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PAPERS, ABSTRACTS AND PROCEEDINGS

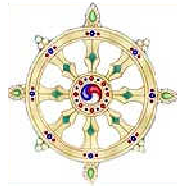
OF

The Fourth Annual Himalayan Policy Research Conference

Madison, Wisconsin, October 22, 2009

**Nepal Study Center
The University of New Mexico**

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PAPERS, ABSTRACTS, AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

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Welcome Note from Editors

On behalf of the editorial board of the *Himalayan Journal of Development and Democracy (HJDD)* and the conference organizing committee, I would like to thank all the participants at the Fourth Annual Himalayan Policy Research Conference (HPRC) held at the venue of the University of Wisconsin's 38th Annual South Asian Conference, Madison, WI.

Nepal Study Center (NSC) organizes the HPRC as an annual event for researchers and observers of development in Nepal and South Asia. NSC was established at the University of New Mexico five years ago with an objective to promote policy research related to Nepal, the Himalayan region, and the countries in South Asia. The NSC team remains dedicated to creating platforms for the enhancement of knowledge sharing, particularly in the areas of development, democracy, conflict and the environment. Among its other prominent activities, NSC publishes two e-journals (*Himalayan Journal of Development and Democracy* and *Liberal Democracy Nepal Bulletin*), and maintains an electronic repository to allow scholars to upload, store, and disseminate policy research.

Nepal Study Center has also added a milestone by facilitating the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the University of New Mexico and the Kathmandu University (KU) and the Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD)'s 8-country Himalayan University Consortium (HUC). The delegation from UNM was led by the executive Vice President and the Provost Dr. Ortega. As a part of the UNM-KU MOU, the NSC-UNM now has a branch office at KU's School of Management (KUSOM) complex in Balkumari, Kathmandu. This regional office hopes to facilitate academic activities in the region, and ultimately leading to the establishment of a Graduate School of Economics and Public Policy.

Our inaugural HPRC in 2006 was ambitious in ensuring a significant convergence of researchers working on policy relevant issues on Nepal and South Asia. That foundation work led to consecutive successes in the following years and has now made HPRC a durable annual event. We hope that these conferences, together with research activities performed at NSC and by its research affiliates, will culminate in the formation of an *Association for Himalayan Policy Research*. In recognition of the

activities directly and indirectly supported by NSC, many scholars from North America, South Asia, Europe, the Far East, and Australia have joined this network. Our policy research association will expand this global network of scholars, professionals, and policy practitioners interested in the development of the South Asian region.

We are grateful to the University of Wisconsin's 38th Annual South Asian Conference for giving us the pre-conference venue. We are also thankful to those who have, as listed in the acknowledgement section, provided financial support to conduct this conference. We appreciate the help from the staff and graduate students of the Department of Economics, UNM, and the goodwill and support of many friends of NSC. Finally, we would like to thank our guest editors Vijaya R Sharma, Gyan Pradhan, and Mukti Upadhyay for their help in preparing this issue of *HJDD*.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Alok K. Bohara". The signature is written in a cursive style and is underlined.

Alok K. Bohara, PhD
Editor, HJDD
Professor, Department of Economics, University of New Mexico

Acknowledgment

The conference generated a good collection of papers on issues relevant to South Asian nations from diverse interdisciplinary fields. The conversation that ensued among the scholars after the conference was very productive as well. Thank you all for that.

The conference organizers would like to thank you all for your active participation. We are especially thankful to those who flew in from other countries --India, Pakistan, and Canada. We hope that you will pass on the news of this conference to other colleagues in your regions. We would also like to appreciate tremendous help provided by Steve Archambault, Prakash Adhikari, Hari Katuwal, Dr. Mukti Upadhyay, Maria Daw, and Dr. Jeff Drope in preparing the logistics for the conference venue. Dr. Sharma's untiring help in putting together the schedule is much appreciated. We acknowledge partial financial support from the Dean of Arts and Sciences of UNM.

This year we did not disseminate a survey to elicit participant feedback. However, colleagues from overseas and within the US have expressed a deep satisfaction in seeing such a conference organized in North America. They see this as an opportunity for networking, sharing, and collaborating with international scholars working on research policy issues related to South Asian nations.

PAPERS AND ABSTRACTS

Development of Marginalized Areas and Peoples

Developing Kham: An inquiry into the use of environmental and economic history for development policy in Tibetan regions

Jared Phillips

University of Arkansas

In recent years much has been made of development theories, practices, and problems throughout the world. Understandably, much of the ink spilled over the issue has concerned Africa—perhaps due to the West feeling guilty for several centuries of colonialism. Famous economists like Jeffery Sachs, or columnists such as Nicholas Kristof, and even Bono have all held the Africa banner high, and with good cause and distinction.* Unfortunately, other areas tend to be left off the radar of an increasingly development-minded world. China—a country with the most stunning rate of economic development in the world—is still a country with a staggering poverty rate, and is often ignored precisely because of the recent speed of their economic development, leading developing countries.

Alongside of their massive economic growth, there has been a converse shift in the ability of those in rural areas of China (most notably Western areas—Qinghai, Gansu, Xizang, Yunnan, and portions of Sichuan) to take advantage of the market boom occurring on the east coast. Also well-documented is the demise of the Chinese environment—while it received much press in the lead up to the 2008 Olