This study revealed the necessity to conduct CAS training to the basic level teachers and provide sufficient materials for the effective use of CAS at the basic level.

Keywords: Teachers' perceptions, continuous assessment, education system, learning outcomes and CAS.

Introduction

The continuous assessment system (CAS) has been recognized as a vital part of everyday classroom instruction at the basic level of education in many developing countries, like Nepal. It is an important component of any teaching-learning process. Students need to be given assessment and follow-ups frequently to boost up the educational progress in the teaching and learning process. It is a key instrument to ensure quality education. "Continuous assessment is an ongoing process of gathering and interpreting information about student learning that is used in making decisions

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about what to teach and how well students have learned" (Nitko, 2004,p.7). It refers to the use of several assessments during the academic period instead of a single final exam in the last weeks of the academic year. It is also referred to as frequent assessment (Rezaei, 2015). It can be used to improve students' learning activities as well as their engagement in the classroom (Holmes, 2015). In both activities, continuous assessment can be used to provide feedback to students and teachers. Furthermore, it can be used as a reward system for desired studying behavior (Admiral, Wubbels, and Pilot, 1999). Similarly, Arega (2014) has documented that there is significant evidence that continuous assessment is a powerful instrument for enhancing the attainment of learning outcomes to ensure quality education and academic excellence in education institutions. According to Gipps (2011), teachers have had to rely on continuous assessment to monitor their students' academic progress and performance. Iqbal (2017), states that continuous assessment can enhance student learning. Research suggests that the implementation of a continuous approach is not an easy task. Nsibande & Modiba (2012) analyzed the factors challenging the implementation of continuous assessment in a large class size due to the shortage of funds to fulfill the necessary resources and lack of adequate train teachers. The above review shows that many educational systems all over the world have adopted this approach in evaluating learner's achievement in many subject areas.

A continuous assessment system was developed along with the liberal promotion system to reduce the failure rate, class repetition rate, and dropout rate of the learners. Department of Education, (2012) includes, "almost all the education plan of Nepal and national commission report has focused the need for regular assessment that is Continuous Assessment System(CAS)". In the same way, the 9th (1997-2002) and 10th (2002-2007) five-year plans started to introduce CAS for the primary level (National Planning Commission, 1997 & National Planning Commission, 2002). The 10th fiveyear plan has particularly targeted to introduce CAS up to grade five based on the pilot experiments (NPC, 2002). According to the Curriculum Development Centre (2009), primary education curriculum 2062 (grade 1-3) and 2065 (4-7) have implemented the program of CAS in the evaluation system of government schools. At present, the students of grades 1-3 are upgraded based on the liberal promotion system with CAS. For grade 1-3 students, no pass marks are allocated in the evaluation system. It shows that CAS is a major criterion in the evaluation system of the primary level. Similarly, the students of classes 4-5 are also evaluated by 50% based on CAS. Now, this trend is increased up to class eight at the basic level. In this way, the Continuous Assessment System is a major tool of assessment that is practiced regularly to reduce the failure rate, dropout rate and class repetition rate of the basic level learners, in the Nepalese context.

Continuous assessment activities allow us to identify what our students are learning and enable them to improve the learning environment through our courses and academic programs. To ensure continuous learning and to enhance quality in education the continuous assessment system is the key to assist children individually for learning. Apart from that, it is also helpful to reduce dropouts on one hand and increase retention on the other. There is a policy provision to implement the Continuous Assessment System (CAS) in primary grades of Nepalese schools, which now has been extended to grade seven. One of the weaknesses found in the practices of CAS in Nepalese schools is the detachment of assessment from classroom teaching-learning; as a result, the use of assessment for formative purposes is minimal. In this regard (Poudel, et al., 2015), have stated that "assessment results have hardly been used in the teaching-learning process; rather it has been a ritual of filling the forms in many schools". The government of Nepal has now made the Continuous Assessment System mandatory in basic levels. However, many people are not clear about the proper implementation of CAS and factors that are affecting its implementation.

There are different views regarding the continuous assessment system and some of the teachers are also confused about this. The actual picture is not clear since there is very less information available on teachers' perceptions of the continuous assessment system in Nepal. Despite having lots of advantages, students are not willing to take part in the activities of the continuous assessment system which I believe is a serious problem in the field of teaching and learning. Hence, I want to explore how basic level teachers practice the activities of CAS in their classrooms. This study looked to investigate the teachers' perception towards continuous assessments and the effects of continuous systems on teaching and learning at the basic level. The outcome of the research may support the teachers in understanding the essence of the continuous assessment system and may help teachers in changing their attitude. Therefore, this study is aimed to explore the teachers' perceptions towards continuous assessment systems at basic level education.

Materials and Methods

I followed a qualitative research approach as I was exploring the experience of a basic level teacher. For this, I gathered information through open-ended questions to understand 'the world of human experience' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). It is particularly recommended for exploring experiences and perceptions from individuals' perspectives. The study was carried out during March 2019 AD in Kathmandu Metropolitan City of a Kathmandu district of Nepal. To explore teacher perceptions and challenges towards a continuous assessment system at the basic level, I purposely

selected six participants coded as participant no. 1, 2,3,4,5, and 6. All Participants are teachers of a basic level from different three schools in Kathmandu district. Two teachers were chosen from each selected school as participants.

Data were collected from participants from the target population to explore teachers' perceptions and challenges towards CAS at the basic level. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with basic level teachers. The interviews covered socio-demographic data, perceptions towards CAS, teaching styles, and personal experience using CAS, and challenges towards using CAS. Participants were asked how they felt about CAS influencing their learning skills of the students and teaching styles; in particular how they might influence their ability to achieve and maintain quality education. They were also asked for their views on any other challenges to implementing a continuous assessment system at a basic level.

Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. The interviews lasted about one hour. Individual interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed. An inductive analysis was used because it allows the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis to emerge (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Two levels of qualitative analysis were conducted. The descriptive analysis described the respondents' life situations and characteristics. The thematic analysis elaborated the structures of basic constructs and new constructs that arose in the early analysis. Readers reviewed transcripts of the first interviews to identify all relevant ideas. Their notations were compared and discussed. The process was repeated for the second transcripts until there was agreement on the ideas and concepts. Some of the concepts were broken down into various sub-components of the theme. The next stage of analysis was to go back to the individual interviewee level to look at within-person consistency with each concept. The readers assembled and compared all the text references to a concept.

In this way, the readers ensured scientific rigor of the qualitative analysis by making sure the themes and contexts derived were correct in that credibility, reliability, and dependability can be demonstrated.

Results and Discussion

The study was completed after taking interviews with teachers' to understand their perceptions and challenges towards the CASS. All participants are teaching at a basic level and each had a face to face interview. I have analyzed the major challenges faced by the basic level teachers while using CAS in teaching and learning activities at basic level. To find out the teachers' challenges regarding CAS in class I had developed a teacher interview guideline. Based on this guideline, selected teachers had been interviewed about their perceptions and challenges of using CAS at the basic level. I

have generated different themes regarding the teachers' perceptions and challenges of CAS based on their interviews, which are analyzed below.

Teachers' Perceptions of Continuous Assessment System

Most of the participated teachers are positive toward the use of CAS in teaching and learning. CAS with its other tools like homework, classwork, self-correction, and project work assess the students' progress and help the teachers as well as students to take correct action. In this sense, participant-1 reported:

I always check the students' homework and classwork regularly and find out students' mistakes. From this, students can get real information about their performance in learning activities.

Here, participant-1 has his own opinion of using homework and classwork to assess every progress regarding learning activities. According to his belief, he uses homework and classwork to find out the real mistakes regarding reading and writing. From this CAS system, the students themselves and the teacher can get actual performance. Likewise, participant-3 has different insight or CAS. He has reported:

CAS has broken the paper-pencil test of the evaluation system in Nepal. It has brought different assessment tools like portfolio, observation, self-correction, and project work which help to present learners' actual performance in learning activities every time.

Above perceptions are very important that at present, the old paper-pencil test is substituted by the CAS and its other components like project work, observation, and portfolio which help the teacher to assess every progress of students in learning. Furthermore, Students can get clear information about their tasks. Similarly, participant-4 focuses on developing the portfolio as a modern tool of the CAS to develop the learning abilities of students. She said:

Classwork, homework, and observation can play important roles to improve the learners' performance. From these tools, the students can develop their self-study habits which are directly linked to the development of learning skills. A portfolio is also seen as an effective tool to develop learning ability by collecting good pieces of writing and creative work to keep a record of progress every time.

Here, she added a different perception regarding CAS than previous participants. The use of tools of CAS like observation, portfolio, and project work in the class, makes the students more innovative, creative, and self-dependent for learning. Moreover, as a new tool of CAS, a portfolio helps the learners to collect information.

All the perceptions, under this theme, conclude that CAS and its tools like homework, classwork, project work, self-correction, classroom participation, and portfolio

maintenance help the teacher to assess the students' progress about learning skills developed every time. From this, students can get the true pictures of their progress and modify their learning strategies with proper improvements. So, CAS helps to understand the real condition of teaching and learning activities for both teachers and learners respectively.

Some participating teachers' have a negative perception of the continuous assessment system. They simply do not like teaching classes with a continuous assessment system. Through qualitative analysis, the teachers suggested that a continuous assessment system increases their workload and is very time-consuming. Furthermore, students have a very poor attitude towards studies because of the continuous assessment system. Some students take advantage of the continuous assessment system since they know that everyone will be passing so they do not do much work. Participant-2 suggested-

Continuous assessment system does not help students' in learning. The continuous assessment gives rise to duplication, when students are absent, they tend to copy the task from others and sometimes the parents or elders do the task for the students.

Two participants among the six share that the task of portfolio maintenance is ineffective due to the teachers' limited time and resources. In this regard, participant-5 says:

Maintaining students' portfolios is itself very challenging for the teacher. Furthermore, collecting students' information regarding learning skills, the teachers have to manage each portfolio for an individual within a limited time.

Here, the teacher has a different perception towards the management of learner individual portfolios. It is very difficult because of the limited time provided to the teacher. He has realized that the time of 45 minutes is not suitable to record all information of the students in the classroom. So, managing a portfolio of students at a basic level is difficult and not practicable for them.

Materials, Resources, and Infrastructures for Continuous Assessment System

This theme is developed based on interviews with the majority of the interviewee. Regarding challenges of CAS in teaching and learning, the teachers expressed that there is a lack of appropriate materials, resources, and infrastructures for the effective practice of CAS in teaching, more particularly in teaching and learning activities at the basic level.

CAS is the combined form of various means and materials. It requires many resources or materials of CAS like papers, files, and separate racks for portfolio,

individual recording system, and progress charts. As the interviewee shared, CAS practice in Nepalese schools found a very poor situation; they even don't have access to fundamental CAS materials like forms and files. With further supporting points, participant-1 shared

There are many challenges to make the means and materials of CAS in our school. Sometimes when we ask for paper and record files and other essential materials to maintain the portfolio of the students, the school administration does not provide that materials in time and those are difficult to manage ourselves.

In these interviews, the interviewee reported that there is a lack of basic record files to file the students writing for further use which is a very basic material for CAS. This evidence proved that there is a lack of basic materials for CAS in government schools. Most of the basic level teachers in the government schools are facing the same problems or challenges of materials while practicing CAS in the teaching field. Not only materials and resources, but the practices of CAS also require other infrastructures like racks, extra rooms, and classroom management. This theme is generated from the interviews of participant 3 who reported:

Poor infrastructure is a problem for the teacher. In our school, there are no proper racks to manage the students' portfolios, which are the main challenge to implement CAS.

As the participant reported, most of the government schools of Nepal do not have proper physical infrastructures to manage the CAS and its tools like portfolios. According to the above-mentioned interviews, even the school has not provided simple racks to keep the individual portfolio of student tasks. So most of the schools in Nepal are unable to manage sufficient physical infrastructures required in the practice of CAS, which is a burning challenge for the teachers. Participant 4 reported a similar challenge:

Poor infrastructures are being a challenge to implement CAS. In my school, there are not sufficient rooms, desks and benches, and we cannot imagine adding other extra rooms and racks for the CAS. It is not possible for us to afford it.

From the above views, it is analyzed that most of the basic level teachers are facing the challenge of poor infrastructures for the proper use and implementation of CAS. In case of the limited rooms and buildings, we cannot imagine building infrastructures like separate rooms, tables, and racks which are the main challenge for the teachers to use CAS successfully at a basic level in Nepal. In this way, from these all interviews it is found that insufficient resources and materials and poor infrastructures are the great challenges for the basic level teachers to use CAS in the teaching and learning process. As a result of poor infrastructures, teachers of basic levels are not able to apply CAS in their classes properly.

Workload and Time for Continuous Assessment System

This theme is also a challenge for teachers to implement CAS in classes, based on interviews reported by participant 2 and 3. In the context of Nepal, most of the teachers are engaged in a lot of tasks such as teaching, homework checking, discussing, and involving the students in project work in the bound and limited time of 45 minutes. Because of that, they could not use CAS in their classroom teaching, which is being a major challenge for the teachers. Participant 2 reports her challenge:

I felt that the heavy workload of the teacher is also a problem for the teacher. He/she has to teach, take attendance, use materials, discuss with students, check homework and classwork, and assess their performance within the limited time of 45 minutes.

The participant has expressed her view about the heavy workload and limited time bound for the teachers as a challenge of CAS in teaching and learning activities at the basic level. As she reported most of the teachers in Nepal are very busy with teaching tasks only. They have to teach 6/7 classes per day, so they cannot practice CAS in their class. The teacher is provided 45 minutes for a period which is not fully sufficient to use the CAS and its tools like project work. So, heavy workload and limited time-bound for teachers are major challenges to use CAS at a basic level in Nepal.

Training Programs of Continuous Assessment System for the Teachers

This theme is developed based on the interviews interviewed by the two respondents, respondents 1 and 4 regarding the challenges of CAS in teaching and learning skills at the basic level. This theme is a challenge of using CAS, most of the basic level teachers are either untrained or unaware or unskilled about using CAS. The training agencies are only providing training about the teaching methodology and content but not about how to assess the students' performance through the CAS. Regarding this, participant-1shares:

There is no training for the teachers regarding ways of using CAS. Without proper ideas of using CAS, the teachers cannot use CAS and its tools like a portfolio. As I have experienced, training agencies have not provided any training programs for the teachers about the use of CAS. So, from my experiences, the lack of proper training for the basic level teachers about CAS is a challenge behind its effective implication.

These above views, tell that without proper training to implement the CAS, the teachers cannot use the CAS and its other tools effectively. In Nepal, the training agencies are not providing efficient training to the basic level teachers about the ways of practicing CAS, how we make an effective CAS practice of CAS, and what are the new methods of using CAS. Most of the teachers are using CAS based on their styles. As reported by respondent 1, most of the basic level teachers have not experienced the training for using CAS. Some tools like portfolio maintenance are very difficult to use in the classroom without proper ideas and skills which most of the basic level teachers lack. Due to the lack of teachers who are well trained about the CAS, it is not fully implemented in all government schools of Nepal. Similarly, participant-6, reports:

I have participated in the training, conducted by different agencies but I do not have any experience of participating in CAS training. CAS is a new concept for the teachers so they cannot use CAS effectively without proper training. I have seen the lack of training programs for the teachers about CAS as a problem or challenge in teaching and learning activities.

The above views also show the lack of training for the teacher about the practice of CAS is a great challenge in the field of assessment as well as teaching and learning in class. There are not any specific training programs for the basic level teachers about CAS. The use of CAS in the teaching field is significant for self-initiated learning that is why most government schools are using it according to their own ways... So, the lack of CAS training to the teachers is regarded as a great challenge for the teachers to use CAS effectively and significantly.

Conclusion

Teachers are the fundamental agents for the implementation of CAS at basic level schools. So, this study has tried to explore teachers' perceptions of CAS. The results of the interview showed that many teachers have agreed that CAS needs to be implemented in the classes for an efficient teaching and learning process whereas some have disagreed with it. It can be concluded that challenges like a lack of proper resources and materials like papers, files, racks, and other materials are not allowing CAS to be fully implemented at basic level classes. Most of the teachers have expressed that a continuous assessment system is helping students in the learning process and reducing the pressure of examination to the students at the basic level.

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Teachers Professional Development at Public Campuses: Attitude and Practice

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Abstract

Teacher Professional Development is a process of improving both the teachers' academic excellence and acquisition of greater competence and efficiency. It helps to develop various kinds of professional skills, knowledge, techniques, and ICTs used in teaching and learning. The purpose of this study was to find out the attitude and practice of teachers on teacher professional development in public campuses. It also aimed to find out the existing policies and provisions regarding the modalities of teachers' professional development at public campuses. This study was based on a qualitative research design with phenomenological methods. The participants of the study were two teachers of the different public campuses of Rupendehi district. They were selected using a purposive sampling method. The data were collected by taking indepth interviews of the participants using unstructured guideline questions. The interview questions were directed to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs, and convictions about the theme in the research questions. The findings of this study revealed that teachers' professional development is the most important factor for improving teachers professionally, academically, and technically but professional development activities of the public campuses are not satisfactory.

Keywords: Professional development, public campuses, lifelong learning, constructivism model, and instructional techniques.

Introduction

I used the term teacher professional development here to refer to teacher education. It is a growing field that focuses on the professional growth and strengths of teachers. The term teacher development is the process of becoming the best type of teacher. It starts from the beginning and continues until retirement professionally. Teacher professional development (TPD) intends to increase the skills, knowledge, or understanding of teachers and their effectiveness in schools. It maintains a certain level of professionalism and it has a positive impact on teachers' beliefs and practices. Fullan

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(1995) mentions that TPD is "the total of formal and informal learning pursued and experienced by the teacher in a compelling and dynamic change" p. 265. Tomlinson (1999) defines TPD as an activity designed to promote learning which is the way of producing professional teachers. Bredeson (2002) presents three interdependent concepts of TPD as learning, engagement, and involvement. It is an activity that develops an individual's skills, knowledge, expertise, and other characteristics as a teacher. TPD provides teachers with opportunities to explore new roles, develop new instructional techniques, refine their practice, and broaden themselves (Komba & Nkumbi, 2008). It is multi-dimensional: content, process, and context. This paper presents TPD as a critical component for the teachers of public campuses of Nepal. Teacher professional development is based on constructivism model rather than transmission orientation model. This theory is compatible with the behavioristic view of learning, in which both curriculum and instruction are broken down into small, sequential steps dictated by the teacher. TPD requires the acquisition of new skills, knowledge, attitudes, values, and a wide variety of teaching strategies, to enable students to construct their knowledge. The brain behind this kind of philosophical approach is best described in Confucius, a Chinese philosopher's quote: "I hear, and I forget. I see, and I remember. I do, and I understand" (Adom, Yeboah and Ankrah, 2016). A teacher conceived as a reflective practitioner. Darling-Hammond and McLaughlin (1996) assert that teacher development must focus on deepening teachers' understanding of the processes of teaching and learning, as well as of the students they teach. Richards and Farrell (2005) present different activities like engaging in selfreflection and evaluation, developing specialized knowledge and skills about many aspects of teaching, and developing collaborative relationships with other teachers for teacher development. Hence, teacher professional development should shift from a behaviouristic towards a constructivist approach. This paper presents professional development as a critical component for the teachers of public campuses of Nepal. Teacher Professional Development status in Public Campuses of Nepal

The public campuses are unable to offer better TPD facilities for their teachers and do not have very sharp vision and policies regarding the professional development of the faculty members. TPD has been realized as a powerful approach to implement student-centered activity for education in the twenty-first century (Pokhrel, 2016). Limited facilities, lack of high esteem in the society, unnecessary political interference are the disturbances for TPD on public campuses. Reflecting on my fifteen years of experience of teaching in a public campus in Rupandehi, I realized that very few teachers from public campuses have got the chance for professional development activities. Being a campus chief of a public campus I have an understanding that the stakeholders are not positive towards the professional development of their faculties.

Even though there are certain provisions for the teacher professional development activities in their campus bylaw the CMC and Campus administrations are not positive towards it. They see everything in their political eyes and do not support them. In the same way, most of the faculty members are school teachers who take this job as secondary so they are not proactive towards their development. For this reason, the faculty members who have been teaching public campuses lack the opportunities for their professional development. Stakeholders neglect them, so they are dissatisfied with their job. This dissatisfaction has been helping to reduce the quality of education on public campuses in Nepal.

The teachers of public campuses have not been getting enough TPD facilities. It is necessary to find out whether the public campuses are delivering such an opportunity to the teachers or not. How often do teachers get the opportunity to participate in career development and TPD activities? And what provisions are made for TPD and how they practiced at public campuses? To answer these questions, I attempted to find out the provision of teacher professional development, its implementation strategy, status, and means of TPD adopted by public campuses really in practice or not. Since a huge number of students are dependent on public campuses to shape their careers and direct their future. If the programs of such campuses run without the TPD plan, then the future of public campuses may fall at risk. So, there requires specific research regarding TPD at public campuses of Nepal. A little research work has been carried out about TPD on public campuses. Many kinds of research have been carried out for TPD of school-level teachers in Nepal. But a few on TPD of the teachers of public campuses of Nepal. For this reason, I had selected the present research topic to mitigate the gap in it. The main purpose of this study was to find out the attitude and practice of teachers on teacher professional development in public campuses. It also aimed to find out the existing policies and provisions regarding the modalities of TPD at public campuses. It tried to explore the strategies for teacher professional development in public campuses of Nepal. In addition to this, I have formulated the following research questions for this study;

- 1. How do the teachers of public campuses perceive the teacher's professional development?
- 2. How do they practice the activities of teacher professional development during involvement in teaching and learning on campus?
- 3. What provisions and facilities are available for teachers to develop their professionalism in public campuses?

Methodology

This study was based on a qualitative research design. It is a form of inquiry that explores phenomena in their natural settings. It uses multi-methods to interpret, understand, explain, and bring meaning to them. Creswell (2003) states that a qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on a constructivist perspective. I used a phenomenological method that studies the structure of various types of experience ranging from perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion, desire, and volition to bodily awareness, embodied action, and social activity, including linguistic activity (Smith, 2004). The research site was Rupandehi district of Nepal which was selected purposely.

For locating the research participants, first of all, I enlisted all the public campuses in Rupandehi District. After that, I selected two Campuses by using a purposive method then I chose two teachers; one teacher from each campus as participants based on my judgments and the purpose of the research. Finally, I took an in-depth interview with the selected participants by using unstructured guideline questions. My interview questions were directed to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs, and convictions about the theme in the research questions. I audio and video recorded all interviews with the permission of interviewees. I gave different codes for the participants that were identified by the alphabet characters 'MM' and 'MJ'. I store the data which includes audio recordings, field notes, and filing of hard copy documentation. Field notes are a secondary data storage method in qualitative research. Because the human mind tends to forget quickly, field notes by the researcher are crucial in qualitative research to retain data gathered (Lofland & Lofland, 1999). The interview transcriptions and field notes were also stored electronically on hard drives. As soon as possible, after each interview, I listened to the recording and transcribed keywords, phrases, and statements to allow the voices of research participants to speak. Regarding the tools, for data collection, I used unstructured guideline questions that were prepared based on research questions. I also used field notes and recordings. The collected data were analyzed descriptively developing themes based on the response of the participants. I used the thematic analysis in this paper as a descriptive approach with a focus on lived experience, which refers to our experiences of the world.

The study was limited to the two public campuses only which are under the Public Campus Association of Rupandehi district. It was only limited to find out the perception and the practice of TPD on public campuses of Nepal. The participants were only two teachers from the selected campuses of Rupandehi.

Results and Discussion

I used the 'phenomenological study' method for data collection. Researchers who used phenomenology are reluctant to prescribe techniques Holloway (1997). I intended to gather data regarding the perspectives of research participants about the phenomenon of TPD. My questions were "directed to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs and convictions about the theme in question" (Welman & Kruger, 1999, p. 196) as cited in (Groenewald, 2004). I decided to analyze and interpret the collected data qualitatively by making the theme based on interviews, field notes, and other relevant literature. I have presented this section by making four themes based on the research questions.

Teaching Experiences in Public Campuses

Teaching is a challenging job. It is the process of attending to people's needs, experiences, feelings, and intervening (Jackson, 2019). Indeed, teachers are key to the success of reform initiatives, as they are ultimately the ones in charge of enacting these initiatives within the classroom (Guskey, 2002). Here I endeavored to find out the teaching experiences of the participants on public campuses of this research. My first respondent 'MM' is an energetic and young faculty member of her campus. She has been teaching on her campus for bachelor and master level for 20 years. The second respondent 'MJ' is also an enthusiastic and dedicated faculty of his campus. He has been teaching on this campus for 19 years. He is teaching in the bachelor's and master's programs of TU. Both are happy to adopt teaching as an academic profession. But they feel guilty when they see the discrimination among the faculties respondent 'MJ' said 'Discrimination on the community campus is heart-breaking'. This means discrimination on community campuses is very upsetting. Such types of activities are often found on most public campuses. He further added that two teachers started teaching on the campus on the same day but one of them got an appointment letter two months ago and the other got two months later. This type of discrimination demoralizes teachers. Even though whatever discrimination is there on the public campus they both are happy with their profession. My respondent 'MM' said she feels great about teaching local students. She is very happy about getting opportunities to assist in the educational upliftment of local level students. So they are satisfied with their profession even though there are different problems on their campuses. My respondent 'MM' said 'I feel great while adopting the academic profession.' Psychologically the participants are satisfied while adopting an academic profession. Teacher job satisfaction has been recognized as extremely important for implementing any type of education reform, for involving the teacher in life-long learning, for the quality of the teaching-learning process, and

satisfaction with life in general. Teachers are the key elements of whole teaching-learning activities (Mizell 2010).

Teacher's Professional Development as a Lifelong Process of Teachers' Learning

Teacher professional development is the development of a teacher's qualification and efficiency. A teacher who perceives professional development positively is eager to attain new knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and dispositions (Komba & Nkumbi, 2008). So the teachers of public campuses should develop various kinds of teacher's professional qualities to develop their careers. In this regard respondent, 'MM' expressed her idea as 'Teachers' professional development is quite important for teachers. When teachers are professionally developed, they can teach their students as per the needs of the student and their society. If they are not professionally developed, they can't be influential teachers to their students'. She said 'TPD is a way to acquire new skills and knowledge in the teaching profession'. TPD helps any teacher to conduct excellent educational activities by making him or her updated. "Teachers are active, thinking decision-makers who make instructional choices by drawing on complex practically-oriented, personalized, and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs" (Borg, 2003, p. 81).

TPD helps update the teachers in line with changes in the curriculum and enables them to serve pupils better and improve the standard of performance. In the same way, my second participant gave more emphasis on TPD as a way to help teachers to update formally by developing new knowledge and skills. So TPD is a scheme to acquire new skills and knowledge in the teaching profession. According to Bredeson (2002) "learning opportunities that engage educators' creative and reflective capacities in ways that strengthen their practice". So there is a great importance of TPD in the teachers of the public campuses in the sense that it helps the teacher to develop various kinds of professional skills, knowledge, new techniques of teaching, the modern technology of teaching. It encourages teachers to explore their own beliefs and thinking processes and to examine how these influence their classroom practice Richards & Farrell, (2005). The teacher can use new ideas and methodologies in the classroom if they are updated through different activities of TPD.

In this context respondent, 'MJ' expressed his opinion as; 'It is important for teachers because it offers them an opportunity to explore new ways of teaching and learning'. It shows that there is very much importance of TPD in the teachers because it helps improve the teacher professionally, academically, and technically. It is an aspect, which encourages the teachers to do many kinds of research in the academic fields. Likewise, respondent 'MM' explained the importance of teachers' professional

development is to explore new methods and techniques of teaching and learning. Teachers need to revise and update their knowledge and skills. In the same way respondent, 'MJ' has taken Teacher's professional development as an important tool for teachers to develop the practical skill for teaching effectively and managing the different aspects of the teaching profession. We can conclude both respondents' explanations as TPD is important and lifelong learning activities for teachers (Darling-Hammond, Hyler, & Gardner, 2017) because of quality education, personal development, leadership development, updating, for research writing, and proper use of technology.

Teachers Attitudes and Perception towards Professional Development

TPD is an essential part of any teaching faculty for getting more skills, gaining confidence, and competence. To do effective teaching, the teacher should be trained, excellent as well as up-dated according to the change of time. In this sub-topic, I aimed to stumble on the concept of teacher professional development from both participants of this research. TPD requires continuity in learning emphasizing need-based planning, exploring teachers' strengths and weaknesses. The respondent 'MM' said "of course! Teachers' professional development activities are inevitable. They help teachers enhance and arouse the students' learning pace and efficiency'. It helps enable teachers to move with changes in science and technology. In this concern, my respondent 'MJ' believed that TPD inspires teachers to be innovative in teaching. Respondent 'MM' claimed 'professional development inspires us to be more creative and innovative'. In the same way respondent, 'MJ' argued that Teacher professional development is the most important part of teaching-learning activities which foster the teacher to become innovative and updated. He said 'of course, it is inevitable for teachers. It helps us to build up confidence and quality education. But, it is not given for public campus faculty time and again'. He added TPD is not only a matter of reading and teaching but also of formally updating oneself by being active in research in various fields. Both respondents agreed with the necessity of TPD for the teachers that include teachers' training, seminars, workshop, teachers' discussion program, research works, etc.

The teachers should be self-conscious about their professional development by doing various kinds of academic works. It is an action that develops the skill, efficiency, and prestige of teachers. About this, my respondent 'MJ' emphasized that teachers should always be up-to-date, formally, and informally refine themselves not only to read and teach but also to acquire higher-level qualifications. It is fruitful for the development of the social, economic, and educational status of the teachers. Choy and Chua, (2019) state that TPD reinforced the need for promoting growth and development

amongst teachers, endorsing greater recognition for excellence in teaching and leadership, establishing high standards for professional teaching status, and reducing timelines for improvement, to enhance student learning, growth, and achievement, and school performance. It is fruitful for the development of the social, economic, and educational status of the teachers (Zeng & Day, 2019). It is an action that develops the skill, efficiency, and prestige of teachers.

TPD is an action, which helps the teacher to solve the practical problems of teaching and learning. So, every teacher should be involved in their development. In this subsection, I made an effort to hit upon the teachers participating in professional development activities and further study. These activities are the most important aspects of TPD. Both respondents argued that most of the teachers are not interested in TPD. They don't give attention to their professional development. Respondent 'MM' said 'they don't have much desire and liability so fewer faculties are participating in such programs'. It shows that the teachers are not concerned about their professional development. It is also found that the teachers themselves are not proactive in their professional development. They tend to have an allowance oriented attitude rather than skills enhancement expectations (Ghimire, 2019). Teachers of public campuses need to participate in the activities of TPD then only they could compete with other institutions' teachers.

Provisions and Practices for Teacher Professional Development in **Public Campuses**

Most successful educational organizations regard the professional development of their faculties as a matter of high priority. Various provisions are made by the campuses as mentioned in their bylaw. They are far better in formulating the provisions for which indeed seems motivational in policy, plan, and regulation formulation as well (Ghimire, 2019). But the application of TPD facilities in real context is too weak in comparison to their provision and policy formulation. Respondent 'MM' said 'our campus has also made some provisions for the professional development of teachers. It has made a policy to permit teachers for their further studies, to assist them to carry out research works and to organize different training for its implementation in classroom teaching'. She added that whatever is written on campus bylaw the administration and campus management committee do not have a positive attitude towards it. As different provisions are provisioned in campus bylaw but there lacks in reality. They show the economic crisis and deny to do the decision in favor of the teachers. The state and stakeholders also have discriminatory attitudes toward public campuses and their faculties. Support of campus management is crucial for promoting teacher development and high-quality education. If faculty members are empowered

they will be able to play their social and technical roles more efficiently. But in the practice of public campuses; we don't find good practice for TPD. In this regard respondent, 'MJ' has a bitter experience with it and he said that 'It has been four or five years waiting for study leave but the campus has not given any attention towards it. I'm worried about whether the job will be continued or not when I go to study.' Eight months have passed since I applied for my Ph.D. study leave, but no decision has been made yet. Teacher professional development is not only the entity of a teacher but also the matter of institutions. TPD helps the improvement of the performance of the campus as a whole, that is, to make it more successful, attract more students, and achieve better learning outcomes (Richards & Farrell, 2005). But we don't find a positive environment for TPD in public campuses in Nepal. My respondent 'MJ' has expressed his grief ' Campus commitments have not been implemented in practice. Some people who are close to the administration have been helped, but other teachers have not been motivated'. Campus commitments have not been implemented in practice. Some teachers who are close to the administration have been helped, but other teachers have not been motivated for TPD and their further study. My respondent 'MM' said 'नटेक्नेहाँगोछनसमाउनेडालोछ' It means 'there is neither a branch to stand on nor a branch to hold.' It shows the bitter truth towards TPD and further study of the faculty members of the public campus. Teachers expect it to be demand based in practice not only in policy (Pokhrel, & Behera, 2016). Even though various provisions are made at public campuses for their teachers using regular activities, research opportunities, study leave and various projects, etc. (Shrestha, 2012). But such facilities have not been implemented in real situations they are demotivated for TPD.

As I believe through my experience of teaching at public campuses that teachers' professional development is either advancement of teachers in the field of teaching or improving teachers professionally, academically, and technically. In the same way, my respondents took TPD as a process of enabling teachers to move with changes in science and technology, and as a new way of acquiring new methods of teaching. They perceived it as academic advancement as well as development in the profession. In their opinion, they assured that TAD enables teachers to become professionals, to realize their potential as teachers, to move with changes in science and technology, and enables them to serve students better by improving the standard of teaching (Powell, & Bodur, 2019). I also further believe that in the process of improving themselves they also gain confidence and self-esteem.

Conclusion

Teachers' professional development for faculty members of public campuses is necessary for updating according to modern time and technology. Only TPD is such an aspect that encourages the teachers to do many types of research in the academic fields. It provides essential support for the teachers in the public campuses to revise and bring up to date their knowledge and teaching skills as well as assessment skills. It also helps teachers be motivated and perform better than before. The finding of the study showed that the TPD activities of the teachers of public Campuses are not satisfactory. The concerned stakeholders of public campuses neglected the necessity of TPD for their faculty members even though many provisions are provisioned on the campus by law. They are demotivated towards their professional development because they are not getting any instinctive and opportunities for their career advancement. I believe that teachers are the best leaders of society, institutions, and classes for this special characteristic. They required professional development to develop various skills of leadership development and coordinating skills from its activities.

As my perception; my respondents perceived TPD as an important activity because it improves the teacher professionally, academically, and technically. This study found that the teachers of public campuses perceive TPD as an essential part of their career enhancement. They have been trying to practice the activities of TPD during involvement in teaching and learning on campus. There is inadequate support and motivation for TPD. They believed that TPD helps them to achieve high standards of teaching and keep them updated. It allows them to react appropriately to the challenges brought about by advancements in science and technology, and to get promoted to higher ranks in their career.

The provisions made for teachers to develop their professionalism by public campuses are only limited in the paper and into the formal commitment. The reason for the absence of such opportunities is because of the great financial problem of the sustainability of campuses and attitude towards TPD. They are improving some prompts and trying to focus on the implementation of their provisions which helps to grow teacher professionalism and quality education. But, stakeholders are being either disturbed or worried by unnecessary political influences that need to be taken into consideration by educational authorities and different level governments. The CMC and administration are not very responsible and active in implementing their policies and provisions in reality. CMC of public campuses must be thoughtful to address the minimum provisions provisioned in their campus bylaw. They must provide moral and economical support to their teachers to transform their professional inputs into their classroom as per the commitment exposed through legal provisions. Campus administration, Campus Management Committee, Public campus Teacher Association, Public Campus Association, RMC, and concerned authority must be oriented for the

specific, planned, and scheduled TPD activities through prior acceptance and cooperation. Each public campus must prepare a comprehensive master plan for TPD including policies, strategies, and implementation mechanisms taking into consideration the challenges and possibilities. We can then expect that this initiative can help to improve quality of education in Nepal.

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Contribution of Foreign Direct Investment in Nepal

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the foreign direct investment status and environment in Nepal. There is significant contribution of foreign investment in economic development of developing countries like Nepal. Foreign investment attraction in a country like Nepal increases the foreign capital and technology transfer. Since 1990s inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) has been increasing in Nepal due to the adoption of liberal economic policy by the government of Nepal. The Foreign Investment Technology Transfer Act (FITTA) has made better foreign investment environment in Nepal. This paper examines and analyses the contribution of FDI in Nepal. For the analysis, simple linear regression model has been applied to measure the impact of FDI on GDP and employment. Because FDI inflow has been recorded after 1990s, the impact of FDI has been analyzed in this paper over the period of 1990/91-2018/19. This study finds a positive impact of FDI on GDP and other macro variables.

Keywords: FDI, foreign investment, economic development, import substitution and multinational companies.

Introduction

Nepal had entered into industrial journey with the Indian capital and management after 1936 BS. The Company Act, 1936 BS, largely encouraged the people to invest their saving in industries. This law provided the facility of importing machines and essential raw materials from foreign countries free of custom duty. It also protected the foreign investment and created a congenial atmosphere for industrialists. As a consequence of this Act, a good number of industrialists had been attracted towards industrial development of Nepal.

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The emphasis on foreign investment was given since the Sixth Plan (1980-1985). Favorable rules and regulations and attractive incentives had been arranged for the foreign investors since 1981. To stimulate and forward overall economic development of the country, Government of Nepal had decided to accept the foreign investment as the major components of economic instruments. For the attraction of foreign direct investment in Nepal, the Foreign Investment and Technology Transfer Act 1992 was enacted. The objective of that Act was to promote foreign investment and technology transfer making the economy viable, dynamic and competitive through the optimum mobilization of capital, human and natural resources (MoF, 1992).

The policy reforms had become one of the important issues of economic development. After the middle of the seventies, there had been remarkable changes in trade reform in the most of developing countries in terms of import substitution strategy to an outward export oriented approach. The globalization of the world economy had changed the economic landscape. Multinational companies had played a key role in this transformation and created international production and distribution networks in the world. The relationship between economic openness and economic growth in developing countries had been a topical issue in a large number of empirical studies. The economic liberalization process had been expected to expand not only trade but also foreign direct investment. Causros et. al.(2001)had tested existence and nature of causal relationship between output level, inward FDI and trade of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico from the middle seventies to 1997. They had analyzed the extent and sources of international linkages between openness and economic performance in these developing countries, and found a significant impact of FDI on economic growth and trade. The literature of FDI, trade and economic growth generally points to a positive trade and FDI growth relationship. Theoretically, the economic growth might induce FDI inflow, and trade and FDI might also stimulate economic growth. There had been a significant contribution of industrial sectors in the economy. One of the major components of industrialization of a country was the foreign direct investment and it is the same in the present time. In the context of developing countries like Nepal, there has been a significant contribution of FDI to GDP and other variables.

Literature Review

Foreign direct investment is one of the major instruments for industrialization of a host country. FDI has a significant contribution to a host country's economy. Foreign direct investment can facilitate economic growth through direct and indirect channels (Blomstrom et al, 2000; Enderwick, 2005).FDI promotes growth through the generation of productivity spillovers. Furthermore, foreign investors can contribute to economic growth because they tend to be more productive than local firms.

Caves (1996) conducted an empirical assessment of the role of FDI on the host country's export performance. This research was important because exports had been for long viewed as an engine for economic growth. There was a widely shared view that FDI promoted exports of host countries by augmenting domestic capital for exports, helping transfer of technology and new products for exports, facilitating access to new and large foreign markets and providing training for the local workforce and upgrading technical and management skills.

The benefits from FDI rely on the technical capability of a host country's firms. It is argued that the reason behind it is that FDI contributes to economic growth only when a sufficient absorptive capability of the advanced technology is available in the host economy(Blomstrom&Kokko, 2000). The beneficial impact of FDI is enhanced in an environment characterized by an open trade and investment regime and macroeconomic stability. In this environment, FDI can play a key role in improving the capacity of the host country to respond to the opportunities offered by global economic integration (OECD, 1998).

Sheikh & Sheikh (2012) presented an empirical link between FID and economic growth in Pakistan in presence of the total trade of Pakistan with the rest of the world for 30 years during 1980-2009. Their studies suggested a weak but significant and negative association between FDI and economic growth in Pakistan whereas the trade impact on GDP growth was positive and significant.

Many researchers have found trade and productivity linkages by using sectoral or firm level data. Lee (1960) found that trade protection reduced both labour and factor productivity by using industry level data for the Republic of Korea. Soto (2000) remarked that FDI contributed positively to growth through the accumulation of capital and transfer of technology. The empirical results traced a strong long-run equilibrium relationship between GDP growth rates and the explanatory variables with unidirectional causal flows. The volume of FDI and level of capital formation were found to have significant positive effect on changes in real GDP.

Adhikary (2011) pointed that the degree of trade openness unleashed negative but diminishing influence on GDP growth rates in Bangladesh. Jayachandran & Seilan (2010) investigated the relationship between trade, FDI and economic growth for India over the period 1970-2007. Their studies suggested that economic growth, trade and FDI appeared to have been mutually reinforcing under the open-door policy. Many studies suggested that growth of imports results in growth of FDI inflows. In turn, growth of FDI causes growth of exports. Then the growth of exports further leads to the growth of imports. Hence, the synergy between the three variables is observed in the economy. There has not been conducted a comprehensive research study towards the

linkages between trade and foreign direct investment and probable channels establishments.

The view of the diverse findings by many studies as well as the apparent weak linkages observed in the Nepalese context, a closer examination of linkages between trade and investment is critically important.

Research Questions

Foreign investors in their efforts to secure profitability look carefully the macro-economic conditions such as strong and stable economic indicators, relatively developed capital markets, fiscal and tax policies with favorable price stability, open market regimes etc. Many economic and non-economic parameters are responsible for attracting foreign direct investment of a host country. In the context of Nepal, the foreign direct investment environment has been disturbed by weak information base and absence of effective monitoring mechanism. There is not sufficient information on actual inflow of foreign direct investment into the country. There has not been a comprehensive research study to assess the contribution of foreign direct investment in the economy. This paper has tried to find answers to the following research questions:

- i. What is foreign direct investment environment in Nepal?
- ii. What is the contribution of FDI in Nepal?

Research Objectives

The general objective of the study is to analyze the foreign investment situation of Nepal. The specific objectives of this research are as follows:

- i. To discuss the foreign direct investment climate in Nepal.
- ii. To examine the impact of FDI on GDP and employment of Nepal.

Methods and Materials

The paper is primarily based on secondary sources of data which have been collected from published documents by various government and non-government organizations such as Economic Survey published by Ministry of Finance, Department of Industry and statistical year book and other reports published by Central Bureau of Statistics and quarterly economic bulletins published by Nepal Rastra Bank. This study covers the study period between 1990/91 to 2018/19. The published as well as unpublished relevant literature has been used to review the linkages of FDI on economic variables.

The present paper is descriptive and analytical in nature. For this, different tables and examples have been presented as necessary. Similarly, simple linear regression model has been applied to measure the impact of FDI on GDP and employment of Nepal.

Discussion and Results

Environment for FDI in Nepal

As per the various global reports, Nepal is improving the investment environment to attract more inflows of foreign direct investment. Among 190 economies, Nepal slid five places in the World Bank's Doing Business Index, landing at 110th position in 2018 from 105th position in 2017(Doing Business 2019).Nepal, with its free market policy, is open to foreign direct investments (FDIs) and has been developing an institutional and legal framework to attract FDIs since 1980s. Having advantages like a favorable demographic structure, cheap labour force, strategically beneficial geographical location, comparatively low tax and improving business indicators, Nepal has potential to be appropriate investment hub for small as well large scale investors.

In order to encourage more quality FDI, the government of Nepal has introduced some Acts, including the Public-Private Partnership and Investment Act (PPPIA)-2019, Foreign Investment and Technology Transfer Act (FITTA), 2019 and Special Economic Zone Act. The PPPIA provides one-stop service for any foreign investment of more than Rs. 6 billion or a hydropower project over 200 Mw capacity. The smooth and effective implementation of this Act enforces the government to reform, empower and improve the human resources of the bureaucracy and make them investment friendly. Similarly, FITTA ensures national treatment for any foreign investment and the incorporation of an automatic route system which makes the FDI related processes simple and practical to the provisions. FITTA specifies that the multinational companies (MNCs) can hire other firms only to produce accessories and supporting goods, but not to produce finished goods. Presently, many foreign investment firms are hiring contract manufacturers to produce finished goods for them. This provision has given the multinational companies a comparative advantage including cheap labour which lowers the production cost. While FITTA allows the Investment Board to issue production licenses for hydropower projects with a capacity above 200 Mw, the Ministry of Energy will issue licenses for hydropower projects regardless of their production capacities as per Electricity Act.

Till the date, Nepal has conducted three investment summits in the past, first summit was in 1992, the second summit was in 2017 and third summit was held in March 2019. Nearly 77 projects that the government had showcased for investment in the 2019 summit, only 17 applications for the projects were filed. For these commitments to become reality, the government needs to do regular follow ups.

Currently, the investors are keeping close watch on what steps the government will take in providing investment security and removing the administrative bottlenecks. Foreign direct investment involves a long-term commitment to a business endeavor in a foreign country. The management of foreign investment needs to be satisfied with the principal requirements of a successful investment such as sustainable profitability and acceptable ratios of risk and profitability. Foreign investors in their efforts to secure profitability watch carefully the macroeconomic situations such as strong and stable economic indicators, open markets regimes, etc.

For the attracting more foreign direct investment and making production competitive, it is urgent that government should bring down the cost of doing business since the production cost in Nepal is one of the highest in South Asia. The investors expect profit opportunities. For improving the foreign investment environment, government of Nepal needs to focus forcefully on creating a much more investment friendly environment which will facilitate higher and more sustainable growth in GDP.

Pattern of Foreign Direct Investment in Nepal

The inflow of foreign direct investment of Nepal increases while the country has adopted the open economic policies. The open liberal economic policy has attracted the foreign investors. There has been significant progress in FDI after 1990s. There were altogether 4,696 FDI projects uptomid-March 2018/19 with foreign collaboration approved so far. Many of these projects involved service and tourism as well as manufacturing industries. Among 4,696 projects, the foreign investment was Rs.279883.00 million which covered approximately 8.10 percent of GDP in 2018/19. Till the date mid-March 2018/19, 2 lakh 51 thousand 4 hundred and 84 people had been employed in these projects. The growth of FDI showed variability at different fiscal years. The foreign direct investment of Nepal from 1990/91 to 2018/19 has been shown in Appendix-I.

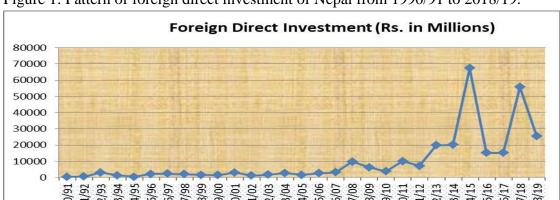
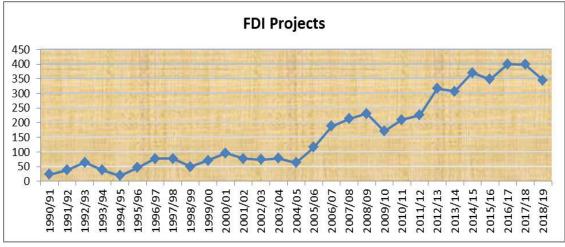


Figure 1: Pattern of foreign direct investment of Nepal from 1990/91 to 2018/19.

Source: Appendix-I.

It is evident from the Figure-1 that total investment under joint ventures has been added every year. The highest FDI was Rs.67455 million in 2014/15 and starting FDI was just Rs.406.28 million in 1990/91.

Figure 2: Foreign direct investment projects of Nepal from 1990/91 to 2018/19.



Source: Appendix-I

Figure-2 depicts the FDI projects from 1990/91 to 2018/19. During the study periods, there were all together 4,733 projects in Nepal. There has been increasing trend of FDI projects in the study period.

Table 1Sector wise classification of FDI projects

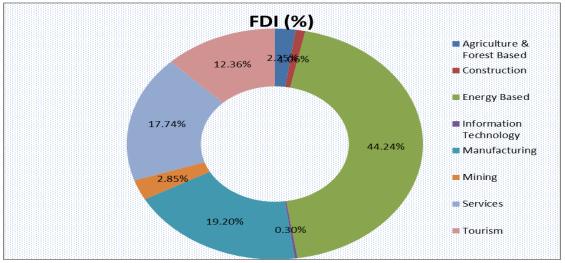
Classification	No. of Projects	FDI (Rs. in million)	Employment	
Agriculture & Forest Based	275	6287.0	9916	
Construction	46	2983.0	3226	
Energy Based	81	123823.0	11595	
Information Technology	50	850.0	1808	
Manufacturing	1156	53745.0	101016	
Mining	72	7981.0	8786	
Services	1575	49660.0	64487	
Tourism	1441	34555.0	50650	
Total	4,696	279883.0	2,51,484	

Source: Economic Survey 2018/19.

Table-1 depicts the foreign direct investment on the basis of classification upto mid-March 2018/19. In analyzing the foreign direct investment by classification, the largest number has been registered in service-based industries where there were 1,575 and the lowest number has been registered in construction industries. The manufacturing industries have contributed the largest number of employment opportunities whereas

information technology based industries generated the least number of employment opportunities in Nepal. The foreign direct investment on the basis of classification has been shown in the Figure-3:

Figure 3: Classification of FDI projects



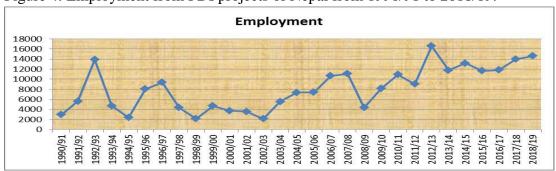
Source: Table-3.

Figure-3 depicts the foreign direct investment on the basis of sector-wise classification where the highest percentage was invested in energy based projects which covered more than 44 percent and the lowest investment was on information technology projects where there was just 0.3 percent investment among the classified.

Similarly, on the basis of country-wise, Chinese industries had occupied the largest share in both the project numbers and investment amount with 31.1 percent and 39.88 percent respectively. Indian industries had been 16.4 percent and 33.4 percent respectively.

Contribution of FDI on Employment

In principle, FDI increases employment opportunities in the host country. There has been a significant contribution of FDI to employment of Nepal. The employment generation from FDI projects from 1990/91 to 2018/19 is shown in Appendix-I. Figure 4: Employment from FDI projects of Nepal from 1990/91 to 2018/19.



Source: Appendix-I.

Figure-4 depicts employment generation from FDI projects from 1990/91 to 2018/19. The highest number of employment was 16,569 which generated in 2012/13 whereas the lowest employment was 2,144 in 2002/03.

Table 2Regression between FDI and employment

Model	odel R R Square Ad				justed R Std. Error of the		Change Statistics					
			Squ	are	Estima	te		quare ange	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.620a	.385	.362		3399.2	810754	.385		16.888	1	27	.000
Coeffic	ients ^a											
Model				Unstandardized Coefficie			ents Standardized Coefficients			t	Sig.	
				В		Std. Error		Beta				
1(Constant)				6476.	363	747.951					8.659	.000
Foreign Direct Investment			.166		.040		.620		4.109	.000		

b. Predictors: (Constant), Foreign Direct Investment

Source: Calculated by Author based on Appendix-I

There is mostly positive relationship between FDI and employment generation. There is very low positive relationship between FDI and employment. The data of FDI and employment during 1990/91-2018/19 were analyzed by using linear regression model, FDI as independent variable and employment as dependent variable. The regression was found a nominal fit ($R^2=0.385$), and p<.05. The overall model is statistically significant (Table-2).

Contribution of FDI on GDP

There is significant contribution of FDI on GDP. The overall model is statistically significant ($R^2 = 0.556$, p< 0.05). Similarly, R-square value states that 55.60 % change in GDP is due to independent variable FDI. A change in FDI moderately improved the position of GDP. The finding of the regression analysis between FDI and GDP indicates that FDI is a significant predictor of GDP (Table-3).

Table 3Regression between FDI and GDP

Mode					T		1					
Model	R	R Squ	are Adjusted	R Squar	eStd. Error of	the Estimate	Change	Statistics				
							R Squa	re Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F
												Change
1	.746a	.556	.540		641380.737	10	.556		33.850	1	27	.000
a. Prec	lictors	: (Cons	tant), FDI		•				•			
Coeffi	cients	a										
Model			Unstandardize	d Coeffi	cients			Standardia	zed Coefficie	entst	5	Sig.
			В			Std. Error		Beta				
1	(Co	nstant)	574195.682			141124.411				4.0	069.	000
	FD	I	44.337			7.621		.746		5.	818.	000
a. Dep	enden	t Varial	ole: GDP			1						

Source: Calculated by Authors based on Appendix-I

There is positive correlation of FDI on GDP and employment in Nepal during the study period. On both variables, there were moderate correlations.

Table 4Correlations of FDI, GDP and Employment

Correlations							
		Employment	GDP	FDI			
Employment	Pearson Correlation	1	.715**	.620**			
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000			
	N	29	29	29			
GDP	Pearson Correlation	.715**	1	.746**			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000			
	N	29	29	29			
FDI	Pearson Correlation	.620**	.746**	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000				
	N	29	29	29			
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).							

Source: Calculated by Authors based on Appendix-I

Table-4 depicts that there has been positive relationship of FDI on GDP and employment. It is statistically significant to have the positive relation of foreign direct investment on GDP and employment. It signifies that an increase in FDI results in positive impact on GDP and employment of Nepal.

Conclusions

The foreign direct investment environment was moderate in the context of Nepal. There had to be significant improvement in the policy matters for greater attraction of

foreign investors in Nepal. The contribution of foreign direct investment in Nepalese economy seemed to be remarkable. Analyzing the relations of foreign direct investment, there was positive relationship between FDI and GDP and Employment. Nepal needed strategies to become selective in its efforts to bring FDI successfully. FDI environment in Nepal was also disturbed by weak information base and the absence of effective monitoring system.

Despite the liberal economic policy and attractive incentives provided by the government, overall scenery of foreign direct investment was not encouraging. The pattern and trends of FDI suggested that liberal economic policy framework was no longer adequate to attract foreign investment. Even today, the business environment for foreign investors is not comfortable and friendly in comparison to neighborhood countries. Besides that, there is neither any information on actual inflow of FDI into the country, nor any comprehensive research done to examine the actual impact of FDI on the overall economy. Hence, it is a high time to conduct an in-depth study for evaluating the impact of FDI and its contribution to the GDP and employment as well as mobilization of revenue, promotion of export and development of entrepreneurship among others.

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Appendix

Appendix-I: FDI Projects, FDI, GDP and Employment from 1990/91 to 2018/19. (Rs. in Million)

Year	FDI	FDI (Rs. in Billion)	Gross Domestic Product	Employment	
	Projects		(GDP)		
1990/91	23	406.28	120370.27	2974	
1991/92	38	597.84	149487.14	5615	
1992/93	64	3083.67	171473.89	13873	
1993/94	38	1378.76	199272.00	4734	
1994/95	19	477.59	219175.00	2386	
1995/96	47	2219.86	248913.00	8032	
1996/97	77	2395.54	280513.00	9347	
1997/98	77	2000.28	300845.00	4336	
1998/99	50	1666.42	342036.00	2146	
1999/00	71	1417.61	379488.00	4703	
2000/01	96	3102.56	441519.01	3731	
2001/02	77	1209.65	459442.81	3572	
2002/03	74	1793.77	492231.28	2144	
2003/04	78	2764.80	536748.44	5559	
2004/05	63	1635.77	589411.55	7358	
2005/06	116	2606.31	654084.00	7389	
2006/07	188	3226.79	727827.00	10677	
2007/08	213	9811.00	815658.00	11068	
2008/09	231	6245.09	988053.00	4368	
2009/10	171	3746.98	1192774.00	8116	
2010/11	210	10053.00	1366954.00	10902	
2011/12	226	7138.00	1527344.00	9035	
2012/13	317	19819.00	1695011.00	16569	
2013/14	307	20132.00	1964540.00	11790	
2014/15	370	67455.00	2130150.00	13167	
2015/16	348	15254.00	2253163.00	11663	
2016/17	400	15206.00	2674493.00	11842	
2017/18	399	55760.00	3044930.00	13940	
2018/19	345	25484.00	3458790.00	14594	

Source: Various Economic Surveys (1992/93-2018/19) from Department of Industries (DOI), 2018/19), Kathmandu.

Cultural Crisis of Caste Renouncer: A Study of Dasnami Sanyasi Identity in Nepal

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Abstract

Jat NasodhanuJogikois a famous mocking proverb to denote the caste status of Sanyasi because the renouncer has given up traditional caste rituals set by socio-cultural institutions. In other cultural terms, being Sanyasi means having dissociation himself/herself with whatever caste career or caste-based social rank one might imagine. To explore the philosophical foundation of Sanyasi, they sacrificed caste rituals and fire (symbol of power, desire, and creation). By the virtues of sacrifice, Sanyasi set images of universalism, higher than caste order, and otherworldly being. Therefore, one should not ask the renouncer caste identity. Traditionally, Sanyasi lived in Akhada or Matha, and leadership, including ownership of the Matha transformed from Guru to Chela. On the contrary, DasnamiMahanta started marital and private life, which is paradoxical to the philosophy of Sanyasi. Very few of them are living in Matha, but the ownership of the property of Mathatransformed from father to son. The land and property of many Mathas transformed from religious Guthi to private property. In terms of cultural practices, DasnamiSanyasi adopted high caste culture and rituals in their everyday life. Old Muluki Ain 1854 ranked them under Tagadhari, although they did notassert twice-born caste in Nepal. Central Bureau of Statistics, including other government institutions of Nepal, listed Dasnamiunder the line of Chhetri and Thakuri. The main objective of the paper is to explore the transformation of Dasnami institutional characteristics and status from caste renunciation identity to caste rejoinder and from images of monasticism, celibacy, universalism, otherworldly orientation to marital, individualistic lay life. Both philosophical orientation and behaviors are transformed. Who are the Dasnami Sanyasi? Why did the Dasnami Sanyasis campaign for the identity? How has the Dasnami Sanyasi been changing? Based on key informant interviews, observations in different Dasnami Sanyasi communities, their historical institutions, and self-reflection as a member of Dasnami Sanyasiare methods of data collection.

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Keywords: Dasnami Sanyasi, caste identity, transformation, renunciation, culture

Introduction

First, I never thought that Sanyasi was a category out of the caste system because I was nurtured in my community as high caste Brahmin and Chhetri. When Brahmin friends in the village had done initiation ritual, I came to know that Sanyasis were out of the rings of high caste systems. Initiation and death rituals of the Sanyasi, and Brahmin-Chhetri were observable differences in the village. Some Sanyasi groups felt awkward caste status and they tried to equalize themselves as Chhetri. According to my father, some school-educated Sanyasi started to wear sacred threads without initiation during the *Panchayat* era and abandoned after the revival of democracy in 1990. Their logic of wearing holy threads was that anybody could identify their caste status when they moved out of the village. One of the sacred threads wearers told me that when he was out of district for higher education, the host family demanded his holy thread. He added that there were no hotels and lodges on foot trail from Pyuthan to Dang and Butawal. The traveler had to request nearby shelter the village in the evening. The host villagers doubted the caste/ethnic status of the guest because so-called untouchables were not allowed to enter their home. The easy way to identify caste status was checking the sacred thread of Aryan-looking guests. Ethnic communities, in many cases, were identified by their face, language, and dress. Aryan-looking people without sacred thread were doubted of being untouchables. One of the educated men about 73 years old told a story of behaving like untouchable and humiliated night when he traveled from Pyuthan to Butwal. The family and other villagers asked to show sacred threads, but he did not have it. He tried to convince them but he was failed. The host family did not allow him to enter their home. The host served food and straw-mat out of the door. He realized highest degree of humiliation. The next day, he left the host family early morning without saying goodbye. When he returned own village, he requested his Brahmin to make a set of holy threads for every year. He used to wear it when he traveled out of the town until 1990. After 1990, none of the Sanyasis wear sacred thread and initiation ritual in my village.

Second, I was called to participate in Nepal *Dasnami Sanyasi* particular program in 2011 at Baneshor-Kathmandu. The program was just before the National Population Census program. The objective of the Nepal *Dasnami* was to orient their own communities to record they were *Dasnami Sanyasi*. Rabindra P. Giri, the chairperson of the Nepal *Dasnami Sanyasi*, announced,"Do not hesitate to call yourselves *Dasnami*, do not tell enumerators that your caste is Chhetri." I asked that why the issue of writing *Dasnami* was important. He said to me that many of *Dasnami* recorded under the caste of Chhetri. He added that the *Dasnami* should come out of the category of Chhetri. He

indicated that both *Dasnami* and enumerators of survey were confused to put a given type of castes in the survey form. Some of the *Dasnamis* hesitate to name them *Sanyasi* instead they preferred Chhetri. For enumerators, some sure names were confusing, and they included that category into Chhetri caste. Rabindra's identity initiative boggled my mind to explore the historical categorization and treatment of *Dasnami* communities in Nepal.

Much has been written about sanyasi or sanyasis as ascetics, but little has been written about their transformation into a caste and politics of caste identity. In assessing the emergence of renunciatory ideologies and ways of life, scholars have been generally divided into two camps; some see it as a natural or, to use Heesterman's term, an orthogenetic development of the Vedic tradition (Heesterman, 1964), while others regard it as a new phenomenon that challenged and transformed the central premises of sacrificial theology of caste (Dumont, 1960, 1980). The etymological meaning of the Sanyasi who quit (Teyag) the social world (sacrificial theology) pursues Sanyas Ashram out of four Ashrams of the Varnashram system (four stages of life) of Hindu religious text (Clark, 2006). It was argued that the renouncer did not leave society, for he subsisted alms and preached to householders (Dumont, 1980; Clark, 2006). However, I am talking about Gharbare Sanyasi, who has been indulging in marital and family life as laypeople. I start some cases of transformation of property, and clan from Guru-Chela to father-son, and stories of *Dasnami Sanyasi*'s caste characteristics. The Dasnami Sanyasi institutions were culturally created, and there was no biologicalgenealogical derivation of power and property of the institutions. They sacrificed marriage-family, clan, and personal property for the sake of Vedic intelligent life. On the contrary, Dasnami Sanyasi Mathas established for the institutional development of meditations, and religious purpose was privatized into the family property. They were communal property, and the state registered them under the *Guthi* land system. The classical tradition of meditation and sacrificial life was changed. The owner of such Mathas has a marital family and children. It was long ago they transformed from celibate Sanyasi to Gharbare. Their authority and ownership of Mathas handed down from father to sons. Recently Gharbare Sanyasi started collective initiatives of caste (sect) identity at local and national levels in Nepal. In the last section of the article, I analyzed their moves from non-caste to caste-like community with theories of cultural identity and Sanskritization (Srinivas, 1996). The interface between the caste system and Hinduism has for long been mediated by a process subsumed under the concept of Sanskritization by M.N. Srinivas. He defined the concept as:

...the process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the customs, ritual, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a 'twice-born' caste.

The Sanskritization of a group has usually the effect of improving its position in the caste hierarchy (1996:77).

The concept of Sanskritization has been contested on empirical and theoretical grounds. Nevertheless, the general significance of the logic of Sanskritization as a cultural process for both the caste and Hindu groups can hardly be denied. Similarly, William Fisher (2001) and Arjun Guneratne (2002) argued that culture and identity are reproduced in the context of the social networks, families, and villages within which individuals are raised and reside. Moreover, they argued that traditional cultural raw materials of the group are purposefully used to create mass identity by the elites (Fisher, 2001; Guneratne, 2002). These theoretical concepts are helpful to analyze transformation of the *Dasnami Sanyasi* culture and identity.

Being a member of the Sanyasi family, I have peculiar personal experiences and socialization. A descriptive research design has been employed. This article is based on both primary information and a review of secondary documents. I have gone through published documents about the origin and transformations of Dasnami Sanyasi of South Asia. Key informant interviews*, transect walk, genealogical study, and observation methods were employed to collect information. I have participated series of annual conferences and meeting of the Samaj. Besidesthat, my socialization in Tushara-Pyuthan and occasional meetings with Nepal Dasnami Samaj are the primary sources of data, and books and academic articles are used as secondary sources. The main objective of the paper is to explore why and how Dasnami culture (renunciation, celibacy and collective property) and identity changed over time. Besides documentation of their cultural values, the paper tried to unravel formation of new caste: Dasnami in Nepal. The first part of the article deals with the origin and philosophical concept of *Dasnami Sanyasi*, and its legal status. The second part deals with the institutional development of Nepal Dasnami Samaj, and the last part is about local experiences of being Sanyasi.

Origin of Dasnami Sanyasi

The classical meaning of *Dasnami Sanyasi*, refers to someone who belongs or inters (a surname being bestowed by an initiating Guru) one of ten names †who abandons 'worldly life, lineage, and caste responsibility. The surnames of *Dasnami* indicates that they belonged to one of the ten ascetic orders (*Dasnami*) allegedly

^{*} Executive bodies of Nepal Dasnami Sanyasi, District committee members, old people of Dasnami communities are selected as key informant because they have knowledge of classical Dasnami cultural history and some of them engaged on collective identity campaigns.

[†] The ten names are: Giri (hill), Puri (town), Bharati (learning), Ban (forest), Parbat (mountain), Aranya (wilderness), Sagar (ocean), Tirtha (pilgrimage place), Asram (hermitage), and Saraswati (knowledge).

instituted by Shankaracharya, at the same time, the title Gosain was mostly reserved for returnee into *Gharbare Sanyasi* or progenies of *Gharbare Dasnami Sanyasi* (Pinch, 2006, pp. 37). Being *Sanyasi* is a metamorphosis of a person from caste order to noncaste or above the caste principles. The surnames were bestowed based on their preference for dwelling. The *Sanyasi* was a religious identity and initiated into a parallel socio-cultural world with its hierarchy and behaviors. *Dasnami Sanyasi*, one of the largest renunciate sects in South Asia, had potential access to an extensive network of *Mathas* and Ashrams for their food and shelter.

According to religious philosophy, Aadi Sankaracharya* founded and organized *Dasnami-Sanyasi* to revive literary- religious campaigns against varieties of opponents, including sacrificial theology followed by householders Brahmin. Four very famous *Mathas* (known as Pithas) under the authority of four disciples, in the west, east, north, and south of India at, respectively: Dwaraka, in Gujrat; Jagannathpuri, in Orissa; Jyosimath, near Badrinath in Uttaranchal; and Kanchipuram in Tamilnadu, were established. It was believed that *Dasnami* order was the first Brahmanical order of ascetics founded by the Sankara. There were several comments and claims for and against the argument (Potter, 1981).

The Brahmanical tradition of the image of the individualized, male *Sanyasi* has been remarkably influential on a general understanding of the dynamics of *DasnamiSanyasi*. This image nevertheless detracts from the significance of *Gharbare Sanyasi*, who indulged personal property, family, and political campaigns within the framework of a caste/ethnic community. According to the *Dharmashastras* and *Sanyasa Upanisad* texts (Olivelle, 1992), renunciates maintain celibacy and undertake austerities of some kind or other to purify the mind and body, to 'realize God' or obtain liberation-in its ontological core. It was described that alone Brahmanical ascetic was wandering from one Brahman household to another.

Books on Vedanta published in India, there was a considerable likelihood of seeing a picture of one of the Sankaracharya portrayed as a living representative of the ancient Brahmanical practice of *Sanyasi* (Isayeva, 1993). The Sanskrit term *Sanyasa* originated as a specific reference to the 'throwing down' or abandoning of the ritual implements used by Brahmans for their daily Vedic ritual, the adoption of an ascetic way of life, and the renunciation of social obligations or ritual duties in pursuit of 'Knowledge'. The term *Sanyasa* ('renunciation') rarely occurs in the Veda and Brahmanas, and only appears once in the classical *Upanisads*, in the *Mundaka Upanisad* (3.2.6: liberation through "sanyasa yoga") (Clark, 2006: 4 Pp). From the

^{*} This Sankara, (between 788 to 820 CE) is also referred to as Adi (original) Sankara, to distinguish him from subsequent Sankaracharyas.

perspective of Yogi, the key objective was the victory over death that was the essence of the universal definition of religion. All living creatures face the problem of death. Religion is to find a way through death, to cheat its temporal finality, and to conquer it thereby. Moreover, the pragmatic definition of *Sanyasi* is given by Bhagwan Byasa. He notes:

द्रब्यत्यागे तु कर्माणि भोगत्यागे ब्रतानि च । सँगत्यागे तु सँन्यास सर्वत्यागे समापना ॥

Vedic Karmas aim at giving away one's possession (money), Bratas austerities aim at the abandonment of enjoyment, Sanyasa aims at giving up the two ties of man, 'I and mine'; the end is the abandonment of all that is not *Aatma*. The Karma theory aims at abandonment whose final aim is realization of Aatma. Vedas have sanctioned Sanyasa.

The Shankaracharyas identified themselves with ancient Vedic tradition and four-fold Varna- Ashram systems. The *Asram*a system became fully formulated within the Brahmanical tradition by around the beginning of the Common Era, only incorporating Sanyasa as the 'ideal' fourth Ashram in the final phase of its development (Olivelle 1978:28). The *Sanyasi* conceived in the stereotypical image of the lone Brahmanical renouncer is often supposed, in various ways, to represent an ancient 'individualistic' ascetic tradition receding into India's remote past. In terms of caste identity of ascetics *Sanyasi*, the novice was asked about previous caste status before renunciation. There was a Guru-Chela relation in Ashrams. Lower caste was traditionally not allowed to become *Sanyasi* (Hofer, 1979).Recently, many lower caste *BheshdariSanyasi* found in South Asia. Therefore, caste-based Ashrams and societies were formed among ascetics (Pinch, 2006).

Before talking about the identity and legal status of *DasnamiSanyasi* in Nepal as a renunciate sect, a primary concern is to tackle the prevalent notion of warrior ascetics who played significant roles against imperial rule in India. William R. Pinch (2006) analyzed the political and nationalist movement of ascetics of North India during colonialism. The epistemological challenges he posed were "godman" political indulgence against British and Muslim in the Indian nationalist movement. Colonial administrators also doubted on the purely religious status of the *Sanyasi* because they collectively lived in Ashrams with weapons. Pinch depicted:

The sadhus generally were seen as a potential source of criminal mischief by officials of the Raj is evident in the publication in 1913 of a police handbook in Urdu that described the various religious orders. Sadhus would soon be considered a fount of outright sedition with the emergence of a newer form of resistance to the colonial rule: mass nationalism. The colonial distrust of sadhu can be perceived not only in the early disdain for the Mahatma's political style, but also in the official attitude toward sadhu in north India who gravitated toward

Gandhi in the early 1920s. Such Sadhus were derided in the police fact sheets as "political sadhus." Using the life of a Hindu ascetic who lived at the end of the 18th century, he demonstrates that Hindu warrior Sadhus were not only pervasive in the medieval and early modern Indian past but were also an essential component of the South Asian military labor market and crucial to the fall of British imperialism (Pinch, 2006).

Similarly, Warren Hasting declared a proclamation banning all "Baraugies and Sannasses" from Company Bengal, save for those "fixed inhabitants" who quietly employ themselves in religious functions in 1773 (Pinch, 2006:18). Central to the Hasting's ban, as has been noted, was an Enlightenment conception of religion that allowed no maneuvering room for the freewheeling, death-defying, transgressor ascetics. In North India, at the end of the eighteenth century, Gosain *Sanyasis* were becoming the most politically powerful. *Dasnami* warrior-renouncers confirm this understanding of renunciation; precisely because warrior renouncers stood outside the Brahmanical system, could they thus engage in warfare. They were, like all (ideal-typical) world renouncers, not bound by the overall Brahmanical social hierarchy defined by ritual purity and impurity. And throughout his study, Pinch cites examples of the non-social or extra-societal behavior attributed to world renouncers (Pinch. 2006: pp. 58-61).

The question of being Sanyasi or renunciation is taken up from the perspective of the philosophy of rational choice by Edna Ullmann-Margalit in "Opting: The Case of 'Big' Decision." She puts forward a series of distinctions between types of decision making and suggestions that rational choice theory applies only to 'middle-sized' decision. Large and life-changing decisions, she designates "opting." out that "opting" is similar to "converting" in that both refer to "life-transforming, coreaffecting, largely irrevocable" life events. However, unlike "opting" decisions, in renunciation it is not the case that one believes that one is called upon to make a genuine decision between equally viable alternatives (Ullmann-Margalit, 1985:446). Unlike religious conversion in which the convert views his previous life...as wrong or wicked, renunciation is better understood in terms of "drifting" since it is a way of arriving at either renouncer or caste-like *Sanyasi* without any actual decisions. Being Sanyasi is a big decision, but the decision to return to marital life is made without such choices. Therefore, the formation of householders Dasnami Sanyasi was better understood in terms of 'opting' or even just 'drifting' and not principles of renunciation at all.

All classical *Dasnami* renouncers practiced yoga (spiritual disciplines) to overcome the fear of death (Pinch, 2006: pp. 14-17). World renunciation does not

always conform to Brahmanical purity and control. Located outside the realm of the Brahmanical societal hierarchy, renunciation is a dangerously non-conformist sphere, implying a form of transcendence on earth entailing neither everyday (social) life nor physical death, but a social limbo of living death in which the distinctions between the human and the divine fade away.

William Pinch (2006) does not always consistently draw the full conclusion that renunciation in its most radical form entails a total break from any type of social convention. Pinch refers to "proper world renunciation", which only refers to the Brahmanical version, which stresses vegetarianism, nonviolence, and celibacy (Pinch, 2006, p. 57). Dumont (1980, p. 267-286) proposed a purely dualistic sociological model of "renouncer" versus "man-in-the world" in which the former is a total individual as against the "man-in-the world" who is defined by his inalienable socio-religious roles based on birth and hierarchical status. However, Dumont further argued that the total world renouncer stands in full opposition to the sacred social order which he (or she) renounces, because through renunciation, the renouncer merges—as it were—with the ultimate source of the holy socio-religious and cosmic order and hence becomes a law unto himself. From this solitary sacred perspective, the unconventional behavior of the renouncer becomes intelligible, including joining a military of warrior-sannyasis. Indeed, Dumont does not theorize the sect as a band of renouncers; he instead simply regards the sect as a variant of Brahmanism (Dumont 1980: 284).

It could be argued that after gaining special powers, the *Sanyasi* returns to the social world to use what he has acquired for worldly purposes. This interpretation makes sense of the transformations of *Dasnami Sanyasi* from renouncer to 'man-in-theworld.' Therefore, the *Dasnami Sanyasi* did not abandon the (social hierarchical) world altogether and forever like stereotypical understanding renouncer as a permanent renouncer.

Land Transformation from Dasnami Sanyasi Matha to Private Property

In the sixteenth -seventeenth centuries AD, *Dasnami Sanyasi* are seen as very instrumental in the Kathmandu valley. It observed that the Malla rulers of the valley extensively patronized them and provided enough *Guthi*-land for the maintenance of their monastic institutions (Pandey, 2059 BS). For example, most of the monasteries of the *Dasnami Sanyasi* were built during Rajya PrakashMalla. The *Mathas* of the valley came into (non)-existence of present form after the *Mahanta* became householders. In most cases they had married their female disciples, and started the family-lineages. This fact is found in the family history of *Tuilako Matha* at Lalitpur. When I interviewed a *Gharbare Mahanta* of Lalitpur, he revealed the story of *Tuilako Matha* property transformation. The story is:

A Puri *Mahanta* got married and his progenies got *Guthi*-land of the *Matha*. They registered land in their names and became sole owners like land-lords of the other parts of the state. The eldest son of the *Mahanta* succeeded the father and became the sole owner of Math-lands; however he was obliged to provide land to the tenants, younger brothers who lived as ordinary householder of the society. Shares were even given to the sisters, and the land appropriated to their names was registered in the government revenue office for their permanent ownership.

Ram Niwas Pandey documented the status of *Dasnami Sanyasi Matha* at Lalitpur. He noted that Tuvaha *Matha* of the Puris, now under the ownership of the Kusales of Mangal Bazar, is almost collapsed (Pandey, 2059 BS). The last *Mahanta* of the *Matha*, on finding himself childless, sold the *Matha* to the Kusales of the neighborhood. Since the antiquarian rules of the country do not allow the dismantling of an archaeological building, they have left it in utter neglect to collapse quickly for providing a place for a modern structure. Similarly, Pandey noted that the present *Gharbare-Mahanta* of Bahalukha *Matha*, owing to the fear of loss of the monastery's *Guthi*-land, often denied land transformation history (Pandey, 2059).

This case showed that there was not only the transformation of *Dasnami Mahanta* into *Gharbare Sanyasi* but also the transformation of *Tanami* institutional (*Guthi*) land into private ownership. The main reason of the transformation for both celibate *Mahanta* and institutional land was the change of the cultural value of the society. Religion and traditional cultural practices were highly valued before penetrating global capitalism and profited oriented private property system. Economic value gradually surpassed social and cultural values in many societies around the 18th century (Graeber, 2001). Capitalist economic value not only degraded value of *Dasnami Sanyasi* status in society but also ruptured collective institutions and cultural practices of *Dasnami Sanyasi* in Nepal. Private property and economic behavior of classical *Dasnami Sanyasi* were fundamental paradoxical to capitalism. When private property and sophisticated consumption behaviors were highly valued, the downfall of *Sanyasi* values escalated.

Legal Status of Dasnami Sanyasi in Nepal

In Nepal, there are many householder *Sanyasi* (s) who are recognized in official surveys as being a caste. The term *Sanyasi* is usually understood to refer to a caste rather than a renunciate, the term Jogi-Yogi generally being used to refer to a Sadhu (sometimes a disappearing manner). The old legal code 1854 and its subsequent amendments in 1935 and 1963 were not concerned with the violation of celibacy rules, but with infraction of caste rules of the association. In the codes, *Sanyasi* are generally

referred to either by the Persian term Phakir or as Bhesdhari (a wearer of ascetic's clothes, the fakir and Bhesdhari was the name given by British officers in Bengal) and specifically Sanyasi, Bairagi (refers to ascetics oriented towards Vishnu or one of the avatars Rama or Krishna), Udasi, Jangam and Sevada terms which refer to, respectively, Dasnami, Ramanandi, Udasin (Shik), Virasava, and Jaina orders. The significant difference between Sanyasi and Dasnami was religious orientation. The Hindu ascetics have been known across the centuries by various names. There were Sanyasi in Buddhist, Christian, Shikha, Jain, and Christian religious order. Moreover, there were varieties of Sanyasi within the Hindu religion, but Dasnami Sanyasi Hindu and Shaiva Margi. Ghantakarna (later transformed into Kanphatta) Natha and Yogi (surname) were not Dasnami. Therefore, there was a specification of belongingness and membership in Dasnami. The Government of Nepal treated all Sanyasi within a single category "Sanyasi" (from 1854 to 2010) and "Sanyasi/Dasnami" (from 2011 to at present). The term Jati is used in two senses in the codes, one being caste in general (including the particular caste a renunciate previously belonged to) and the other being the order (such as Sanyasi) that the renunciate belongs to. In the code of 1854, three categories of ascetics are acknowledged: Ramta, those always on pilgrimage who are assumed to be Indian; Mathadharies, who own and live in a monastery; and Gharbaries, married ascetics. All three types of ascetics may initiate disciples, but only *Mathadhri* and Gharbare are subject to punishments prescribed for transgressions under the code. Two chief concern of the legal code are improper initiation (fakir sitaMudinya) and improper sexual relations*. Impure (Untouchable) castes were forbidden to initiate into renunciation. There is also a prohibition on renunciates performing the Bartabandha for householder Sanyasies (Hofer, 1979).

Concerning sexual relations, the code makes no distinction between ascetic order and other Jats in the general hierarchy of castes, no reference being made to the ascetic tradition or ideology of renunciation, which prohibits sexual relations. The code is not concerned with infraction of celibacy rules, but with the infraction of caste rules of the association. In the hierarchy of castes, at the top are Upadhya Brahmans (Pure), under which respectively are, Thakuri and Rajput, then Jaisi, Tagadhari Chhetri, and Indian Brahmans. In sixth place, regardless of renunciate order, are renunciate as mentioned above *Jats ranking* just under *Asali Jaisi*.

^{*} If a girl or a boy who is under 12 years old should be initiated, then the initiator (Gharbari or Mathdhari) is subject to 3 years prison and confiscation of property; initiation of a girl under 16 (married or a widow) results in a year prison; no one may be initiated against their will, initiator will be punished for doing so, under specific circumstances, one force ably initiated may be readmitted to his/her caste with appropriate rites.

Andre Horef (1979) noted that ascetics were classified as inferior "cord-wearers." In the usual enumerations of caste, the ascetics ranked above the lower Jaisi (*Dotiyal Jaisi* and *Jumli Jaisi*), representing the lowest "Cord-wearers." One such enumeration reads as follows:

- 1. Upadhyaya
- 2. Rajput
- 3. Asali Jaisi
- Chhetri
- 5. Dew Bhaju (Newar Brahmins)
- 6. Tirhutiya (Brahmins from the Tarai and North India)
- 7. Bhatt (North Indian Brahmins)
- 8. Other Indian Brahmins
- 9. Dasnam-Jogi-Jangam-*Sanyasi*-Sewada-Bairagi-Kanphatta-Nanak-Udasi-Bagharand all the ascetics (Gairha Bhesdhari)
- 10. Lower Jaisi (tin limgadekhiko jaisi)- Dotiyal Jaisi- Jumli Jaisi
- 11. Non-Enslavable Alcohol Drinker (Hofer. 1979: 107).

The Bhesdhari are considered as quite a high caste and treated as such according to the law. The code specifies that if a Dasnam or other order of ascetics has sexual relation with a woman of a caste higher than him, then, as a member of any other caste of similar rank, he is subject to punishment, the severity of which depends on the number of women violated and the age of the girl. The most severe punishment, of ten years in prison, is for sexual relations with a girl under 11 years old equal to other Tagadhari Chhetri castes. There are also provisions for the punishment of an ascetic who seduces a woman whom he has initiated. The revised penal code of 1935 contains many of the earlier provisions and more restrictive penal, in terms of caste and age concerning eligibility for renunciation; no one less than 13 years old may be initiated. In this code, a husband may kill a *Sanyasi* who seduces his wife, but not if the renunciate is a Brahman (Bouillier, 1978: 149).

There was a very fascinating story of caste ethnic distribution in census collection from 1952-54 to 1991 by CBS. The caste ethnic distribution census report of the country was not published till 1991. After the revival of democracy, caste ethnic composition of the country has been published. In 1991, Brahmins were divided into "Hill Brahmin", and "Tarai Brahmin"; Chhetri, Thakuri, and Rajput (Tarai Chhetri-Thakuri) were separately categorized. Kami, Lohar, and Tamta were also separately written. For the *Sanyasi*, all caste ethnic groups, religious orientations, and regional variations were included in a single category "*Sanyasi*" (CBS, 1991). '*Dasnami*' as an option word of *Sanyasi* was the first included in 2011 (CBS, 2011). It was heard that

there were difficulties for the experts to understand varieties of *Sanyasi*. It does not mean that a single *Sanyasi* category is better at the cost of experts' knowledge. Rabindra Giri (ex-chairperson of Nepal *Dasnami Samaj*) argued that *Sanyasi* is an umbrella term for all sub-sects. He interrogated, "Why authority did not apply *Dasnami*, Ramanandi, Natha, and Satnami separately in the category? There are *Sanyasi* experts who could assist with the problems of classification of "*Sanyasi*" communities. There was still space for the specific categorization in terms of caste ethnic distribution." There was a *Sanyasi* caste within Newar (Kapali, Darsandhari and Jogi) that were excluded from the CBS's" *Sanyasi* / *Dasnami*" group. Besides Hindu, Sikha, Buddhist, Jain, and Christian *Sanyasi** were included in the category of *Sanyasi* / *Dasnami*. Nepal *Dasnami Sanyasi Samaj* was an umbrella organization of only *Dasnami* claimed the rightful descendant of Sankaracharya and the owner of Pashupati. The *Dasnami* and other orders of *Sanyasi* have slightly deviated in terms of religious orientation. For instance, *Kanfatta Sanyasi* and Yogi worship Gorakhnath. Ramanandi worship Ram. *Dasnami* are Shava (Shiva) worshippers. Other *Sanyasi*s were not allowed to use Pashupati premises.

There was no categorical indication of *Dasnami Sanyasi* in New Legal code 1963 and other legal documents of the government till 2015. Social inclusion became political discourse as well as policy plans of the government after 1990. The main reason for the collapse of the first Constituent Assembly was its failure to reach an agreement on the number, boundaries, or names of the new federal states. Brahmin, Chhetri, Thakuri, and Sanyasi were put under the category of "others" in the official documents. In the second Constituent Assembly in 2013 and sitting from January 2014, the balance of power certainly shifted away from both 'ethnic' and 'identity-based' federalism. Maoists acknowledged that they had failed to explain their position on Khas-Arya in federal system, which they believed was the 'main reason' for their setback. It was described how the Bahuns (Brahmans) and Chhetris (Kshatriyas) of Nepal were shaken out of their complacency by—as they saw it—being classier as 'others' and 'denied identity.'Suddenly they became politically assertive as Bahamas and as Chhetris and began to make claims for cultural and political recognition for the first time. Interestingly, there were "Non-Khas" Sanyasi in Sanyasi/Dasnami and their population number was used in the Khas communities. There is also lacuna of Anthropological study of the cultural diversity of the category "Sanyasi/Dasnami." I argue that democracy and ethnic politics in the country develop and escalate the participation of *Dasnami* in the identity campaigns.

^{*}According to the CBS 2001, the sanyasi was divided into different religions: Hindu (197554), Buddhist (707), *Kirati*, (177), Christian (326), Shikha (22), other (341).

Technically, the much smaller Thakuri and Sanyasi (equivalent in status to Chhetri) groups should be included here; for brevity, we refer to 'Bahuns and Chhetris' understood to include smaller aligned groups, just as Nepalis themselves frequently refer to them all as 'Chhetri-Bahun' or 'Bahun-Chhetri, 'David Gellner and Krishna Adhikari pointed out that, though they do indeed come together as a single bloc under certain circumstances, there were significant differences—cultural, political, and historical—between them as well (Adhakari and Gellner, 2012). Their indication was smaller groups lost their identity in the name of Brahmin-Chhetri and opportunities of 'Dasnami/Sanyasi' were relatively less in comparison to Brahmin-Chhetri. Article 24 (1) of the Nepalese constitution 2015 states that the Khas-Arya group is included social justice for the poor and powerless community. Article 84 (2) discloses belongingness of the Khas-Arya group: Brahmin, Chhetri, Thakuri, and Sanyasi (Dasnami). The same inclusive statement is stated for the federal structure in articles 176 (6), 259 (1) and 267 (3). In this way, the Nepalese constitution 2015 acknowledged the identity and prevalence of Dasnami Sanyasi though the community is engulfed by Brahmin-Chhetri identity.

Identity Campaigns of *Dasnami Samaj*

According to a CBS (2011) report, the *Dasnami Sanyasi* was found in 74 districts of Nepal. Their population was 227822 (0.85% of Nepal) and Dang, Kathmandu, Sindhupalchok, and Jhapa had more than ten thousand population of *Dasnami*. Because of the delegations of *Dasnami Sanyasi*, the word *Dasnami* was included in the caste ethnic distribution of the census of Nepal. There was only the *Sanyasi* category in the census of 1991 (in which their total population was 181,726 (0.98%)) and 2001 (in which their total population was 199,127 (0.88% out of total population of Nepal). There were cultural variations among ten names and with the single name (community). Many of them have their own *Bamshabali Gotra* and origin stories. They have their own understanding and caste practices and status within the national framework of caste/ethnic groupings. There were efforts to form collective organizations in different districts, but there was no single umbrella organization of the *Dasnami Sanyasi* until the early 1990s.

The initiation of the organized body of Nepal *Dasnami Samaj* was started by the *Mahanta*s of Dattatraya *Matha* in 2052 BS. Rajendra P. Giri, Nabraj Giri, and Chhetra B. Giri were interested in unify ten names under a single umbrella. On their initiation, 33 members preliminary committed was formed, and the committee gave the name – Nepal *Dasnami Samaj* in 2053. The organization was registered at the Kathmandu district administration office in 2054. Jayram Puri voluntarily donates the central office

in his home at Maitigharin 2057 BS. The *Samar* has been conducting various programs besides regular meetings and discussions. The constitution of the *Samaj* stated that the main objective of the *Samaj* was to unify all *Dasnami* under a uniform cultural, and identity banner. The unstated objective of the *Samaj* was to protect traditional cultural heritage, *Mathas*, *Asrams*, public resources, and articulate collective voice for reorganization and participation.

The Samaj claimed that Dasnami Sanyasi was the main priests in Pashupatinath temple in Kathmandu before South Indian Bhatt (Nepal *Dasnami Samaj*, 2073). Dr. Govind Tandon, the member-secretary of Pashupati Area Development Trust, said that it was almost 300 years ago that the trend of appointing Indian Bhatta at the Pashupati temple began. Before this, daily worship and other duties of the temple were carried out by Sanyasi. It is also claimed that Dasnami Sanyasi was written in Bhashabamshabali and Shilalekha in Pashupati temple. The tradition was ended when Brahmins from Kashi were brought in the 12th century. Again Ratna Malla (1539-1577 BS) resumed Sanyasi's the main priest in the Pashupati. Sanyasi who renounced family were orally tested and appointed as the main priests of Pashupati. Records revealed that Somshekharananda, Bhairabanand, Nityananda, Gyanananda, Bimalananda, Radhawananda, and Kapilananda were appointed main priest of the temple (Nepal Dasnami Samaj 2073). It was argued that renounced Sanyasi were true devotees of Dharma and gods because they sacrifice life for the sake of godly life. They were extraordinary humans but Jayprakash Malla changed the roles of extra-human to general human. Then, Jayprakash Malla started south Indian Bhatta priest in the Pashupati. The Samaj argued that the position of Dasnami Sanyasi was confiscated and given to South India Bhatta. The concept of Sanyasi priest was not only connected to the spiritual values but also proper management of Pashupati's income. The seed of corruption at Pashupatinath's income was planted by Jayprakash Malla by appointed priest from the Gharbare Brahmin community (Pandey, 2059 BS). Indian Brahmins were regarded as highly pure status.

Moreover, the Pashupati vicinity has been culturally connected with *Dasnami Sanyasi*. The forest area across the Bagmati River has been used by *Dasnami Sanyasi* for their death burial and meditation shelter. Householders *Dasnami* people were also allowed to use the space for the burial of their members. *Kiratis* Communities and converted Christian communities also started from using the premises for the grave of their dead bodies. When *Dasnami Sanyasi* restricted funeral of *Kiratis* and Christian communities. Chhari Gahatraj filed an application in the supreme court for positive order. The court ordered not to restrict dead bodies of the *Kiratis* and Christian communities. Then, Bharat Jangham filed the writ in the Supreme Court against the encroachment of the *Dasnami* cultural area. The court ordered the government to stop

Kiratis and other communities to use the Pashupati premises and also request to manage another place for the death burial of the Kiratis and Christians. Bharat Jangham, one of the Samaj speakers, said that he has been fighting for the Dasnami Samaj against other communities' encroachment at Dasnami's traditional heritage and cultural premises around Pashupati. He filed a writ in Supreme Court against the encroachment of Bankable forest by Non-Dasnami communities for the dead burial ground. He invoked all the participants in a meeting to protect of the heritage space for the Dasnami communities.NepalDasnamiSamaj has been certified the corpus if the person was Dasnami, otherwise, the dead were not allowed for burial in the Pashupati area.

The leader of the Samaj said that Dasnamies were politically divided into much political ideologies. It was said that the Samaj was out of the influence of political parties. Rabindra Giri, one of the key informants and ex-chairperson of the *Dasnami* Samaj, said that the main objective of the Dasnami Samaj was cultural politics or politics of unity, cooperation, and protection of common cultural heritages, but it did not influence Dasnamies under the flag of particular political parties. Moreover, common understandings to support Dasnami candidates during national and local elections were made by central and district level committees. This strategy was utilized in many districts. One of the interesting parts, of the Samaj was that Samaj tries to disentangle Dasnami from the category of Brahmin-Chhetri. Dasnami Sanyasi or all Sanyasi should be categorized separately. Because of the large chunk of the population of Brahmin and Chhetri, Dasnami Sanyasi as a separate group lost within the groups. In academic writing and media presentation, *Dasnami* was treated as Chhetri. There was no single logic to treat the Sanyasi as equivalent to Chhetri. If they were treated based on old *Muluki Ain*, they must be separate, probably inferior category then Chhetri. If they were treated based on previous caste myths and stories, most of them were derivative of Brahmin groups.

Putting *Sanyasi* in the Brahmin-Chhetri community was an arbitrary category of the government. Keshab Giri, one of the ex-Indian army, said that the British did not allow the community whereas Indian officials permitted if the applicant had proved his Chhetri status. He added that some of the *Dasnami* people had changed their last name from Giri, Puri, Bharati to Chhetri. Because of humiliation of being lower caste and non-caste, lay-*Sanyasi* called themselves Chhetri in many villages. In some cases, naming Chhetri was easy access to enroll in army, police, and other government jobs in Nepal and India. I found both types of cases among the *Dasnami Sanyasi* in Sidhupalchok. In the everyday life, they were not considered as Chhetri, though their activities and orientations were not different from castes. Changing last name and adopting rituals of higher castes were prevalent among the *Dasnami Sanyasi* of Nepal.

Dasnami Sanyasi (s) are a derivative community because they are transformed mostly from the Hindu high castes. There were different stories of derivation into Dasnami. For instance, I belong to BalampureSanyasi (Giri), one of the member community of Dasnami Sanyasi in Pyuthan district. Dasnami is new identity and the most of Gharbare Sanyasi do not know about Dasnami. They are treated as caste in everyday interaction in society. Various types of Giri (s) in the village were regarded as different caste equivalent to other Sanyasi community. They are Dasnami endogamous, and their myths of derivative origin are different.

Nepal *Dasnami* Youth, a newly founded organization, expanded its' network in many districts of Nepal. The network organized cleaning and garbage collection in Pashupati premises recently. They printed the brand of Nepal *Dasnami* Youth an orange color t-shirt, and distributed it to the *Dasnami* to create unity and brotherhood among the ten names. As written in the document, the youth network's objective is to create *Dasnami* identity, protection of *Dasnami* cultural heritage, and exchange brotherhood among the members. Thakur Giri, the chairperson of the *Dasnami Samaj* Pyuthan branch, argued that the *Samaj* is a common platform to unify all *Dasnami Sanyasi* in the district and build identity consciousness among the peoples. Every *Dasnami Sanyasi* family has to pay a certain amount to be member of district *Dasnami Sanyasi*. One member of each household was invited to the district level convention in 2017. The district *Samaj* implicitly mobilized *Dasnami* people to vote in the line of *Dasnami Samaj* common understanding to support own member irrespective of political ideology. The common understanding was materialized when *Dasnami* candidates got the victory in different levels.

Conclusion

Classical texts explained that *Dasnami Sanyasi* (s) were people out of caste hierarchy, but they were treated as a caste groups in society. In the course of time living with high caste communities, *Sanyasi* (s) accustomed to castes in processes of Sanskritization. In some places, *Dasnami Sanyasi* (s) felt the humiliation of being inferior, and high caste people called *Dasnami* by using insulting terms like '*Jogi* '(beggar), and night roamer.On the contrary, *Dasnami* compared themselves with caste communities and turned like caste communities. Capitalism transformed *Dasnami Sanyasi*'s classical values from celibacy and collectivity to *Gharbare Mahanta* and the profit motive of institutional property. This was the starting point of the ruin of *Dasnami* status and culture in Nepal. Some of them followed the Sanskritization model to incline Chhetri communities. Except for mortuary and initiation rituals of *Dasnami*, other all cultural and livelihood strategies are like high castes communities. *Gharbare Sanyasi*are not proper renouncers who ought to practice virtue. However, historical

findings regarding warrior-sannyasis assert that *Gharbare* was not a typical ascetic and certainly did not abandon the world for the life of a 'world renouncer.'

Moreover, the state has socialized the community as caste, and consequently, the community collectively claimed as a different caste identity. The old Legal code 1854 classified all *Sanyasi* communities and individuals as inferior Chhetri (cord-wearers) irrespective of their difference. The regulations of the code were stemmed from the interdictions regarding *Bhat* (rice) and sexual intercourse as castes. After this code, *Dasnami Sanyasi* communities transformed themselves like Chhetri. Some of them started *Bartabandha* and funeral pyre as Chhetri caste. After 1990, many caste/ethnic groups were vocal in the field of identity politics. The *Dasnami Sanyasi* also felt to preserve their identity and initiated institutional efforts. Nepal *Dasnami Sanyasi*, the umbrella organization of the ten sure names communities, ran campaigns of telling *Dasnami Sanyasi* during the census, an extension of district branch and protection of traditional cultural heritage at local, and national levels.

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Vulnerability and Disaster Resilience at Household Level

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Abstract

Many development practitioners, academicians, development institutions and organizations, are attempting to discover the characteristic of resilience in Nepal. The issue of disaster resilience got its prominence in Nepali scholarship after the 2015 earthquake. The people of Nepal today, are visible to perpetual disaster events and profound vulnerability to the disaster, which was already there. Disaster incidents are increasing day by day, due to natural hazards such as landslides, floods, and humaninduced activities like road accidents, fire, etc. But these consequences are not merely natural events; they are social events as well. The deaths of people, injuries, and property damage are related to the social side of the disaster. Similarly, natural hazards such as earthquakes are also creating disasters because of vulnerability and the absence of disaster resilience in Nepalese people. Rising incidents of disaster vulnerability and resilience is increasing concern of the state, academia and local level, since Nepal is 4th and 11th vulnerable to the risk of climate change and earthquakes in the world. Apart from that, other chances of disaster are equally mounting, and the capacity to cope (Resilience), or coming back to usual conditions is not enough for surviving and moving forward.

This article tries to explore the relationship between vulnerability and disaster resilience, and the research questions of this article are, what types of vulnerability are creating the barrier for a resilient household and what are the attributes of a resilient family? Dhugin, Lamatar is the field for this research, and answers are dug out based on the Nepal earthquake 2015 as a major disaster of Nepal. Field data are collected after finalizing the purposive sampling. The interview method is used to take the depth information. Face-to-face interviews with informants remained the primary sources for data collection. And this research has been conducted using a qualitative method. My finding is: adopting capacity with the help of resources and assets and absorbing capacity by shifting occupation; after a disaster are the attributes of resilient households, whereas geographically vulnerability, exclusion, poverty remained barriers for resilient families.

Key Words: Disaster, Resilience, Vulnerability, Nepal Earthquake 2015

Introduction

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Resilience is defined as the amount of change that a system can undergo while still maintaining control of its structure and function, or the system's ability to self-organize and the degree to which the system is capable of learning and adaptation (Carpenter and Gunderson, 2001). Resilience plays a vital role in disaster preparedness, during a disaster and post-disaster. Disaster, a disruption of the social structure and disturbance of all or some of the essential functions of society (Fritz, 1961). Nepal is facing various sorts of natural and human-induced disasters for a long, due to its geographical location, unplanned infrastructure development, and growing urbanization (GOON, 2018). For example, earthquakes, floods are natural disasters according to the government of Nepal, whereas road accidents, fire, lab explosions are human-induced disasters. In this article, among all disasters, the Nepal earthquake 2015 is taken for research to know the vulnerability and resilience. Also, sociological lenses is used to explore vulnerability and resilience because all disasters bring social disorder. Moreover, disasters are selfsocial. For instance, Japan is a resilient nation for earthquakes because earthquake resistance houses have been built everywhere. Earthquakes come and goes, and it doesn't disturb the people's everyday routine. And in Nepal, it is tremendous because of infrastructure, which is also social. Disaster is not automatically turned into a disaster, when; hazards are not addressing properly, hazards turn into a disaster. Any hazard, to become a disaster, has to affect a vulnerable population (Silwal, 2017). This paper tries to explore how households build resilience, knowing the characteristic of a resilient household. At the same time, researchers try to discover how vulnerability creates barriers for the household to be resilient after any disaster.

To understand, attributes of disaster resilience and vulnerability as a barrier to resilience, it is important to go through reviews. Additionally, skipping disaster doesn't give the sound concept of resilience because, in the whole article, resilience is attached to disaster. Thus, I am going to start the review from disaster and end with vulnerability in review part. In between, I also try to show the relationship between vulnerability and resilience.

Understanding the notion of Disaster, Resilience, and Vulnerability

Disasters are divided into "natural" and "man-made," still, such distinctions are generally artificial because all disasters are fundamentally human-made. Also, it is social order where and how people choose or forced to live. For instance, if any family is migrating Jhapa to Kathamndu, they prefer to choose the location, where majority of Jhapali are already migrating and living. Again, moving towards disaster, the trigger may be a natural phenomenon such as an earthquake, but its impact governed by the prior vulnerability of the affected community (Redmond, 2005). Although definitions vary (Quarantelli E., 1998), disasters are conceptualized as natural or human-made

events that cause sweeping damage, hardship, or loss of life across one or more society strata. Disasters typically strike swiftly, but it can take years to recover from them. In recent decades the number of natural disasters recorded the world has risen dramatically. Between the 1960s and 1980s, there has been a fivefold increase in the number of major disasters because of development processes, including road built, infrastructure, and new technology. We can take the example of excavator use in Nepal, and its result is a landslide. There is also evidence to suggest that natural disasters are taking an increasing toll on human life and that great regional disparity exists in the type and magnitude of losses experienced. (Degg, 1992).

During a normal lifespan, most people are confronted with number of unexpected events. Accidents happen, loved ones die, health gives out, money disappears, or property is damaged. These events can be distressing and, for some, debilitating. Fortunately, most people are usually able to survive isolated in such events with no lasting psychological damage (Bonanno, 2004). But then, sometimes there are disasters. Nepal is at risk from different disasters due to natural hazards. Every year, on average of more than 500 various disaster incidents occur, resulting in loss of physical infrastructures and human life and affecting livelihood. In the last 45 years (1971 to 2015), more than 40,000 people have lost their life due to disasters. This number is more than two persons losing lives every day. These disasters have become a severe burden on the people and the community all over Nepal. In the majority of the districts of Nepal, disasters occur recurrently, where more than 90 % of the populations are at high risk of death due to two or more than two types of disasters (Government of Nepal, 2018).

In such a context, to save life, property, and environment, 'must need resilience. The resilience approach emphasizes the capacity to cope with uncertainty and surprises while maintaining overall system persistence, and also resilience is about learning from error how to bounce back in better shape. A strategy of resilience involves building up institutional structures, and human resources. These are the first and last requirements of a system able to absorb, learn from, and modify it for changes. A resilience strategy entails developing coping capacity, which is arguably a better approach to adaptation given scientific uncertainty (Barnett, 2001).

To understand the concept of resilience more clearly, this added definition helps the reader. Resilience as a resilient social-ecological system incorporates diverse mechanisms for living with learning from change, and unexpected shocks (Adger, et al. 2005). He further explains that social and ecological vulnerability to disasters and outcomes of any particular, extreme event is influenced by the buildup or erosion of resilience both before and after disasters occur. Resilience focuses on the capacity to

cope with uncertainty. They present a timeline for characteristics of a resilient community, comprising three stages: pre-disaster ability to absorb the shocks of hazard impact, post-disaster, immediate relief, including the capacity to bounce back during and after a disaster; and a post-disaster reconstruction phase of building resilience. In the whole process of resilience, vulnerability often creates obstacles against resilience. Vulnerability, in particular, is made up of the distinctiveness of a person or group and their situation, which influences their capacity to anticipate, cope with, to resist, and to recover from the impact of a natural peril (Rai, 2017). Disasters are a result of hazard and vulnerability. The most vulnerable group consists of financially disadvantaged and low-income families, marginalized and socially excluded communities, women, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities (MoHA, 2018). Vulnerability can be defined as the diminished capacity of an individual or group to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural or human-made hazard. The concept is relative and dynamic. Vulnerability is most often associated with poverty, but it can also arise when people are isolated, insecure, and defenseless in the face of risk, shock, or stress (IFRC, 2015).

In addition, vulnerability is determined by historical, political, cultural, and institutional, and natural resource processes that shape the social and environmental conditions people find themselves existing within. To illustrate this concept, Sindhuplachok is places, where people don't want to migrate from there even though the government is supporting them because their ancestors were there. They are historically bounded to live there although, landside and their life risk are high. It is creating vulnerability. On the other side, in the name of development, the unplanned urbanization process increases where, politics is playing a vital role. These processes produce a range of immediate unsafe conditions such as living in dangerous locations or poor housing, ill-health, political tensions, or a lack of local institutions or preparedness measures (IFRC, 2015).

People differ in their exposure to risk due to their social group, gender, ethnic or other identities, age, and other factors. The vulnerability may also vary in its forms: poverty, for example, may mean that housing is unable to withstand an earthquake or a hurricane, or lack of preparedness may result in a slower response to a disaster, leading to greater loss of life or prolonged suffering. The reverse side of the coin is capacity, which is available resource to individuals, households, and communities to cope with a threat or resist the impact of a hazard. (IFRC, 2015)

Analyzing the vulnerability involves identifying threat and 'resilience' or responsiveness in exploiting opportunities. It also includes resisting or recovering from the negative effects of a changing environment. The means of resistance are the assets and entitlements that individuals, households, or communities can mobilize and manage

in the face of hardship. Vulnerability is therefore, closely, linked to asset ownership. The more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity (Moser C., 1998). Till here, the reader can understand the notion of disaster, vulnerability with resilience. So, research is conducted to seek the answer of the following question:

Understanding the notion of disaster, vulnerability, and resilience gives clear ideas about their meaning and types. Literature also illustrates vulnerability bring disaster and reach near to how people can back to normal life after the disaster as Barnett, quote strategy of resilience, coping capacity, which is arguably a better approach to adaptation. I found the gap between that 'near' and 'how' because it doesn't talk about what type of people can back to normal life quickly. Also, literature speaks about vulnerability are barriers to resilience and the main gap is what vulnerability are barriers to resilience. So, my research woven around these gaps. Research question

- a) What are the attributes of household resilience (disaster)?
- b) What types of vulnerability are creating a barrier for a resilient household?
- c) How vulnerability is interlinked with disaster resilience?

Methodology and Data Source

This article is written based on primary data yet, the secondary source of information is, of course, vital in the development of the conceptual arguments. Dhugin, Lamatar is the field for this research, and answers are dug out based on the Nepal earthquake 2015 as a major disaster in Nepal. The reason behind choosing Dhugin as a field is it is the most effective area of the 2015 earthquake. Another area like Barpak, Sindhupalchowk was frequently taken as the name of the most significant place. But, being closed to capital and effected, it was unseen by researchers. So, I decided to choose Dhugin as a field to bring uniqueness, to meet the research goal, and to explore how people cope and stand up in everyday life. Similarly, if they are unable to back to normal life, what are the barriers for them? Field data is collected after finalizing the purposive sampling and the purpose of choosing the informant is, I have gone through only the most affected household to meet my research goal. The interview method used, to take the depth information. During the month-long field visits, I observed first-hand material damage created by the earthquake in the Dhugin area. And this research has been conducted using a qualitative method. In every interview, informants were allowed communicate speak without any interruption. When they stop to talk, the researcher encourages them to speak more, adding some phrases like then. All answers were noted down in the notebook. The interview was taken with 22 sample

households out of 60 houses in DhuginTole. One member of each household participated in the interview questionnaire, whereas other members of the family also answered as per their interest. After collecting data from the field and based on answerers noted in the notebook, I have done table work to analyze the data.

Theoretical Review

Literature reviews illustrate that resilience is individual or community capabilities to get back to normal life. Additionally, reviews show that vulnerability often creates a barrier to resilience. So, resilience, vulnerability, and capabilities are interlinked. Amartya Sen's initially describe five components of the capability approach. Among the five components, two components motivate this research to see from a theoretical angle. The first component is individual differences in the ability to transform resources into valuable activities. After a disaster, people need individual capabilities to use their resources. If they have abilities with them, they may go back to normal life soon. Utilizing the resource whatever they have, such as income, land, house, cash, social capital, and their skill, is the best way to build resilience and this is a capabilities approach. Second is the multi-variate nature of activities giving rise to happiness? Because of the different nature of people, some people are resilient and tackle difficult situations even they don't have anything enough which includes land, house, cash, social capital, and family members. At the same time, some people fail to gain resilience, even having material and non-material things, which also includes social behavior, and their values in society. Sen illustrates it within the capability approach. In this research, assets such as land, cash, commodities incomes, social capital, and social values help us create resilience. On the other side, poverty remained a barrier for vulnerabilities. So, research shows that, vulnerability and resilience are interlinked, and capabilities create an environment to be resilient in difficult situations such as disaster time. My research helps us to assemble how Sen's capability approach to link with resilience. The terms capacity and flexibility are commonly connected with positive implications. Capability describes a person's ability to do or achieve specific desired functioning (Sen, 1993), and resilience, some scientists apply the concept of resilience to social systems. Social resilience defined as the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances resulting from of social, political, and environmental change (Adger 2000).

All formulations of the capability have two parts, freedom and valuable beings and doings (functioning). At the time of the disaster or before the disaster or else post-disaster, people need to be free from worries of dying or any kind of damage, so they need the freedom to live to be tension-free. In this context, they need the capacity to cope (resilience) to live in freedom. The capability set is the set of the vectors of

functioning. That we very concretely do, the time is unspecified, they became specified when we focus on a particular problem. Similarly, while concentrating on the part of resilience, people may shape their life with a feeling of security to disaster, this is capability approach.

Vulnerability and Resilience

After reviews, providing theoretical ideas and methodology, I am taking the readers towards the analyzing section. In this section, I attempt to explain what types of households can get back to normal or resilient households. Similarly, the following section describes what types of vulnerability remained a barrier for the resilient household.

1. Attributes of household resilience in Dhugin

On Saturday, 25 April 2015 at 11:56 local time, a 7.6 magnitude earthquake recorded by Nepal's National Seismological Centre (NSC), struck Barpak in the historic district of Gorkha, about 76 km northwest of Kathmandu. Nepal had not faced a natural shock of comparable magnitude for over 80 years. Among the 14 most earthquake-stricken place of the country, Dhugintole is one of the most affected areas of Lalitpur district. To understand the attributes of household resilience, the researcher concerns about people's everyday life, their social structure, as well as other social sides. The following attributes of household resilience is derived from the field. a) Resource and asset as the absorbing capacity of Household: Absorbing capacity of shock is not come automatically. Having resources and assets is one of the courage for people to build back better and field report shows that three out of 22 respondents claimed that if they are resilient today only because of they use their asset and available resource. Asset and available resources illustrate that family's income, commodities, land, cash, etc. The PDNA report says that families are deploying different coping mechanisms to deal with the disaster, including sales of assets and receipt of remittances. Indeed, three households of Dhugin follow the same way to be resilient to disaster. Mr. Naniram Ghimire reported that he sold his land to build houses, and for the education of his children. If he has not sold his property, he had to bear the big amount of loan. He still has a loan, but in comparison to other neighbors, that are very less. Similarly, PurnaPoudel also left his job to get the money that means he uses the available resource to build a safe house. At the same time, he sold the piece of land too, because he received money from a resigning job that wasn't enough to build a threestory house.

About resilience, assets are an essential part of the response to hazards. The coping mechanisms are distinguished by being reactive, and geared towards survival

and field observation also shows a similar report. Asset owner (landowner) seems more resilient in comparison to landless and low-income households. At the household level, property titling, and security of tenure, particularly ownership of homes, will increase the likelihood of willingness to invest in longer-term adaptive mechanisms, as will other means of securing investments, such as insurance, especially for disaster time. However, for those who work in the informal sector, lacking job security or social security protection, physical assets can act as a safety net while intangible assets can provide essential social and moral support.

Land, fixed assets, strongly built houses, salary, cash are the assets for the local people. Fixed assets like land which can sell or which can be used to take a loan from a bank. Also, land can be used to re-structure and make vegetable garden or paddy. Therefore, landowners seem more resilient because of the multiple uses of land. Households gather the courage to get back to normal life with the help of fixed assets. Additionally, strongly build house save the people during a disaster and nothing happen also means attributes of resilient. While analyzing the caste wise comparison with three castes, Brahmin, Newar, and Dalit received different results. Mr. Ghimire, who has built houses, has a good status in society, also a good network in, and outside the community and now he needs a four-wheeler as an asset. Also, he wants to elect a member of the municipality to work much more in the field of disaster. Pointing to the government's mistake, he wants to do something for the community by winning the election. Generally in Nepal, ruling nature can be observed in Brahamin community. We can see the fossils of ruling nature in Dhugin too. Assets and resources are not only property also the good status in a community as well as one of the attributes of household resilience to disaster. Field result shows that households bearing strong resource and asset can absorb disaster shocks.

b) Shifting Occupation as the process of adopting shocks: Adoption capacity can be measured in various ways and among them, research drags the data that shifting occupation after a disaster is one of the adaptive capacity in the Dhugin area. Because disaster destroys many things such as occupational place, social structure, and top of that, it adds many responsibilities. To build the infrastructure, most of the victims borrow the loan from banks, and traditional occupation wasn't enough so that seven members of each household decided to change the occupation. Three Pariyar brothers thought that tailoring couldn't afford their heavy loan to leave the tailoring job, they are working in factories.

Shifting occupation from traditional (Tailoring) to wage labor is one of the challenges because they are not only leaving their occupation also they are diverting their skills which they have been followed for ages. Adaptive capacity helps them to get rid of their poverty and became resilient towards disaster. On the other side, talking

about Brahmins, were limited in the agriculture and service sector. But, aftermath, selling the land, they started investing in the business to earn more. They also provided a similar response in the interview that they can't afford everything from agriculture. Therefore, they started a new way for subsistence and other facilities. Also, female used to work only for a house or connected constantly in the family unit errands and dealing with children. However, because of money related obligation to family, they are working in wage work as well so they can share the budgetary burden with other family unit individuals. As they don't have advanced education, they are working for modest wages. Females from all cast changing their occupation from non-beneficial to gainful with that degree of independence, which is ultimately heading towards a resilient female in Dhugin.

Vulnerability

As my second concern, how households remain vulnerable to disaster, I have received the following vulnerability from residents of Dhugin.

a) Poverty

Poverty remains one of the significant reasons for vulnerability to disaster in Dhugin area. A rich, middle, and low income household were observed. Basically, without intention in this research caste system was also involved though it was not research purposes. The caste system remained one of the components of vulnerability of poverty.

Brahmin families considered themselves that they belong to the rich family, although, they have fear that their physical infrastructure is not good enough for disaster. All sample households from the Brahmin community were somehow managing their lives with two meals (Dui Chak), proper dresses, and regular health checkups, yet they are not getting other facilities such as health posts, and schools nearby. On the other hand, one could easily observe uncleaned dresses as symbols of poverty around Dhugin. Low-income rates within the Dalit community are another reason for vulnerability. Mrs. Pariyar works for only five rupees per one Pasimina beads, whereas driving for the whole day gets only Rs 600, Mr Pariyar said. It is inadequate to feed five members of the family. Furthermore, spending a whole day in a shop, one can earn Rs 400, which is also insufficient for two meals. Low-income rate remained one of the reasons of poverty in the Dhugin area, which ultimately pushed them towards poverty vulnerability. Therefore, they couldn't think more than two meals. They are still living in half-completed houses, and half of the parts need to be constructed. In this context, they are failed to cope with the situation. They are unable to be resilient further for upcoming disasters as they don't have disaster preparedness.

Political Instability and insecurity are another reason, which was observed during the field survey as part of vulnerability. Every time people are blaming the government, which fails to help their people in the disaster time. Our country is not well managed, doesn't care about its people, even we don't have citizenship, are answers received from Mr. Bishokarma. Twelve respondents blamed their vulnerability due to political instability and insecurity.

It's a small village, so whatever they produce, is tough to receive a proper customer. Lack of an appropriate market for the assembled products from in their area, is another sign of vulnerability in Dhugin. The poor condition of Industrial sectors also one of the reasons for poverty. If factories, industries remained in their area they may get a chance to work in higher-paid jobs, or they could do more.

b) The Geographical Vulnerability

The geographical vulnerability is also social; therefore, this research included geographical side. People know that they are living in a sloppy area and they are also at risk of earthquakes. While comparing the Nepal's geographical location, 68 percent of the land is covered by hill. Dhugin is even falling under the category of the hilly area, thus it has a risk of disaster. The land, in the future will be gradually becomes sloppy; that's what one expert said after the earthquake. From his briefing, one could easily analyze that few geographical risks in terms of an earthquake is there, but because of research limitation, and time restraint, I couldn't go further in-depth about geographical vulnerability. The vulnerability, which has a direct impact on resilience to disaster. Because of its geographical location, agriculture has been affecting. Terai became grain basket due to geographical location, but more effort needs in this sloppy areas to do the same thing. This location is nearby Lakuri Bhyanjang, which is a hill, so chances of other disasters such as landslide is high. People have hope for their land that they will expand the agriculture area in the future soon. This type of insecurity about the disaster created vulnerable conditions. Out of 22, two respondents concerned about geographical location. The first respondent was briefing that this is not safe land to build more than two-story houses as per earthquake expert.

Similarly, vulnerability results from other factors such as debt, poor construction of the house, social inequality, exclusion, and gender are observed in interview time. Members of the sample household leaked such factors but due to lack of time, the researcher couldn't go further in-depth.

Conclusion

In summary, absorbing capacity of household with the help of resources and assets (land, income, and commodities) is one attribute of household resilience. Another attribute is adopting shocks by shifting occupation. Household or household members

who show their absorbing and adopting capacity with help of other supporting components such as their skill, knowledge, asset, and resource, they are resilient to disaster. Poverty is one of the components of vulnerability which is creating a barrier for a resilient household. In the research area, basically landless, homeless (Staying in temporary shelter or hut) people are struggling for two times meal. Homeless were found in a vulnerable condition and less resilient to disaster. Moreover, a geographical vulnerability (which is also social) is reverse part of resilient household because people have to face several challenge to build houses in sloppy land. Also, they are facing a lack of human resources to work on the farm due to geographical risk. Moreover, the summary also deals with vulnerability are interconnected with disaster resilience because high vulnerability leads to a lack of resilience.

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Turning Curse Side of Nationalism and National Sentiment to Blessing

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Abstract

Nationalism and national sentiment could be considered blessing on the one hand and curse on the other understood properly from various perspectives. These notions can be considered blessing in the sense that they arouse the feeling of unity, nearness, oneness and ownness among the conationals or compatriots; they can be understood as curse in the sense that they create borders, divide humans into various different groups and subgroups which arouses the parochial feeling of conational which sometimes results in conflict, civil war and division of a country. Nationalism, viewed from positive perspective, can be understood as an effective means or a tool that can work to arouse the feeling of unity, nearness, and ownness among the people belonging to a certain nation. In essence, it requires that all individuals belong to a nation for the realization of their true moral worth. As a result, they owe their primary loyalty to their nation over any other sub-groups to maintain the moral value. Viewed from negative perspective, nationalism, mostly the extreme form of nationalism, leads the individuals, their subgroups, and nation to a dark moment. Racial hatred and ethnic cleansing-consequences of extreme kind of national sentiment--can be considered as some instances. The curse side of nationalism and national sentiment can be turned into blessing by properly handling the spirit of nationalism and national sentiment with positive thinking.

Key words: nation, nationalism, self-determination, boundaries, ethnicity.

Introduction

Nationalism is an overarching umbrella term that encompasses various concepts. In one sense, it refers to a strong feeling of love and pride in one's country. Viewed from socio-political perspective it means a policy based on a strong desire for political independence made by a country or nation that is colonized by another country or is part of another country or nation. Not only a too great love for one's own country or nation but also the quest for identity comes under the concept of nationalism. Moreover, a strong love shown by the people for a certain cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and other

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such types of groups to which they belong can also be understood as a kind of nationalism. Thus, many different conceptions and phenomenon come under the umbrella term 'nationalism.'

Nationalist sentiment is an acquisition rather than an inborn quality. It is a thought influenced by emotion. Sentiment is a kind of feeling of kindness, love and sympathy. This type of attitude is driven by feeling. That is why it varies according to how it is taught, and acquired. Sometimes, the sentiment of nationalism is dangerous. The notion of national superiority rests upon a deeply held yet unproven belief that one's own culture, ethnic group, tradition, or history are superior to others.

The objectives of this article is to discuss and investigate the conception of nationalism and national sentiment from various perspectives and prove that the curse side can be turned to blessing. In this research article, I use secondary materials--library, e-library, and internet—to explore the conception of the ideals and prove my argument. This research does not use empirical method; nor does it conduct a field study, data collection, data analysis and interviews. It does not study technique/form and rhetoric of any literature. Using the qualitative method, the article provides a critical and analytical study to prove my claim. This article incorporates the ideas of theorists/writers like Eqbal Ahmad, A. D. Smith, Craig Calhoun. Can curse of nationalism and national sentiment be turned to blessing? How to make nationalism and national sentiments blessing? My hypothesis that nationalism and national sentiments has curse side because they create boundaries and divide people; it can be made blessing by erasing the shadow lines between the nations by promoting the attitude of humanism and we can turn the bleak side of nationalism and national sentiment to boon.

Nationalism and National Sentiment: an Overview

To understand nationalism and national sentiment we have to understand what a nation is. Various nationalists have viewed and defined 'nation' in their own ways. Nations, for some nationalists, are timeless phenomenon. Viewed from another perspective it can be argued and understood as cultural and ethnic community. Another school of thought opines that idea of nations have been awakened for a very long time, though they take different shapes in different points in history. Postmodernists and Marxists also contribute worthy ideas in relation to this topic. The modernization school's scholars see nations as entirely modern and constructed. Talking about built up of nation, A. D. Smith argues that many nations were "built up on the basis of premodern 'ethnic cores' whose myths and memories, values and symbols shaped the culture and boundaries of the nation that modern elites managed to forge" (Smith 1990: 180).

Nationalism is a term referring to a doctrine or a political movement that holds the view that a nation usually defined in terms of ethnicity or culture has a right to constitute an independent or autonomous political community based on shared history and common destiny.

The principle of impartiality is central to the notion of justice. Will Kymlicka in *Inquiry* rightly puts it to reject the ideal of justice as impartiality is to propose "an alternative to justice, not an alternative account of justice" (Kymlicka 1990: 103). Justice as such must be neutral or impartial, as far as possible, between competing partial standpoints or claims.

Discussion and Finding

Despite a number of dark sides of nationalism like division of the people into various nationality groups we can get many rays of bright sides in it. Furthermore, we can turn these curse sides to boon with our cosmopolitan attitude among all the human race arousing the feeling that all the people living on this earth belong to a single community no matter where one resides, which religious and cultural group one belongs to. As the term 'nationalism' has variety of meanings, it is commonly used to describe two phenomena: (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity and (2) the action that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve self-determination. The former raises question about the concept of nation or national identity, which is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity or cultural ties. An individual's membership in a nation is often regarded as involuntary. The latter raises questions about whether sovereignty demands the attainment of full statehood with complete authority for domestic and international affairs, or whether something less than statehood would be sufficient. Craig Calhoun, talking about diversified nature of nationalism, says:

Nationalism is too diverse to allow a single theory to explain it all. Much of the contents and specific orientation of various nationalisms is determined by historically distinct cultural traditions, the creative actions of leaders, and contingent situations within the international world order. (Calhoun 1997: 123)

Calhoun's view makes clear that no single, universal theory of nationalism is possible as its conception has a wide range of coverage like culture, region, religion and ethnicity. The term nationalism does not agree any attempt of single definition. It is doubtful that nationalism can ever be defined in one coherent way. It must rather be given various characteristics depending on where and when the term is used.

To give a description of people and activities engaged in aggressive and expansionist politics is one of the thrusts of nationalism. "Can you have patriotism

without nationalism?" (Ignatieff 1993: 141). Ignatieff's this idea in interrogative form clarifies that the dichotomy of patriotism and nationalism is misleading; it is as false as the one between civic and liberal nationalism on the one hand and ethnic and closed nationalism on the other hand. These two dichotomies, in the real sense, largely overlap.

Defining nationalism, which has multiplicity of meanings, is not a simple and easy workout. Ignatieff rightly defines nationalism as, "not one thing in many disguises, but many things in many disguises" (9). It would be fair, however, to argue that nationalism can be viewed from various different perspectives such as ethnicity, religion, and culture. Various theorists of nationalism have expressed their notion in important dogmas and pointed to nationalism which might be called as its ethical claims. Describing some of the ethical claims, as a political doctrine, nationalism demands that the peoples of the world are divided into nations. Moreover, it seeks that each of these nations has to be granted the right to self-determination, either as self-governing entities within existing states or stand-alone nation-states. Talking about development and the view of nationalism, Hans Kohn presents its historical development:

From Hebrew and Greek ideas the age of nationalism drew many of its initial and fundamental inspirations, but from Jerusalem and Athens shine also the eternal guiding stars which lift the age of nationalism above itself, pointing forward on the road to deeper liberty and to higher forms of integration. (Kohn 1944: 576)

Despite the difficulty that lies in favoring a general definition of nationalism or nationality, various endeavors are made at it. Incorporation of various meanings have made it vague to define on the one hand and widened its scope and coverage on the other:

A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others - which make them cooperate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be governed under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language and community of religion greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a natural history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past. (Mill 1977: 359-360)

Mill, here, presents his view regarding the feeling of nationality and its causes like language, religion, culture and ideology.

There is another kind of nationalism known as civic or liberal nationalism which is an alternative to exclusivist type of nationalism. In this type, membership in the nation is based on the equal right of citizenship — irrespective of color, race, religion, ethnicity and so on — of a community that donates to a shared set of political values and practices. Some nationalist theorists have called this model of nationalism as moderate patriotism. Its distinction from ethnic nationalism depends fully on the lack of justified exclusiveness. It accepts the ideal that one may care more about or have greater obligation to the compatriots or fellow citizen in comparison to the non-compatriots. Eqbal Ahmad classifies nationalism as "ideology of difference" and "collective identity built on the basis of the Other" (Ahmad 2000: 75). In crux, it requires that all individuals belong to a nation for the realization of their true moral worth. As a result, they owe their primary loyalty to their nation over any other sub-groups to maintain the moral value.

The moral debate on nationalism reflects a deep moral tension between solidarity with oppressed and colonized national groups on the one hand, and hatred in the face of crimes committed in the name of nationalism aimed for the retreat of the repressed on the other. Moreover, the issue of nationalism points to a domain of more problems having to do with the treatment of cultural and ethnic differences within a democratic polity. In a country or state practicing democratic form of government, different cultural and ethnic groups come up with various demands of their cultural and ethnic interest and start giving pressure to the government to make their demands fulfilled. In such a situation issues of collective interest of all nationals of the country which should be put on the top from the viewpoint of priority remains in shadow. Cultural, linguistic, religious and such types of other nationalities, thus, create borders and divide human beings in different groups that become a cause of tension in the society and among the societies. We can discuss some instances of the conflicts occurred due to narrowminded feelings and irrational type of actions of different nationality groups in different parts of the world such as in Rwanda, and Sri Lanka.

Various definitions of nationalism given by different people verify the claim made in the beginning of this wright up that nationalism is an overarching umbrella term encompassing many concepts. Frantz Fanon saw the nationalist resistance of colonized groups against the imperial power as a beautiful and splendid necessity. He believes that nationalism which Gandhi mobilized against British rule in India, for example, was designed to counter what was seen as unjust government by a foreign power.

Another concept about nationalism is the belief that groups of people are bound together by territorial, cultural, and sometimes ethnic links. Although nationalism was developed in the 19th century and was led to the formation of the nations of Germany and Italy, it was the cause of some of the most dramatic events of the 20th century when a group of people of the same race, language, culture, and with the same history wanted to form an independent country.

Liberal nationalism, according to Kymlicka, is a form of nationalism that affirms the general nationalist thesis that all states including liberal ones should promote and indicate a sense of shared nationality among citizens. Kok-Chor Tan's ideas in this connection deserve a mention:

While justice may constrain personal pursuits in the domestic setting, global justice cannot constrain national pursuits for the reason that global justice claims cannot be determined independently of national commitments. . . . On their view, nationalist commitments properly understood are not subordinated to global demands in the way liberal nationalists hope. (Tan 2004: 187)

The liberal nationalists allow for special obligation only within the term of global justice whereas communitarian nationalists are of the view that the term of global justice should not be impartially defined, as cosmopolitans urge.

All the definitions discussed above help us conclude that, though paradoxical, nationalism has probably been more deeply successful because it has no coherent genuine doctrines and neither is it possible to understand its meaning through a single definition and meaning.

Max Weber, the German sociologist, defining 'nation,' in the early twentieth century, viewed that ethnic groups are like nations; they believe in commonalities of physical appearances, customs, culture, historical experiences, and so on. What the pronationalist thinkers believe is that nationalism is particularly noticeable with groups that do not yet have a state. If a nation- a group of people- becomes able to form a state, the loyalties of the group member might be civic in nature. At the other extreme, nationalist claims are focused upon the non-voluntary community of common culture, origin, language, and so on. In the classical view an ethno-nation is a community of origin, cultural, language, custom etc. Philosophical discussions and definitions of nationalism are highly concerned to its ethno-cultural variations. The relationship between nationalism, culture, and ethnicity is close from nationalist notion. A group of people seeking to nationhood on this basis will be usually called "ethno-nation" in order to emphasize its ethno-cultural foundation. Basis of the determination of one's membership in the community becomes the ethno-cultural nationalist. Membership of the people depends upon their origin and early socialization. They cannot choose to be a member of a community that they like.

Fredrik Barth, argues, "What make ethnic distinctions emerge in an area has much to do with the fact that each ethnic group can be "associated with a separate range of value standards" (Barth 1969: 18). The cultural content of this social unit may change its boundaries, as defined by these value standards. But the feeling of need of nationalist sentiment is to absorb the unusual series of slight differences existing in any community. If, it is believed by various nationalist theorists, cracks occur in the national sentiment, due to one or another reason, nationalist systems are bound to continue unity by force rather than agreement.

In the history of the world, we can see 'national awakening' struggles for political independence made by colonized countries and sometimes struggles made by ethnic, racial or some other groups colonized within their own country by the ruling class, are both heroic on the one hand and inhumanely cruel on the other. The formation of a recognizably national states often respond to deep popular nationalistic sentiments, which sometimes bring, may be unwillingly, inhuman consequences such as violent throwing out and cleansing of non-nationals.

Conclusion: All the People Belong to a Single Community

By enhancing the feeling of unity among diversity - diverse nationality groups-despites nationalism's both good and bad aspects and similarly national sentiment's two sides of pros and cons, it is possible to turn bleak sides to bright sides. Both these ideals have relative relation and meaning to the society and people. As a moral ideal, nationalism is an ethic of heroic sacrifice in which one becomes ready even to justify the violence in the defense of one's nation against enemies. Nationalism requires and focuses that one must be deliberately ready to put nation first, even to sacrifice life, in the time of need for the nation; it is only because of the strong feeling of the national sentiment. The individual or group within a national group has to do inter-group co-operation and help. This type of co-operation is easier for those who are part of the same ethnonational group. Ethnic ties like common language, customs, and expectations in a multiethnic state help him/her a lot in finding his/her ways in new surroundings. After the establishment of the ties he/she becomes part of a network. It is rational to go on cooperating and ethnic sentiments secure the trust and the firm bond needed for smooth co-operation. While welcoming a newcomer in a multiethnic state we should not forget a possible extreme of ethno-national conflict. In such a situation, we have to end crisis of trust in both the sides which tend to see the other as being inimical. The parochial feeling of compatriots as nearer to non-compatriots and the members of a nation have special obligation to each other creates a view of us/other among the human beings which we can shadow and ultimately erase by enhancing the cosmopolitan feeling. The

dichotomy of us/other created by the narrow nationalism and parochial nationalist sentiment is possible to bring to the end replacing it by creating the humanitarian and cosmopolitan feeling among the people with the view that all the people living in this earth belong to a single community and the whole world is our common home.

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Gender Discourses as a 'Technology of Power' in Nepalese Primary Level Textbooks

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Abstract

The Gender gap is one of the most prominent problems in the context of Nepal. Even if Nepal constitution promotes gender equality and equity, there is still a huge gap between male and female. Women lag in literary percentage, nutritional health conditions, ownership, and employment opportunities. One of the obstacles in the path of gender equality is our systemic education materials especially our textbooks which reinforce the stereotypical concept of male and female through textbook representations. Researchers have shown that gender stereotypes have been seen in the textbooks of highly developed countries like America, Australia, and Hongkong. In this context, all the compulsory textbooks of grade four and five prescribed by the Curriculum Development Centre in the context of Nepal were observed. In all the books, stereotypical representations of male and female characters were found. Most of the men and women were presented doing conventional gender roles, and malecentered themes are foundin the narratives. This research claims that when conventional attitude regarding gender is transferred to young children, it ultimately reproduces similar gendered personalities and helps to maintain the gender gap. This research uses the concept of 'technology of power' by Foucault to interpret gender representations in textbooks. ACcriticalDiscourse Analysis has been used to analyze the data from textbooks. The findings suggest that there are biased gender representations suggesting stereotypes and gender binary which could potentially affect the learners both male and female as it fosters false knowledge regarding gender and overburdens the male whereas humiliates the females.

Keywords: stereotypes, representation, patriarchal, socialization, masculinity

Introduction

There are very few studies in the educational context in Nepal. Among the studies that have been conducted in textbooks gender representation in Nepal, female underrepresentation was found in all subject contexts of primary level and the

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organizational aspects were also dominated by males (Joshi & Anderson, 1994). Studies also show that there is a gender gap in education in Nepal and this gap widens in rural areas and in higher education levels (Panthee&McCutcheon, 2015; Khanal 2018). Unlike these researches, Shrivastava's comparative research in social studies textbooks of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal (as cited in Blumberg, 2008) claims that women were invisible in the history related chapters in all three countries. However, in comparison to Bangladesh, and Pakistan Nepal's Social Studies textbooks were found better in the sense that they addressed women related problems (p. 15). A similar study by Rothchild (2007) conducted in Jiri, also shows that there were unequal social gender discourses among parents and teachers which pulled women away from equal access to opportunities and promoted the attitude of son preferences. This son preferences attitude also leads to sex-selective abortions in Nepal (Lammichhane et al., 2011). This gender discrimination in the Nepalese society is due to an unequal social understanding about males and females, male supremacy in the social structures, and due to legal causes (Upreti, 2016).

Gender representation in textbooks is an important issue and it is regarded as an important socializing agent(Gupta & Lin, 1989). The way gender is represented in the textbooks can influence the world view of the learners and manipulate them accordingly. Since schools are also a significant site of cultural transformation where patriarchal social structure is intentionally implemented to transform it in the young generation(Blair 2002), to minimize the gender gap and promote gender justice, gender issues in the school education context should be addressed. Gender representation in the textbooks is regarded as a significant but an overlooked issue, and a potential issue contributing the perpetuation of the gender gap and gender stereotypes (Blumberg, 2008). There have been several political and social changes in Nepal possibly leading to many changes in the textbook's contents however there are no much studies in this field. This article explores the present context of gender discourses in primary level textbooks in Nepal to address this gap.

This research especially investigates the current gender issues in the Nepalese primary level textbooks and the gender discourses within the language and images through critical discourse analysis applying Foucault's concept, discourse as a "technology of power'. In doing so, itexplores 10 mandatory textbooks of grade four and five published by Curriculum Development Centre to show what gender discourses are disseminated through these textbooks and how these discourses work as one of the strategies of power to manipulate the individual lives using Foucault's (1978) notion of discourse as a 'technology of power' (p.12).

Textbook Studies and Gender Discourse

There have been a lot of studies around the world on gender in textbooks' context. The findings from the research vary according to the social, developmental context of the countries. The gender issues in the textbook studies found women underrepresentation in their quantity in texts in illustrations(Lee & Collins, 2009; Barton &Sakwa, 2012;Chick &Corle,2016; Ullah & Skelton, 2013), male nouns leading the female nouns in a paired noun contexts (Lee, 2018), female's space as indoor settings (Blumberg 2008; Law & Chan, 2004; Lee & Collins, 2010), limited females in the occupations (Barton &Sakwa, 2012; Gharbavi&Mausavi, 2012), female as passive (Barton &Sakwa 2012; Blumberg 2008), and females with fewer dialogues (Ortin& Abad 2018). These studies also claim that unlike female males were more visible in texts and illustrations, they were represented in outdoor spaces, in a variety of occupations, were presented as active individuals, and were given more voices than females confirming biased gender representation.

The studies conducted in the developed parts of the world suggest some positive improvements like the use of gender-inclusive vocabularies, gender-neutral titles for men and women, and equity in using adjectives to both men and women in Japanese textbooks (Lee, 2018). Also, the use of generic pronouns like 'they' and paired pronouns 'he/she' were used to include both males and females in Australian textbooks (Lee and Collins, 2009), and improvements in women visibility and women outnumbering men (Lee and Collins, 2010). However, gender stereotypes were still implied in the text contents despite improvements in female visibility (Lee and Collins 2008). Chick and Altoona (2006) claim that in American History textbooks have women invisibility because of their focus on politics, military, and war. The authorsargue that publishers, teachers, and students should be aware about this women underrepresentation and strive to include various resources that acknowledge women's contributions to American History. Luke (1985) claims that all texts are 'normative, shaping and constructing' (p. 19) thus a critical analysis of these texts is important to bring forward the political aspect of these texts.

Most of the studies in the textbooks use feminist stand while looking at the gender representations and often interprets its effect upon female learners (Islam &Asadullah 2018; Barton &Sakwa 2012). However, I believe these gender imbalances even though directly affect females limiting their access to the opportunities and personal developments, males are also not spared from this discrimination. According to Connell (2002) males also pay their prices in both of the cases either conforming the masculinity in their health risks or not confirming the masculinity in social discriminations and violence. Besides, there are psychological pressures to the

individuals who do not confirm the traditional notion of masculinities and femininities when an individual is judged on these binary notions. In this context, this research conducted a critical discourse analysis of the textbook contents of grade 4 and 5 textbooks published by the Curriculum Development Center (CDC), Nepal.The language and illustrations are examined critically to see what kinds of gender discourses are produced in the Nepalese primary level school textbooks, and within those discourses what kind of gender knowledge and gender power relations are disseminated to the young learners.

Critical Discourse Analysis and 'Technology of Power'

Critical Discourse Analysisis a theory and also a method (Fairclough, 2001). In this research, CDA is used as a method. CDA denaturalizes the texts, unearths the textual politics that manipulates the readers in certain ways, and traces particular discourses in the texts that contribute to specific effects (Luke, 1995). CDA takes language as a social practice where unequal power relations are manifested and one of the objectives of CDA is to critically investigate these social inequalities and struggles (Wodak, 2001). In summary, CDA is a methodology that looks critically at the text contents to uncover the relation of language and representations with power. It is a critical as well as a constructive method which is used in this research to critically uncover the gender discourses hidden in all mandatory textbooks on primary level (grade 4 and 5) in Nepal.

According to Foucault (1972), discourses forms objects they talk about. This effect of discourse suggests its power. And when these discourses are internalized by the individuals these discourses work as a means of controlling those individuals which Foucault terms as 'technologies of self' (Foucault, 1980). One of the important features of Foucault's discourse discourses are the results of power and they reproduce power and knowledge as an effect that maintains the power by which it is produced. Foucault (1978) regards discourses as powerful and is capable of creating objects and events. Foucault regards discourse as 'technology of power' (p.12). 'Technology of power' refers to one of the strategies of power in which the power stops becoming a force and transforms itself into discourses and knowledge to reach in the everyday lives of individuals, their intellects, and desires to influence their ways of life in non-threatening ways. In other words, 'technology of power' is one of the approaches of power that works in subtle, non-intermediating, and covert way to control individual lives. According to Foucault, power is not repressive but, a creative force that is capable of creating discourse and knowledge. With these, power controls individuals in the most efficient way. Luke (1995) claims discourse influences individuals by constructing

knowledge, power, and identity and is capable of position, locate, define, enable, and also regulate readers.

This research interprets the textbook representation of the gender as gender discourses which works as a 'technology of power' (Foucault 1978, p. 12). The gender discourses in the textbooks present available gender positions to the learners and shape them accordingly in those positions. Specific gender representations in the textbooks makereaders accustomed to those positions and naturalize them. The various subjective gender positions are reinforced and disseminated through textbooks. If these gender discourses are disseminated through institutions like schools within organized regulations and pedagogies, they are naturalized and become a part of our life. In this research, however only textbook representation of gender in 10 mandatory textbooks of grades 4 and 5 is examined to show what kind of gender discourses and knowledge are disseminated in those textbooks published by the Government of Nepal (2008) and their potential effect on both male and female learners.

Gender Representations in the Primary Level Textbooks

There are five mandatory textbooks in each grade 4 and 5. Among them, there are five subject textbooks belonging to the Nepali language, English language, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Science. The mandatory textbooks of the entire primary level almost follow the same patterns. The analysis of these 10 mandatory textbooks somehow will represent the gender representations of similar subject contexts of other levels. The gender representations in these textbooks are presented in the following paragraphs.

In *Mero Nepali* of both grades, most of the chapters have males as the main character. For example, in *Mero Nepali 4*, chapter two "DhankoGhamanda" only narrates male gods in the story. Goddess *Parvati* mentioned in the story only when Lord Shiva tells Ganesha to ask for food from her which transforms the role of goddess Parvati into a mother and as a food server (7). In a country where the society is guided by religious superstitions, this type of representation helps naturalize the role of women as food servers and exempts men from these roles. Similarly, the illustrations of males and females are depicted in conventional get-upspromoting specific attire to them and they are presented in traditional masculine and feminine roles. Farmer is used as a maledominated occupation even though the involvement of women in this occupation is 17.8% of the total woman population in 2001 (Government of Nepal 2011). This sexual division of occupation in the textbooks is a very upsetting fact which can be seen in many instances including in 'KishaankoRahar' poem in *Mero Nepali 5*. The poem presentsdescription of a woman farmer in the content however, the pictorial

representation is just of a man with a plow on his shoulder (17). This cliché portrayal of the farmer as a man is found in other text parts also.

My English 4also perpetuates the traditional outfits of boys and girls in the illustrations. The reading text contains men as the main characters. For example, a landlord is a male(p. 42) suggesting a land is only owned by a male, the women are also projected in traditional roles like offering food to the guest (p. 72), in the chapter "Sports day" there are more illustrations of the boys than the girls, and the outfits of the girls are traditional which are not at all suitable for sports (p. 77). In the sports contents, the boys are only shown running (p. 81) even though the text talks about girl's participation in the race. This types of depictions of male and females in the text reinforces male domination in the leadership, ownership, activities, and sports. This also encourages a gender gap in sports participation discouraging females to take part in sports. My English 5 is discriminatory while illustrating males as a criminal (p. 5), wolf (p. 51), and big fish (p. 33). Similarly, there is a tendency of using the male pronoun 'he' for all animals. Besides, most of the reading portions have male lead characters. We can see only men as famous personalities and scientists (pp. 41-42) as if no women have been famous in the history of Nepal.It is sad to see that there are no women scientists mentioned in the chapter which is discouraging to the female students as the text lacks female role models. Both of the textbooks have very few women representations in the writers' and editors' group. This projection of both men and women is misleading as it does not represent the social progress of women and systematically uplifts the men's position and visibility through male lead chapters. Men's exclusive representation in crime is also misleading as criminals can be of any gender. Depicting only males as criminals can potentially normalize males' involvement in crimes misleading the young learners from the actual reality.

My Social Study and Creative Arts5alsoportray identical stereotypical outfits worn by men and women. The property and possessions are narrated as men's for example, "He had a big plot of land", suggesting male domination in ownerships, similarly there is no mention of a mother in the narrative (p. 8), an industrialist is a man(p. 86), among 15 national heroes, only 2 are the woman (pp. 72-77), and only men are there for the crimes, alcohol and drugs abuse (pp. 30,23,24). This projection of male and female limits female presence in the household activities suggesting a familial role as their field and questions their capabilities in other occupations and roles. On the other hand, it presents a discriminatory social structure where males are the owners, heroes, and high-rank occupations. My Social Study and Creative Arts4 too has illustrations showing women in traditional roles (p. 44), the outfits are traditional and identical for boys and girls. Fathers are presented as decision-makers (p. 26). In lesson 2, the chapter talks about a lady teacher, but the picture shows a male teacher (p. 38). Females are

depicted as possessions of their male family members, not as an individual identity such as, 'father's daughter' not mother's daughter, 'Sonelal's sister,' (p. 26), and 'his sister' (p. 76). Projecting females in terms of relationship restrict their individuality and agency. A statement, 'his father took a loan from the bank' (p. 26)shows the only male have agency in the family for major decisions suggesting the male dominated family structure in Nepal. This textbook also produces biased gender discourses by strengthening women's familial domestic role rather than her role in other social transformations. This questionsfemale abilities and expertise on one hand and normalizes her domestic roles in the family. Men's role in negative activities like crime, addiction also normalizes male involvement in crimes and addictions.

Generally, we take Science as a neutral, and also rational subject based on facts. So, we expect fewer stereotypes in this subject. However, this is proved wrong in the case of *My Science Health and Physical Education 4* as this textbook presents women in traditional roles (pp. 108, 128) in illustrations. Male domination in negative activities is maintained in this textbook as all sick individuals, smokers, injured (pp. 120, 128, 118, and 110) are males. The outfits of men and women are conventional and identical like that to those in other textbooks. *My Science Health and Physical Education5* too have a similar tendency of presenting men as only diseased (pp. 95-100), alcoholic, a drug abuser, (p. 116) and wounded (p.104). Females have been shown doing traditional gender roles like using 'Dhikki, Janto' which are regarded as traditional women's works in illustrations (pp. 71-74). Bothmales and females are in identical traditional outfits and hairstyles in the illustrations. Femaleunderrepresentation can be seen in the writers' and editors' group of both textbooks.

My Mathematics 4 contains, fewer stereotypes such as a traditional mother character in a traditional outfit is portrayed against a group of freely strolling men in professional getups (p. 105) in street. This suggests that a female's motherly role is the most important role for them, and males are exempted from it. In the writers and editors' group again female exclusion can be seen as there are more men and only one woman which poorly includes women in the authorship of textbook writing. My mathematics 5 has unequal gender representation on the cover page as it portraits 4 boys but only two girls confirming female invisibility. Female under-representation is maintained in the authorship of textbooks with a single female in the crowd of male writers and editors' group.

The findings from the textbooks suggested that there are imbalances in the representations of both males and females in the textbooks of all subjects. Being a different subject context where male and female representations are not much required,

Science and Mathematics subjects had fewer gender bias in language and illustrations but, other subject textbookshad a very biased gender representation within them.

Gender Discourses and Gender knowledge Suggested by the Representations

The discourse analysis of the textbooks of grade 4 and 5 suggests biased gender discourses through the portrayal of male and female in the language and illustrations of text contents. Even though gender is not the course objectives and chapters it covertly and silently builds and disseminates discriminatorygender concepts through the representations of male and female in the text contents. For example, by depicting women in the household duties, as a mother, it suggests that household duties exclusively belong to females, and the motherly duty of women is above all duties. Similarly depicting men in the crimes, diseased, and as drug abusernormalizes male involvement in crimes. The portrayal of males and females in specific conventional costumes in textbooks suggests specific and appropriate attire for them. If the males are depicted as famous personalities, scientists, and politicians, sportsmen, and highranking jobs, the contents lack female role models and normalize male as capable of these positions. It was noticed that textbooks presented the father as the possessor of children, other relatives, and property, fathers were shown making important decisions, specific occupations were projected as males' or females', and there was a male dominancy in writer's and editor's team. When the young learners who are not yet clear about gender discriminations see these types of discriminatory representations in textbooks, they potentially internalize these ideas if they are not dealt with critically by the teachers. As these ideas are presented more or less in almost all subject textbooks, thus, even though there is no separate subject on gender, we are indirectly feeding gendered knowledge to the students through all subject contents.

Some researchers regard textbooks as a hidden curriculum disseminating gender socialization (Islam &Asadullah 2018, p. 19; Jabeen&Iliyas2012, p. 76; Foroutan, 2012, p. 772). According to them, gender in textbooks manipulates young children to take gender positions disseminated through the textbooks. Primary level children are very young and curious to know the world. If such identical gender roles and knowledge are exposed to the young minds, they take those roles as normalwhich can make a long-term imprint upon them. Through these textbooks, we are nourishing gender discrimination in the children. Textbook users even systematically internalize the false idea of gender which makes gender a truth rather than a social construct. Foucault(1980) says an effective combination of power is only possible when power gets access to individual bodies, their acts, attitudes, and modes of everyday behaviors

(p. 125) in which school discipline is one of the important methods to manipulate a large group of individual. This new technology of power is not forceful but more subtle which in a hidden way to grab individual cognition and toaffecttheir ways of life. In the textbook representation of gender, circulation of stereotypical gender representations is a technology of power intended to reinforce patriarchal power relations in the learners.

The unequal representations of the gender and conventional presentation of their differences normalizes the conventional discriminations. Since young children lack a critical lens, they take the projections as knowledge and internalize the cultural differences as natural differences. Foucault (1980) says power "induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produce discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body" (p.119). Thus, power is a producer of our pleasure, discourse, and knowledge. In any discourse and knowledge, we can see the political stance. Representing males and females in specific ways produces power relations. Based on the finding, it can be concluded that male power is induced in negative activities, in all other public activities, and roles except familial and domestic roles. This makes male invincible in a way. However, this invincibility is also making them vulnerable to negative activities. Also, traditional masculinity is burdensome for males as it requires males to be brave, competent, fearless, strong, active all the time and the males who fail to confirm this is questioned which is of course is not justifiable.

In a country like Nepal where a male child is still preferred over a female child (Panthhe&McCutcheon, 2015; Government of Nepal, 2011), and where women are still limited in the households, and men's doing of such works are regarded as womanly, these traditional stereotypical roles authenticates such bias attitude. It promotes superstition regarding gender and gender roles. Instead of bridging the gender gaps, it maintains the gap and potentially produces a gendered individual and unequal gender power relations. Even if most of the researcher has pointed out the drawbacks of gender representations upon women or female students, it is equally harmful tomales. The femalespotentially internalize false inferiority and males internalize false superioritywhich potentially sustains a false concept concerning both males and females and maintains the gender gap.

Courtenay (2000) in his research about health and gender stereotypes, talks about the relationship of masculinity and social construction of male as the stronger sex, linked with the degenerations of the male health putting them at more health risks. Also, on one hand, males are excessively overburdened for the economic and other social responsibilities whereas, more than a half portion of the population is made paralyzed due to cultural conventions. Both genders are burdened with cultural gender conventions to fit in the society despite of their contrastive internal reality or choices.

Moreover, gender bias in the textbooks naturalizes a false gender concept of masculine men and feminine women. This tendency also undervalues individuals who are non-binary in terms of gender. The association of certain toys, color, emotion, outfit, manners, vehicles, roles, and activities with certain gender pressurizes and also manipulates both males and females to choose things, professions, roles, and activities according to their gender. The result upon the gender minorities can be more severe as there are no references with whom they can identify in the textbooks. This can make them feel alienated misfit in society.

This research is specific to the 10 textbooks of grade 4 and 5 subject contexts. It opens up spaces for more researches in other levels in other subject contexts. Textbooks only cannot determine to mean alone, the meaning-making from the contents depends upon how a teacher and students approache the text (Sunderland et al. 2000). Therefore, other studies involving students and teachers can bring various insights about the teaching and learning systems of Nepal. Besides gender, cultural and ethnic representations can also be explored in the school textbooks to ensure how multiculturalism is incorporated in the textbook contents

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Study of Linke Turbidity Factor on Solar Radiation over Jumla

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Abstract

Population growth, mechanization, and industrialization are the by product of human civilization and its resultant impacts goes to degrade the natural environment by the affecting of air-pollution and also associated with climatic change. Linke turbidity factor (L_T) is an important parameter for assessing the air pollution at Jumla $(Lat.:29.28^{\circ}\ N, Long.: 82.16^{\circ}\ E$ and Alt. 2300 masl). Because of the unavailability of spectral measurements data , a model has been used to estimate the Linke turbidity factor (T_L) from broadband measurement of Global Solar radiation in 2012 .The annual average solar insolation, clearness index (K_T) and extinction coefficient (K) are $5.11 \pm 2.34 \text{kWh/m}^2/\text{day}$, 0.71 ± 0.12 and 0.25 ± 0.13 respectively. Similarly, the annual average value of Linke turbidity factor (L_T) and visibility 1.97 ± 0.47 and 28.09 ± 21.08 km are found. Finally it is found that there is strong relation between Linke turbidity factor and meteorological parameters i.e. relative humidity, temperature, water content, ozone and rain fall.

Keywords: air mass, clearness index, extinction coefficient, Linke turbidity, meteorological parameters

Introduction

Sun is the closest star from the Earth. Solar energy has been identified as the largest renewable resources on earth. This energy is passing through the atmosphere and at the same time some part of energy is scattered and some part is absorbed by the gas molecules. In addition, that this solar energy interacts with large particles of atmosphere such as water droplets, dust and aerosols. The attenuation of solar energy through a real atmosphere verse that through clean, dry atmosphere gives atmospheric turbidity. Study

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of atmospheric turbidity and its dependence on different meteorological parameters are important to study in agriculture, Hydrology, Climate change.

Nepal is a land-locked mountainous country with a large area of beautiful landscape situated between latitudes of 26.36° N to 30.45° N and longitudes of 80.06° E to 88.2° E. The elevation of the country ranges from 60.m to 8848.m within a span of 200 km from south to north and about 800 km from east to west (Majupuria T C ,1999).Nepal is situated between two giant industrial countries India and China and their industrial byproduct can directly affect the concentration of air pollutants and depletion of ozone concentration over Kathmandu Valley. That is why it is urgent to study the level of ground atmospheric ozone and other pollutants concentration at this mega city Kathmandu.

Nepal lies in sunbelt (latitude 15° to 35°). Thus, it receives huge amount of solar radiation at the most of the parts of the country. It varies from $12.93 \text{MJ/m}^2/\text{day}$ to $22.48 \text{MJ/m}^2/\text{day}$. Annual average solar insolation and sunny days are 3.6- $6.2 \text{ kWh/m}^2/\text{day}$ and 300 respectively in Nepal (Shrestha et al. ,2003). The latest research result showed that there is about $4.23 \text{ kWh/m}^2/\text{day}$ solar radiation is found in Nepal (Poudyal, 2015). In fiscal year 2016/017, 538.6 TJ energy is consumed in which tradition fuel is 73%, commercial fuel is 25% and renewable energy is 2% (MoF, 2016/017). This data showed that there large amount foreign currency are inverted to import petroleum product. Petroleum fuel based vehicle make air pollution due to emission of carbon dioxide and other unburned gases. So study of atmospheric turbidity is required.

Jumla (Lat.29.28° N, Lon. 82.16° E and alt. 2300 m above sea label) in the midwestern region ,covers area 2,531 sq. km is shown in Figure 1 .Population and population density are 108,921 and 43/sq.km. , respectively (CBS, 2011). This area lies in alpine climatic zone (Adhikari et al., 2013). The largest Rara Lake is situated at an altitude of 2,990 m above sea label. Large amount of energy will be required to promote tourism trade and other commercial activities in that area.).The annual average measured value of global solar radiation (GSR) is $19.90 \pm 0.66 \text{MJ/m}^2/\text{day}$ was found in Jumla for the year 2011(KC et al., 2016).



Figure 1: *Map of Jumla [source:www.lahistoriaconmapas.com/atlas/]*

Methodology and Material

The extraterrestrial solar radiation above the atmosphere (H_o) is attenuated exponentially in atmosphere. According to Bougure-Lembert law (Iqbal ,1983), direct normal solar radiance on ground (H_g) , is

$$H_g = H_o e^{-Km}$$

Where

 $solar\ zenith\ angle(\theta_z) = cos^{-1}(sin\delta\ sin\phi\ +\ cos\delta\ cos\phi\ cos\omega)$

$$solar\ declination(\delta) = 23.45 \sin(\frac{360}{365}(284 + n_d))$$

 $I_{sc} = solar \ constant = 1367 \ W/m^2 \ (Duffie \ and \ Beckman \ ,2013)$

 $n_d = \text{no. of day of year}(DOY)$

 ϕ = latitude of the place

K = extinction coefficient

m = optical air mass

ω=solar hour angle

Clear ness index is

$$K_T = \frac{H_g}{H_o} = e^{-Km}....(2)$$

According to Bason (Bason ,2004)(Eftimie,2009), Linke turbidity(L_T) is

$$L_T = \frac{K}{0.8662 \, Dr(m)}$$
....(3)

Dr(m) is Rayleigh optical thickness as a function of the optical air mass(m_a). The optical air mass(m_a) is described by Kasten (1966) using the solar zenith angle (θ_z), altitude and atmospheric pressure(P).

$$= \frac{1}{6.6296 + 1.7513m_a - 0.1202m_a^2 + 0.0065m_a^3 - 0.00013m_a^4} \dots \dots \dots \dots (4)$$

$$m_a = \frac{P}{101325 \cos\theta_z + 0.15(93.885 - \theta_z)^{-1.253}} \dots \dots \dots \dots (5) \text{(Wang et al. ,2017)}$$

Global solar radiation (GSR) is the sum of direct or beam solar radiation and diffused solar radiation. This GSR and meteorological data are collected from Department of Hydrology and Meteorology (DHM), Government of Nepal for year 2012. The GSR is measured by CMP6 First Class Pyrometer (Kipp and Zonen, 2008) shown in Figure 2. Total ozone column (TOC) data are collected from

[http://data.ceda.ac.uk/badc/toms/data/omi/] for the 2012. The Total Ozone Mapping Spectrometer (TOMS) is an instrument which built and operated by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Out of five TOMS instruments which were built, four entered successful in orbit. The Ozone Monitoring Instrument (OMI) has replaced Earth Probe TOMS since January 1, 2006. Solar insolation data are collected from [https://power.larc.nasa.gov/data-access-viewer/]. MATLAB 2015 software are used to analysis data and plot graph. In this research work, mean, standard deviation and correlation coefficient are used as statistical tool. Standard deviation is used as error bar in graph. Data are presented in for mean \pm standard deviation.

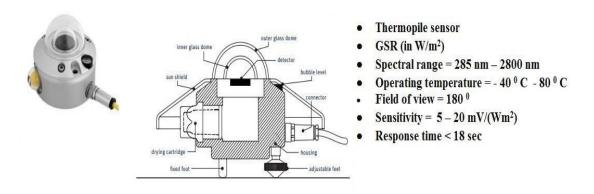


Figure 2:*CMP6 pyranometer [source: www.kippzonen.com]*

Results and Discussion

The monthly variation of solar insolation is shown in Figure 3(a). Solar insolation is maximum $6.87\pm1.28 kWh/m^2/day$ in May due to long day length and minimum $3.46\pm0.80 kWh/m^2/day$ in December due to small day length. The monthly variation of clearness index (K_T) is shown in Figure 3(b). It is maximum 0.78 ± 0.06 in October that means sky is clear where as minimum 0.59 ± 0.17 in July due to rainy season. Similarly the solar insolation varies large in July and lesser in October due to the less cloudy at July and high cloudy fog in October. Figure 3(c) shows the monthly variation of the extinction coefficient. It is maximum (0.47 ± 0.24) in July and minimum (0.13 ± 0.04) in November. It is due to the local weather condition.

Figure 3(d) shows the monthly variation of Linke turbidity. Its maximum and minimum value of Linke turbidity 3.83 ± 1.87 and 1.53 ± 1.14 are found at NST 9:45 amin July and in October. It values due to local weather condition. Maximum and

minimum value at 12:45 are 4.12 ± 2.24 in August due to rain and 1.07 ± 0.47 in October due to clear sky and 7.30 ± 1.21 in August respectively. Maximum and minimum value at 15:45 are 2.85 ± 1.44 in August and 0.82 ± 0.45 in November respectively. Figure 3(e) shows monthly variation of Linke turbidity. Maximum value of Linke turbidity 3.57 ± 1.83 is in July and minimum value 1.16 ± 0.37 is in OctoberIts varies less in October whereas large varies in July.

According Koshmeider's formula(Horvath ,1971) ,visibility in km is R = 3.912/K.....(6).

Figure 3(f) show the monthly variation of visibility. It is maximum 43.51 ± 20.81 km in January and minimum 12.57 ± 9.33 in July due to variation of the extinction coefficient

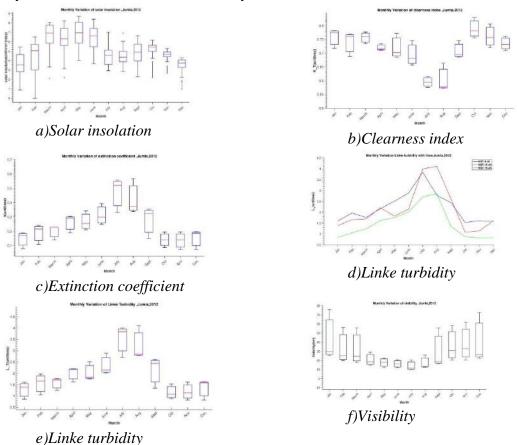


Figure 3:Monthly variation of parameters

Figure 4(a) shows the seasonal variation of solar insolution. Spring has large solar insolation 6.59 ± 1.37 kWh/m²/day whereas winter has minimum value 3.82 ± 1.22 kWh/m²/day. Figure 4(b) show the seasonal variation of Linke turbidity. Summer has

more Linke turbidity 3.17 ± 0.58 than in winter Linke turbidity 1.71 ± 0.21 due to the local weather condition.

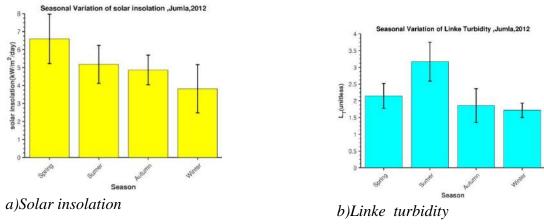
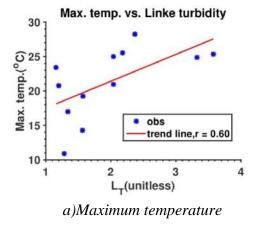
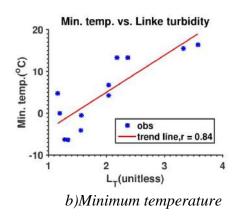


Figure 4: Seasonal variation of parameters

Figure 5(a) show correlation between maximum temperature and Linke turbidity. Correlation coefficient of them is 0.06. Annual mean of maximum temperature is 21.29 \pm 5.17°C. Figure 5(b) show correlation between minimum temperature and Linke turbidity. Correlation coefficient of them is 0.84. Annual mean of minimum temperature is 4.74 \pm 8.41°C. Figure 5(c) show correlation between relative humidity and Linke turbidity. Correlation coefficient of them is 0.78. Annual mean of relative humidity is 57.47 \pm 12.21%. Figure 5(d) show there is strong correlation (R²=0.90) between water content and Linke turbidity.





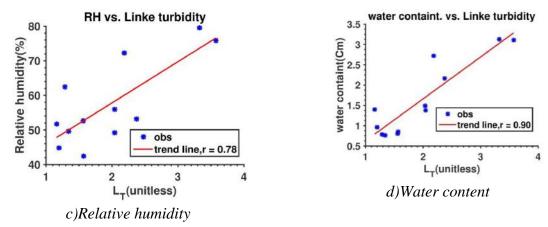
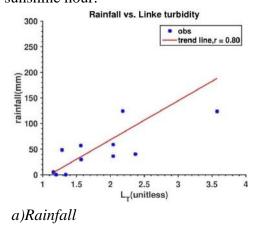
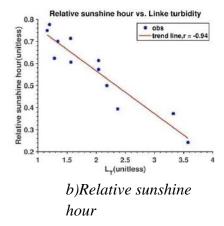


Figure 5: Relation of Linke turbidity with of parameters

Figure 6(a) shows correlation between rainfall and Linke turbidity. Correlation coefficient of them is 0.80. Annual rainfall 792.20 mm. Rainy day is 129. Where N is day length $(2cos^{-1}(-tan\delta tan\phi)/15)$ and n is sunshine hour. Figure 6(b) show correlation between relative sunshine hour (n/N) and Linke turbidity. Correlation coefficient of them is -0.94. Annual mean of relative sunshine hour is 0.57 ± 0.16 . Figure 6(c) shows correlation between Total Ozone Column (TOC) and Linke turbidity. Correlation coefficient of them is 0.81. Yearly mean of total ozone column(TOC) is 250.42 ± 8.60 DU. There is positive correlation of Linke turbidity with maximum temperature minimum temperature , relative humidity, water contend, rainfall and TOC. But there is negative correlation of Linke turbidity with relative sunshine hour.





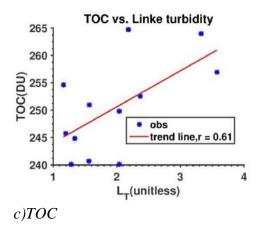


Figure 6: Relation of Linke turbidity with of parameters

Conclusions

Annual average solar insolation in Jumla for year 2012 is 5.11 ± 2.34 kW/m²/day was found which is very much significant to harvest the solar energy at that location. Likewise the yearly mean of clearness index 0.71 ± 0.12 was found. It means that there is comparatively more clear days than other parts of Nepal. The mean of extinction coefficient 0.25 ± 0.13 . was found. Similarly the annual average of Linke turbidity are 2.22 ± 0.70 , 2.12 ± 1.00 and 1.49 ± 0.71 at 9:45, 12:45 and 15:45 NST respectively. Annual mean of Linke turbidity is 1.97 ± 0.47 . Annual mean of visibility is 28.09 ± 21.08 km .Relative sunshine hour affect negatively on Linke turbidity. Water content effects positively on Linke turbidity.

According to Wang (Wang et al. ,2017) ,Linke turbidity values is 3.3 to 7.7 in Wuhan (latitude 30°32′N, longitude 114°21′E and 30 m a.s.l.), Central China from 2010 to 2011. According to Laxmi Narain and S.N. Garg (Narain and Garg ,2013),on eight years (1993–2000) study, Linke turbidity for four cities of India are T_L = 7.5 for Kolkata (26.93° N, 88.45° E,431 ma.s.l.) , T_L = 4.6 for Poona (18.53° N, 73.85° E,559 ma.s.l.) , T_L = 6.4 for Jaipur (26.93° N, 88.45° E,431 ma.s.l.) and T_L = 6.8 for New Delhi (22.65° N,88.45° E, 216 ma.s.l.). The comparison of all results showed that the our values of Linke turbidity result are verymuch similar with major cities of the China and India Finally it is concluded that Jumla is comparatively less polluted to compare as data of the different cities of India and China.

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The Dichotomy of Pain and Hope in Bhutanese Nepali Diasporic Poetry

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Abstract

Diaspora is a locale where both the pain and hope work together. The pain of being separated from one's homeland is compensated with the hope of a better life than that of home back. The creative writings of the diasporas reflect the same dichotomy of pain and hope. This exploratory study on Bhutanese Nepali diasporic poetry displays the same features: the Bhutanese Nepali diasporans have a life full of pain at the loss of their homeland, but they are living with the hope for good life in the days ahead. On the one hand, the trauma they have undergone because of expulsion from their homeland, the experience of being refugees in Nepal for about two decades, and the hardship of transition caused by the third country settlement has been expressed in their poems. On the other hand, their creations show the rays of hope for their life ahead in the host land. They have hopes for a good life, for the preservation of their culture, and real return to Bhutan. In both the themes and styles, many poems simultaneously display both of these aspects of their lives.

Keywords: Bhutanese Nepali Diaspora, dichotomy, homeland, hope, host land, pain.

Possibility of Hope in Diaspora

Discussions on a diaspora, its life and the creations mostly deal with the difficulties the diasporans have to face in the host land and their sorrow of leaving the homeland. But if the life was full of problems and pain only, would the diasporas grow continuously in the world? It is not the case even because all new diasporas are not the results of forceful expulsions of the people from their homeland. If we take the case of the New Nepali Diaspora itself, it is the result of individual's desire to migrate to the places with better opportunities than that of Nepal. The Nepali Diaspora growing in the western nations these days is its example. So, is it academically justifiable to study only the lope side of diasporic life? Critic and researcher Govinda Raj Bhattarai, in his discussion on transnational Nepali people working in the Arabian land, raises the issue

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and argues that it is time to see the other good side of such migrations (19). This is necessary even in the study of diasporic societies.

This article tries to study both of these aspects of the life of the Bhutanese Diaspora presented in their poetic creations. It tries to show that if even the people of this diaspora that is created with great troubles and tribulations have the dichotomy of pain and hope, the other diasporas made up of gradual accumulation of the members surely have both sides. And the studies on diaspora need to take this reality into serious consideration. This article explores into the themes and styles of sixteen representative poems composed by the Bhuanese Nepali diasporans; and comes to a conclusion about their life in the diaspora.

Images of Pain and Hope Intermingled

Many poems present beautiful images that intermingle pain and hope; and they show the complete life of the Bhutanese Nepali Diaspora. This section deals with some representative poems of this style and theme. The first among them is ShivalalDahal's poem entitled "AniTyaheebaataNayaaShristiHunchha" ["There Starts a New Creation"] published in 2010. It was the early phase of third country resettlement of the Bhutanese refugees living in eastern Nepal. After two decade long suffering as refugees, they were going to get their own home in a host land. They, mainly the young generation, were excited for this achievement that was gained at the cost of leaving the dream of returning Bhutan forever. The total destruction of their past, of their history in Bhutan, was just a matter of memory at that moment of resettlement. Many aged people were unhappy at this because their dream was to return to Bhutan where their youthful vigour was used in the making of the society, the identity and the nation. The refugee community was split into two factions: those happy youths for getting the chance of resettlement and starting a new life there; and their unhappy guardians. Dahal's poem addresses this reality. It is a short composition in six lines:

Flowers bloom

And drop

And from the same point

Starts a new creation

This is how here

The eternal course of life goes on. (ll. 1-6)

Here, the images of blooming and dropping of flower symbolize the life and death, hope and pain together. Life is hope; and death is pain. But one death does not end the continuity of humanity. As birth, bloom (life) and death make continuous process of existence, so is the continuity of one society. Referring to Bhutanese Nepali society, the poet takes their expulsion from Bhutan as a dropping of a fully bloomed

flower. But it was not the end of the future of this society. They were about to set up a new society in the host land that they were going to resettle. They would bloom there; and would forget or at least compensate their pain that they have undergone. Thus, life is made up of the dichotomy of pain and hope; and so is the theme of this poem.

The same theme is directly expressed by Suraj K. Budhathoki's poem "Uprooted!" It starts with the pain the Bhutanese Nepalis underwent: "Expelled by the thousands /Lost, starved, and dream squashed" (Il. 1-2). The same stanza has the third line: "Found a land, cheered and welcomed." The dichotomy of pain and hope/achievement continues into the second stanza:

Uninvited, rejected and found yet another

Land in distant ocean,

Salty, harsh and fresh free-doom scanty I taste

But I rise in my hearts to 'live or die' and rest. (11. 4-7)

Pain and hope are intermingled in most of these lines. Line four starts from the pain of being "uninvited and rejected"; but it ends at their finding of another land. The land is there, but not so near to their homeland and symbolically the culture they are accustomed with: "Land in distant ocean". The next line in the first half presents the salty and harsh life, but the second half deals with the fresh beginning of life. It is thought to be full of freedom as the west, especially the USA, is the land of dream. But for the people newly arrived from a different socio-political and cultural background, the freedom sometimes turns to be the source of doom. The poet indicates this reality with the breaking of the word 'freedom' into 'free' and 'doom': The freedom can be the reason for the doom of their culture and so may be the doom of their life itself. But they are doomed to accept it as there is no better option than this one. As a result, they are committed to rise at least in their spirit ("heart") though not in terms of daily material existence. At least, they have freedom to live or die on their own. The poem ends with the dichotomy of loss and gain:

Roof lost, and roof found

Life lost, and life found

Smile, sadness, love and lifelessness

If life I learn, take it light and smile. (ll. 8-11)

Starting their life at all kinds of loss and pain, now they are happy to get at least the basic requirements of life; and so they are hopeful for their future.

The difficulty of adjusting in a new land is presented by J. N. Dahal's poem "Banda Dhokaa" ["Closed Door"]. This dramatic cum narrative poem presents two characters: one the narrator and the other one is a confused actor who represents confused Bhutanese Nepali people who do not see any good at settling in the West. The

poem starts with the sadness and shock of the second character at a full moon midnight. He is standing at the eaves of his house looking at the moon and says: "The door to the east is closed forever/Probably it will never open" (II. 4-5). These lines indicate the closure of the door to enter into Bhutan where they spent most parts of their lives. Now, the land he is standing on is that of Nepal from where Bhutan lies to the east. It also relates to the eastern culture the Bhutanese Nepalis are accustomed with. Now (in 2018 when the poem was composed), in the diaspora i.e. the west, it is not possible to follow and observe the same cultural tradition they had observed in Bhutan and Nepal. Realising his shock, the narrator shows him the next door opened at the west. There is the possibility of starting a new life adapting new culture and life style. But that character does not see it and so does not believe what the narrator reports.

The character continuously talks about the closed door. It is the expression of the shock at the loss of culture and long earned identity. The loss is so intense that his eyes cannot see any new door; his mind cannot realize the other possibilities. The narrator senses that the situation is getting worse: The character may suffer more than this. So, he snatches away the glasses the character has been wearing; and signals to the open sky. Now, the character wonders at the new sight that he never imagined existing. He clears his dazzled eyes; and finally accepts that there really exists a door in the west, too. And the door is open! Then he regrets on seeing only the closed door in the east for so long a time of his life. He ultimately realizes that it is good to enter into the space of new and multiple possibilities through that open door. Here, the door is a powerful image cum symbol: Looking at the lost past one can only be painful and sad. It is necessary to accept the new realities and future possibilities to live a life with hope. Two poems by SanchamanKhaling express the similar dichotomy of pain and hope with the use of images such as night versus light, blooming flowers versus dropped flowers, evening versus morning, and moon and stars at a distance versus moons and stars in his own mind. One of these two poems is "EkGuchchhaaPhoolakoBihaanee" ["The Morning of One Bouquet Flower"] published in 2009. The persona in the poem reports his thoughts in the night and in the next morning. Every night he falls asleep with wishes that the world would get light and he would be able to offer a bouquet of night jasmine [parijat] to his beloved the next morning. But when he gets up, he always finds that all the flowers have dropped and faded. This has become his life-long experience. The pain of a lover (of life) in such a situation is beyond explanation. But still his hope of getting enough flowers to make a bouquet has not faded away from his life. Despite the pain and suffering, hope continues. It is how one's life continues.

Khaling's next poem "E DoorakaaChaandanee!" ["Hey, Moon at a Distance!"] published in 2009 presents how the persona lives the life of a dream chaser. Though the moon (i. e. the object of dream or a happy and fulfilled life) is at a great distance, he is

ready to follow it as long as his life continues to exist. When he reached near it, the moon suddenly hid itself inside the cloud. Some other times, it was the no moon day: He was always baffled. On this background, he challenges the moon that he will live alone. No matter how hungry he has to live in his life, he has learnt to celebrate the lonely life in darkness. This indicates the fate of Bhutanese Nepalis to live a life full of pain. They have learnt to celebrate the same. Though they cannot materialize their dream, they have preserved them in their imagination. The poem ends at the same note:

But these days

I have planted innumerable moons

I have sowed the stars

In the barren land within me

That's enough! (11.11-15)

These are a few,out of many, examples of the poems made up of the use of images of pain and hope intermingled.

Diaspora as a Space of Dream

At the beginning of the process of resettlement, the Bhutanese Nepali youths were hopeful. Their pain of being refugee was about to end; and a new life in a new space was about to begin. At least, they could search for a job as they wished to have; they would have a home the government of the host land prepared for them; their children would get free education in an advanced nation; and their aged family members would get free medical treatment. All these were their dreams for the decades; and they would be materialized soon. Poets gave expression to these hopes of the community and treated diaspora as a land of hope, happiness and prosperity.

YugDawadi and SanchamanKhaling have composed poems in this theme. Dawadi's poem "Anubhuti" ["Realization"] published in 2009 shows the value of diaspora in contrast with the refugee-life the Bhutanese Nepalis underwent. The poem begins with the search for the rays of light in pitch darkness of the no moon day. Carrying the heavy heart at the loss of kiths and kins, they continuously seek fora formula of better possibilities in life. The children born as the babies of the refugees, their mothers full of tortures of life and their helpless fathers have now got the New Land i.e. the America, the land of dreams! The poet believes that it is the beginning of the Spring Season. The people have realized the value of happy land devoid of heathaze in their horizon. It is a fresh morning that can help germinate new dreams in their life. Their happiness, enthusiasm and desires have started to walk together. As a result, they have started imagining better life; have hoped for the recovery of the painful wound; and finally their mind has become stable. The poet realizes the beauty of these

achievements and finds the beginning of a new love of life. They have begun to feel that their life is meaningful to live on.

The new atmosphere has given them the mood of celebration. Khaling's poem "Happy Holi" (2009) portrays the same picture of celebration. He finds the scene full of rainbow colours that are ready to decorate their happiness and fortunes in life. Though many things are left to be fulfilled in their life, these colours can cover them and create the mood of celebration. Slowly, the wounds of the widow's barren brows, orphan's hunger and thirst, and that of the broken homes of the homeless people will be recovered when they get both home and hope in the new land. The poet implores the community to start filling these gaps with colours (hopes) of life so that the rest of the pains will be recovered soon.

Poets Devi Pokhrel and R. N. Pokharel celebrate the value of this new achievement with the backdrop of pain the community has undergone for long. Devi Pokhrel's poem "Motherhood Reverted" published in 2010 treats the new land as a new mother: "a queer woman with her open heart/Reverted him his lost motherhood" (Il. 35-36). These are the last two lines of the poem. The poem portrays the picture of the bad and forsaken life of a baby, symbolically the Bhutanese Nepalis. Their real mother who gave this baby's birth is Bhutan that finally "ordered her fraudulent kith and kins to/Throw him in the waters" (ll. 15-16). When that did not work well, in the order of the same mother i.e. Bhutan as a nation, the so called motherland managed to take him away at a midnight to "so far, so distant to/Put him in an isolation and evanescence" (ll. 19-20). She did not care when he "screamed, cried and asked for help" (1. 23). He had to bear uncountable types of troubles and tribulations. But "with the sanguinity of getting/Tower of strength he moved forward" (ll. 27-28). He continued his journey of life and finally reached to the lap of this queer woman i.e. the USA that welcomed him with an open heart. Now he/they feel the love of the motherland. America is their nation now. They are living and working with hope there.

R. N. Pokharel, in his poem entitled "Defeating Double Bind" published in 2009, also relates the history of the pain and the ultimate achievement of hope and happiness. The narration starts from the hut in one of the refugee camps in Nepal. It was a strange place that "[f]ailed to befriend him" (l. 2), yet he tried to smile. He has the experience of: "His Earth-limited to standing his hut/Witnessing his interminable misery-/Witnessed his parents' demise" (ll. 11-13) and many other troublesome times. He learnt to appreciate his own "interior might" and when he could not do it, he also could not try to take the help of wine "to kill his inner fire" (l. 18):

His mind duly denied.

His hands often touched suicide rope

Eyes located apt sites for valediction;

His mind earnestly denied. (ll. 19-22)

He endured all these troubles and continued to live. As a result, he could reach to the land full of opportunities for a new beginning: "Naked flora of late winter/Casually anticipating Spring" (ll. 28-29). Thus, those who could bear all the troubles of expulsion from the birthplace, and life of refugees could finally achieve their life as they expected to live in the USA, the diaspora. This is a land of hope, and of dream and the land of life for them.

Hope of Cultural Preservation and Return to Bhutan

Once the Bhutanese Nepalis got settled in the third country and were able to be free from the life of refugees, they had to undergo new types of troubles. The Nepali culture that they could perform and observe both at their homes in Bhutan and in the refugee camps in Nepal was not easy to preserve and observe in the host land. Once the door to the east was closed, they had to make themselves ready to adjust with the door at the west. The culture that they carry in their blood and the culture that is outside in their newly acquainted society did not match. Instead, there was a conflict between these two. It was a new cause for their shock in life. And then they began to cherish a new hope: hope to preserve their culture in the diaspora as long as possible.

Poet Dona Acharya has given expression to this difficulty in the diaspora. Acharya's poem "Bhaanu-Smriti" ["Reminiscing Bhanu"] is an example. 'Bhanu', here, refers to Nepali poet BhanubhaktaAcharya. 'Bhanu' is a cultural symbol for the Nepali speaking people across the globe. He is believed to haveemotionally bound Nepali society two centuries ago through his poetry. His *Ramayana* is such a beautiful Nepali epic and a carrier of cultural teaching to the then Nepali society. So, Bhanu is taken to be the founder of Nepali language, emotion, culture and life.

Acharya's poem "Reminiscing Bhanu" expresses both the problems and commitment to preserve Nepali language and culture in the diaspora. The poem starts with the idea of the continuity of the language and culture in the host land:

I have come here

Carrying the Bhanu

He may have set there

He has risen here

In the next hemisphere

With new rays. (ll. 1-6)

These lines show how culture travels with its followers. Many people are inconsiderate about their culture even in Nepal these days; but those who have reached to the next hemisphere have understood its value for existence. They cannot forget the

love of Bhanu because his love was "spoken/With my childish tongue/With my birth" (ll. 9-11). To love one's community in the diaspora means to love the language and culture.

In this context, the Bhutanese Nepali community has to face some serious questions regarding their culture and identity: Can the strangeness (stranger's culture) overtake the Nepali culture? Would the independent Nepali community go on embracing our glory? The persona, after asking these questions, reports that while he was facing these questions, he happened to encounter Bhanu in his dream. Then the poet feels secure that their language, their community and their glory would not vanish. Bhanu's dream of emotional and cultural unity among the Nepali people will be shining like the sun. Thus, this poem addresses the cultural crisis of the Bhutanese Nepalis in the diaspora along with their hope of and commitment to the preservation and continuity of their language, culture and consequent identity.

Connected with their preservation of culture is the idea of their return to Bhutan where they learnt it. If returning Bhutan physically is not possible for the community as a whole, it is possible for the diasporans to return to their cultural heritage that they develop in the host land. It means they can preserve and promote their language, dress, food, festivals and other culture related ideas and practices; and with them they can feel at home. It is the only possible homecoming of the diasporans. R. N. Pokharel's poem "I'm Still Alive" gives expression to such a wish of Bhutanese Nepali Diaspora. He has connected this wish with the loss of their culture because of the forceful eviction from their homes. The persona in the poem narrates the incidents/accidents of the day when he was fifteen and they were leaving their home forever.

His parents bagged everything possible before they left home. At the moment of departure:

My pa looked towards his hard earned land,

Hard earned orange trees his hand hath planted.

My ma cautiously with a wish

left the door open and wept

And we set steps. . . to unknown destination. (ll. 10-14)

The rulers of Bhutan wanted them "to finish and rot/Decay and never return" (ll. 25-26). But they survived in the refugee camps for twenty years. Again, when he was thirty five, they once more bagged everything they could for a new flight. But this time, they were not so sad like in the first time because they were flying to the USA with a hope of new life with comfort and safety. Now, they live in the USA, but they have not lost their hope to return to the home they have left open:

My ma who left the door open – Is still alive.

My pa who looked toward his hard earned land

Is still alive.

My the then childish eyes

—Matured. Has witnessed visualized. (ll. 52-57)

When he remembers all these events, incidents/accidents and evaluates his present, he finds within him:

Patriotism blooming

Has hope magnified,

Heart grown stronger,

Amity flourished,

Wit enriched. (ll. 58-62)

With all these feelings, his hope of return to the home and homeland gets stronger:

Bliss from 'The bag'

Shall be mine one day,

Thro' The door I shall enter and rise,

The evasive ploy be mirrored.

I'm still alive. (ll. 63-67)

Till life persists, hope continues. Pains are to be borne and pushed back to past, to history, to memory. What one needs to cherish is hope, hope, and only hope. The Bhutanese Nepali diasporic poems express the same theme of life in total.

Commitment within Despair

The poems also express the Bhutanese Nepali Diaspora's hopeful commitment within despair. Yati Raj Ajnabee, KhagendraGautam, L. B. RikhamMagar, DharmendraTimsina 'Kshitij' and Rup Narayan Pokharel's poems are some representative creations in this regard. Ajnabee's "Fear Fears with Fearlessness" presents his and his generation's commitment to fight against all types of obstacles in their life. Its main focus is on fighting against the tyrannical Bhutanese monarch and regaining what they have lost because of his injustice inflicted upon them.

The poem begins with the torture the parents' generation underwent:

Shackled was your father

With tyrannous chain.

Tearful was your mother

With angst and sharp pain.

With thine eyes closed

You did keep on seeing. (ll. 1-6)

And the poem presents how blindfold, deaf and heartless the Bhutanese Nepali youths are compelled to be. The whole new generation is dumbfounded because of fear. But the poet wants them to end such a condition and be aware of their duties, responsibilities and capabilities: "Wake, wake up! You have/Slept many nights so dead" (Il. 17-18). He implores them to study and understand the history of the world, their own history and be ignited for the necessary revolution. It is only through a new revolution they can regain their land lost to an autocrat: "Have fulfilled your dream" (l. 28). He encourages them to be committed to the cause and realize that "Fear fears with fearlessness"(l. 32). It is not only to regain the land lost, for any kind of achievement in the life full of despair, we need to be fearless. Once we are fearless, even the fear hesitates to grapple us. What we need is the commitment to the cause and fearlessness in action.

KhagendraGautam in his poem entitled "Ma AaunechhuSaathee" ["I'll Come, My Friend"] published in 2014 expresses the commitment that Ajnabee's poem demands. Gautam's persona expresses his commitment:

I'll come, my friend

I'll come with laughter

With red man

In red dress carrying a red flag

Sure, I'll come. (11.1-5)

Then the poem deals with the torture his friends back in Bhutan might have been undergoing. He assures them that nothing can obstruct him to enter into his nation, his area; and so finally he will meet his friends. Every people from the red huts will be with him. He will be as recreative as the Raktabij of Hindu mythology, and also as destructive as the bombs against the enemies of the people. Finally, he declares that he will be victorious and will free every poor man shackled in Bhutan. Such a commitment is found even in Dharmendra Timsina's poem entitled "MaileEutaaKathaaLekhnuChha" ["I Have to Write a Story"] published in 2018. The poem presents the postcolonial argument that all written histories are lies because they have got written by the rulers in such a way that these histories favour them; and they help continue their domination over the ruled ones. The persona denies the need of writing the history of everyday generalities. It is necessary to write the history of pain, torture and even happiness the Bhutanese Nepali community has undergone. It is necessary because these people have started feeling shy of talking of their past and being fearful to tell their real stories. The life they really lived back in refugee camps in Nepal must come out. The new car, a tall modern building and the vacant idealism do not represent who they are. What really represents their life is what they did, underwent

and felt in the past. It is to preserve their identity, their culture and ultimately their life. The poet thinks that it is the necessary commitment of the whole community. The poem entitled "MrityukoMaidaan" ["Ground of Death"] composed by L. B. RikhamMagar and published in 2015 recounts the troubles people have to bear anywhere in the world. His indication is towards the problems the Bhutanese Nepali community has to undergo even in the diaspora despite their initial excitement in the third country resettlement. The poet has found the life in the host land, too, full of difficulties; but he does not see any alternatives for them to follow. So, he implores the whole community to be committed to live and enjoy it in any way possible to do. The poem starts from the lines:

With the upward flow of smoke

A pack of future

And a little hope for life

Is padlocked in a box. (ll. 1-4)

It is not only the condition of the Bhutanese Nepali diasporans, but also that of any people in the world. Many people's hope for life and the dreams for the future are covered within the damaged walls. People are seen praying the God for their safety. The poem moves ahead with the portrayal of such a picture; and towards the middle the poem gives a terrible picture of the present day world:

May be – human life is a slaughter house

Everywhere there are sprays of blood

In the road, town-square and lanes

On the walls of all types

There is the *holi* of blood. (ll. 19-23)

The more bizarre scene of the present inhuman world is presented ahead. Symbolically, it is the life of the Bhutanese Nepali Diaspora. They did not get painless life wherever they reached. So, the only solution is to be committed to the community and help each other for the preparation of good future ahead. So, the poem ends at the lines:

Let us all gather together

Let's celebrate the life

Let's live

And let others live, too. (ll. 49-52)

These lines highlight the fact that they need to work together and help each other to live a sustainable life in the diaspora despite the fact that life is full of difficulties. This reality is further highlighted by Rup Narayan Pokharel's poem entitled "For the Unborn" published in 2009. The poem is an emotional piece conveyed in a narrative

form. Early in the dawn of late autumn, a letter is dropped into the room of a semiurban house. The postman is unknown. A young lady picks up the letter. This is a letter of love and advice of a dying husband to his pregnant wife, Seela. He is going to be a martyr for the community and its freedom and identity. The letter relates that it is sure that the government people will bring to her his "stiffened corpse". He requests her to "have a snap" of his face because he does not have any of his photos to show the would be child: "Do it just for the sake/Of our progeny/To at least imagine my being" (Il. 37-39). More than this, his request is to take care of the newcomer i.e. their baby: "Take care of the fetus/Forthere flows my blood/And your only living hopes" (Il. 32-34). Then he suggests her to give the unborn, after its birth, a name they have chosen together.

This is a very symbolic poem. The dying father is a history now. He has used his life for the nation, for the community and for making the society good one for his next generation. But all his dreams came to an end when he was mortally wounded and was sure to be a martyr. This is a bloody history of the nation/community for the new generation of Bhutanese Nepalis. Now, at the demise of the father, mother is lonely and helpless; but she has a great responsibility of giving birth to a baby that is already in her womb. The mother is a present day reality and the baby is the 'hope' for future. Both the history and the present have their roles in the making of the future. Both of them are full of pain, suffering and difficulties. But these all negativities are borne for making the future good.

Symbolically, this poem reads the total history of Bhutanese Nepalis. Though their past and present are full of pains and sufferings, they are hopeful for the future. It was 2009 when the poem was published; and it was the time the third country resettlement process was going high and mighty. The Bhutanese Nepalis, mostly the young generation, took it as an opportunity to settle and create a new diaspora that could give them a hopeful future. The symbol of the unborn 'baby' is used to refer to the same future society and their life in it. This is a picture of the diaspora the migrants make before they reach there; before it is really created.

Bhutanese Nepali society was one section of the Nepali Diaspora. As they were expelled out of Bhutan, they came back to Nepal as refugees. This situation shows that for the diasporans, their homeland is just a land of faith and emotion, not the land that can support them in material terms. Once a diaspora, they are always a diaspora. So, they need to search for their happiness in the diaspora itself. If one place cannot provide them what they need, they dream of the next; and so they search for their new hopes and their fulfillment so that they can forget the pain they have undergone in the history and at present. As the poems analyzed above show, diaspora is always a society of hopes forfuturedespite the past and present sufferings.

Conclusion

Bhutanese Nepali diasporic poetry presents the dichotomy of pain and hope of the community. The past of torture and the present full of difficulties are used as the background for the future with hope in their life. The same is given expression through the poems analyzed in this study. Not only the themes, but also the styles of the selected poems represent the order of pain to hope that the community has experienced. Most of these poems start from the presentation of the pain that the community underwent in the past and/or the difficulties they have to face at present; and they end at the hope of the possibility of a good future. Some poems alternatively present pain and hope from the beginning. Even in them, pain precedes hope, sometimes in each such line: the first half is about the pain and the second half is on hope. So, these poems show that the life of the poets and their community gets reflected in their creative writings. At the same time, the poems composed in 2009-2010 have this dichotomy more in ratio than in the poems written before and after that period. It is because the third country resettlement process had given the youths of the Bhutanese Nepali community a great hope to overcome their painful past. Finally, this study shows that the dichotomy of pain and hope is the major aspect of a diasporic society; and so studies on diasporic life and literature need to pay further attention to this reality.

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A Book Review

on

Population, Health and Development: Perspectives on Uttarakhand T.V. Sekher, Abhishek Singh and Sulabha Parasuraman (Editors)

New Delhi: Academic Foundation

in association with

International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai, 2013, 558 pp.

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The population-health-environment approach to development recognizes the interconnectedness between people and their environment. Papers included in this book attempted to examine these issues in detail with evidences and identify areas of further search and action in the state of Uttarakhand of India. The volume is the outcome of a collection of papers presented in a three-day (March 17-19, 2008) seminar entitled 'Population, Environment and Development in Uttarakhand' organized by the International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai in Dehardun. The main thrust of this volume is to see how population growth, size, fertility, mortality, migration, settlement patterns, and resource availability influence the environment and development. It demands a better understanding of solving such interwoven complex challenges through a better understanding of two-way impact of population factors to the environment and environmental changes on human health and well-being. Papers included in the volume found giving ample evidence, issues, knowledge and methodologies for the successful and effective integration of population and environmental factors to achieve ranges of development goals like poverty reduction, health security to gender equity and environmental protection.

The volume comes as a compilation of 27 selected papers submitted and presented in the seminar. Besides, it contains one overarching paper 'Population, Health and Development in Uttarakhand: Issues and Challenges from the editors' sides. The 27 papers are re-grouped into seven broader thematic issues of education, employment and income inequality, fertility and family planning, health service utilisation, gender issues, HIV/AIDS, urbanisation and migration and population and development of Uttarakhand state of India. Most of the papers provided comprehensive analysis by utilizing the most recent available data and information from official statistics, National Family Health

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Surveys, District Level Household and Facility Surveys, National Sample Surveys and Censuses of India. The overview paper presents a clear picture of emerging issues and challenges in the population, health and development of Uttarakhand.

The overview paper presenting a snap-short geo-political background and ranking economic and development level of the state compared to other states of India attempted to focus on the analysis of size, growth, distribution and composition of the state's population. As of the 2011 population census the state was resided by 10.1 million populations with the access of 4 males per 100 females. The decadal population growth rate between 2001 and 2011 is nearly 2 percent and on average, 189 persons are residing in per square kilometre area of the state. Information on missing girls (deficit of 115 girls per 1000 boys aged 0-6 years) is a severe social challenge in the state (Table 3). The state is doing well in the achievement of universal access to education, urbanizing the population and economy. In a decadal difference, the female literacy rate increased by 11 percentage points from 60 percent in 2001 to 71 percent in 2011.

Household assets and characteristics indicated that 34 percent of the state's population is below the poverty line (having below poverty line card). Concerning basic infrastructure, primary and middle schools are available in 98 percent and accredited social health activists (SHA) in 75 percent villages of the state, however, any type of government health facilities are available only in 30 percent villages of the state. Prevalence of child marriage among women (married below age 18 years) in the state is below six percent, 99 percent of female population are aware on any family planning method with 61 percent contraceptive prevalence rate of any method and 20 percent unmet need for family planning. However, only 30 percent of delivery in the state takes place in health institutions. Child health statistics indicated that 63 percent of children in the state are fully immunised.

The chapter presents an overview of the state's health and population policy of 2002. The state is first in India to formulate integrated health and population policy aimed to initiate health sector reform. The overall mission and goal of the policy was to made efforts to improve the health status and quality of life of the population, eliminate inequalities in access to health care, address emerging health concerns and stabilise population growth. The paper finds population and health indicators of the states' better than many other Indian states and outlines the state's health systems facing several challenges in providing sufficient, appropriate and quality health services reaching marginal populations. Such challenges include scattered settlements in difficult terrain, inadequate infrastructure facility and lack of human and financial resources.

The volume comprises of five papers under the thematic group 'Education, Employment and Income Inequalities' contributed by 12 scholars. The first three papers are on universal education and the second two on employment and income inequality.

The first paper by Suresh Sharma and Nilabja Ghosh entitled 'Education for All in Rural Himalayas: A study of Uttarakhand' through the exploratory and explanatory analysis and presentation of data derived from 'Socio-economic status survey of Uttarakhand, June-July 2004' attempted to add knowledge claim in the ground of narrowing gender and caste gap in education in coming years among young age population. The statistical test exhibited that caste disparity in access to education is in-significant for populations aged 20 years and below and significantly persisted for 20 years and older however, sex disparity persists at all ages and concludes that access to education is explained by locations, age, gender, caste and religion attributes of populations.

Paper second 'Elementary Education in Uttarakhand State' by Sandeep Kumar Sharma, Manju Rani and Ravendra K. Sharma analyzing data from 2001 Population Census and All India Education Survey 2002 concluded that the state made significant progress in the field of education. Commendable efforts are made in educating all children aged 6-14 years, but the dream of achieving 100 percent elementary education was still demanding efforts and resources to pour. In the third paper, 'Who Gets Education in Uttarakhand? Analysis of NFHS-3 Data' by Nandita Saikia, Jayanta Kumar Bora, and F. Ram analysed data of 1991 and 2001 Population censuses and National Family and Health Survey 2005-06 exhibited school attendance rate at lower primary level is satisfactory for the children of different sections of the society. As the educational level increases, the school attendance rate of the children of different socioeconomic groups becomes distinct. Therefore, it is imperative to take various measures to retain children of varied communities in schools as the education level increases above primary level.

The fourth paper by Bhagwan S. Bisht 'The Unorganized Sector Workers in Uttarakhand: A Need for Policy Intervention' utilises data from a sample study of 8,643 unorganised sector workers engaged in the tourism sector, brick kilns, sand quarries, security services and construction workers. Data revealed that the states' unorganized sector workers live a very modest life without basic amenities like fuel wood, drinking water, light, toilets and healthy shelter. They are abstained from the basic services of education, recreation, modern facilities, hygiene, sanitation and medical facilities, nutrition and cover of the accidental risks, work an inhuman situation. For the improvement of such pathetic working and living conditions of these workers Bisht made policy attracting recommendations and suggestions for a plan of actions. Paper five by Nilabja Ghosh, Sabyasachi Kar and Suresh Sharma 'Inequalities of Income Opportunities in a Hilly State: A Study of Uttarakhand' is developed utilising data from official sources and a fresh sample survey of three clusters of three districts. The paper clearly showed that income inequality tends to widen by the level of workers' skill and

education. Skilled and educated workers draw higher level of income than unskilled and uneducated at a significantly explainable level. Besides skill and education urban-rural residence and geographical locations also matters in explaining the income inequalities among workers.

Fertility and Family Planning is included as the second broader thematic area in the volume and comprises four papers by nine eminent contributors. The first paper on this theme and sixth of the volume 'Age at Marriage in Uttarakhand: Changing Perspective and Role of Family System' by Ravi Prakash and SulabhaParsuraman utilised population census data of 2071 to 2001 and District Level Reproductive and Child Health Survey (DLHS-RCH) 2002/04 data. Findings of the paper cleared that over the year the proportion single population is increasing, especially at younger age (below 30) for both sexes. This led to an increase in age at marriage in the state. But the study unveiled fact for the further exploration of why the amount of marriage below the legal age in the nuclear family is high compared to the joint families. The seventh paper 'Economic Differentials of Fertility and Utilisation of Maternal and Child Health Services in Uttarakhand' by C.V. S. Prasad and Jalandhar Pradhan, through the analysis of National Family Health Survey-3 (2005-06), presented an impetus that family's economic status and female education are the two most important determinants of fertility in the state, within this economic variables emerged as the higher contributing factor than that of female education. The paper suggests some practicable family welfare measures targeting younger couples for better demographic impacts. Paper 'Unwanted Pregnancy: A Comparative Study of Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh' by SujitaGanguly and Sayeed Unisa also using National Family Health Survey-3 (2005-06) data unveiled the fact that unwanted pregnancy in Uttarakhand is high compared to Himachal Pradesh as explained by various demographic, social and economic factors such as a rural biased sample, belonging to Hindu religion, some lower level of educational attainment, comparatively low level of women's autonomy and mass media. This comparative study gave impetus to attain socio-economic, demographic, and women's status to eliminate the context of bearing unwanted pregnancies. Paper 'Communication, Accessibility and Condom Use: Insights from Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand, NFHS-3, 2005-06' established that mass media emerges as the most significant factor for influencing condom use in Uttarakhand than Uttar Pradesh. With the findings of this comparative analysis, the paper postulates some of the practicable policy measures to improve the contraceptive prevalence rate in UP for the improvement in demographic indicators of fertility and young age mortality.

The third broader thematic area 'Utilisation of Health Services' comprises five scientific papers contributed by nine academicians and researchers. Paper 'Interactions with Health Workers and Reproductive Behaviour: Evidence for Uttarakhand' by

Puspita Datta and Chayan Roy Choudhury evidenced that the role of health workers directly interacting with the clients has a commendable impact on facilitating the contraceptive beliefs and behaviours. However, factors determining the poor health service delivery in the state are difficult hilly terrain, scattered settlements, inadequate infrastructure and lack of needed human resources. Paper suggest for best utilisation of the available scarce human and material resources for bringing about change in reproductive behaviour for improved family status and demographic indicators. Paper 'Inhibiting Factors in the Utilisation of Public Health Care Services by the Rural People in Uttarakhand' by Anita Bhargava and SatyabanSahuthrough the analysis of National Family Health Survey-3 (2005-06) data attempted to justify that the health service facilities in the state are challenged by physical, socio-economic and cultural factors. The findings are with policy recommendations to capacitate local governance units in rural areas to make the public health care services for the extensive and efficient utilisation by the rural and remote people. The paper 'Home to Institutional Deliveries: A Long Perspective in Uttarakhand' by Sanjay Rode is developed using data of District Level Reproductive Child Health (DLHS-RCH)Household Survey. Fitting multinomial logit regression model, the paper explained that home deliveries are more constrained in rural areas because of distance between health facilities and house of clients. Another paper, 'Understanding the determinants of Breastfeeding Practices and its Discontinuation in Uttarakhand' by Archana Kujur and SulabhaParsuraman, came to a concluded that breastfeeding improves immunity level in children, protect from frequent diseases like diarrhoea and reduces morbid conditions and probability of mortality among children. But the state of breastfeeding in Uttarakhand is lower (90%) of children ever breastfeed) compared to the national average of India (94%) and other states. Findings indicated that an increase in mother's educational attainment is not necessarily associated to an increase in the percentage of the children breastfeeding. Rather improvement in education and sex of child determines the discontinuation of breastfeeding. The fourteenth paper of the volume 'Social Health Insurance and Social Security in Uttarakhand' by Avishek Hazra and Subrata Lahiri exhibited that health insurance coverage in general and social health insurance in Uttarakhand is better than other state and the national average of India. Though there is an immense challenge for the expansion of its coverage among the large number of informal sector workers, addressing social inequalities, regional disparities, unemployment and poverty are major issues to cover.

Three papers incorporated under broader theme 'Gender Issue' contributed by three authors* attempted to assess the indicators to measure women's empowerment, gender-based violence and consequences on the sexual and reproductive health and inequalities in maternal and child health care in selected states of India. All three papers using data from National Family Health Survey -3 (2005-06), concluded that level of women's empowerment from the viewpoint of participation in decision making, access to financial resources and freedom of movement is below the national average of India and varied by education and occupation of women and family's wealth status. The paper further unveiled a fact that one-fourth of women found to express to have ever experienced physical violence and around five percent sexual violence. Inequality in maternal-child health indicators vary by wealth status and different social groups of the population. Besides caste and wealth status, age and educational level of women, religion and birth order explain the level of inequalities in maternal and child health care in selected states of India.

The fifth broader thematic area 'HIV/AIDS' comprises two thematic papers on perceived risk and vulnerability to HIV of youth and HIV/AIDS awareness among teachers. Papers concluded that youths in Uttarakhand are vulnerable to HIV, comprised of different vulnerable groups. Groups vary by sex, and socio-cultural factors. There persists a fairly high level of understanding among youths about various measures to prevent HIV infections. Both male and female, married and unmarried and residents of rural or urban areas, schoolteachers, are aware of general information, symptoms, effects and modes of transmission, prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS related taboos are almost none in the teachers and are with positive attitudes towards persons with HIV. These papers come up with practicable policy and behavioural implications to have halted HIV transmission in the state and to be replicated in other similar regions in general.

Sixth thematic area 'Urbanisation and Migration' includes three scientific papers 'Spatial Pattern of Urbanisation and Urban Growth in Western Himalayan Regions in India' by Soumya Mohanthy and R.B. Bhagat; 'Migration and Workforce Participation in the Himalayan States' by R. Lusome and R. B. Bhagat and 'Urbanisation: New Challenges in Uttarakhand' by Anup Badola. Paper by Mohanty and Bhagat uses secondary data obtained from censuses and office of the Registrar General of India for the period of 1981-2001; the paper by Lusome, Bhagat and Badola developed papers based on analysis of population census data of 2001. Analysis of the spatial pattern of urbanisation and urban growth in Himalayan regions revealed that states Jammu and Kashmir are urbanized at par of the national Level, the state Uttarakhand is also scaling

^{*}N. Audinarayana; C.P. Prakasam; Sandhya Rani Mahapatro

up its pace of urbanisation as indicated by the remarkable increase in the share of the population residing in class 'I' cities to the total urban population of the state. In totality, the urban population in the hill towns is distributed unevenly by size and class of cities. Frontier cities are growing faster; expansion of class 'I' cities is noticeable than small ones. Findings draws attention of policy planning and politics to address uneven patterns of urbanisation in Western Himalayan states. Analysis of migration and workforce pattern in the Himalayan states showed diverse migration pattern in the states, though are of the similar topographical character. States Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim observed the greater interdental migration flow. Major flow of the migrants is that of the working age-groups. This implied that work-force migration overwhelms the in-migrating states. States Himachal and Sikkim emerged as in-migrating and states Uttarakhand, and Jammu and Kashmir as out-migrating states. Added new challenges of urbanization in Uttarakhand called for policies addressing growing slums and poorer, revisiting of the public distribution systems (PADS), management of population compared to the size of declining cultivated land, increased need of urban health facilities and educating the population of urban settings.

The last but not least seventh thematic group 'Population and Development' comprises five scientific papers contributed by eight academicians and researchers. Most of the papers are developed based on national population census data of 2001, National Family Health Survey-3 (NFHS-3), District Level Household Survey (DLHS), Uttarakhand Update, and Sample Surveys of Habitations (2003 and 2006). The author of the paper 'Population and Development in Uttarakhand' concludes that the state Uttarakhand is with immense potential for becoming leading in the integration of population and development issues in India through the exploration and best utilization of both human and natural resources. Paper 'Population Growth and Land Use in Uttarakhand' by Dewaram A. Nagdeve analyzed inter-district variation in land use patterns in the state. The paper concludes that in totality, the net shown area and fallow land found increased and the forest covered area declined over the study period. 'Tribes of Uttarakhand: Comparative Study' by Ravendra K. Sharma, D.C. Jain and Manju Rani found tribal population not uniformly distributed in the state of Uttarakhand. Most of the tribal communities are concentrated in a certain locality like Udham Singh Nagar and Dehradun district. Settlements of Bhotias scattered over the state and Rajis and Jannasaris in few pockets. Problems associated to tribal population include imbalance sex ratio in the child population, a vast difference in literacy and educational attainment and occupational distribution. Presentation of the state of arts of the availability and quality of drinking water in the state of Uttarakhand showed several areas of intervention to remove the problems of water scarcity, improve accessibility, quantity

and quality of water. Paper 'Population Ageing in Uttarakhand: Salient Demographic and Spatial Characteristics and Policy Implications' by Hemkhothang Lhungdim through the analysis of decadal census data from 1981 to 2001 concluded that the population of the state shown signs of ageing. This implied that the expectation of life after age 60 is increasing significantly in the state. This ageing sign calls for cost implacable social, health and aged care policies in the state.

In conclusion, every paper included in the volume found to be developed utilizing rich sources of database and sound methodological procedures. Findings are imperatives in generating new knowledge in the ground of population, health and development debate in similar socio-economic and cultural settings like Nepal. It justifies the claims of book editors 'this edited book will serve as a ready reference material' for professionals of academia, policy and planning in different sectors of population, health, environment and the others as relevant. Consistencies in formatting, documentation and style of presentation are matters to take as references while compiling similar types of volume. The volume is published in the year 2013, most papers (except overview paper) are based on a relatively older data base. It would have been better if data of recent censuses were updated. New and emerging issues in population and development such as opportunities opened by the changing age structure of population viz., demographic dividend (window of opportunity) found as missing part. However, some discussion in the issues of population ageing is attempted to made. Sex imbalances and missing girl child is seen serious policy intervention subject in the state.

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- 3. If the manuscript is found based on original research and if the writer has complied with the guidelines, the EB sends the manuscript to peer reviewer(s) without mentioning the author's name following the principles, norms and values of blind peer review.
- 4. As the peer reviwer sends back the reviewed manuscript to the EB, it is sent back to the author for revision as per the comments and suggestions of the reviewer (s).
- 5. Once the author revises the manuscript following the comments and suggestions of the peer reviewer(s), he/she submits the final version of the manuscript.
- 6. Then the EB examines whether the author has revised the manuscript as suggested by the peer-reviewer and makes final decision regarding the publication.
- 7. As the manuscript is finally accepted, the EB edits it and sends for web/print for publication.

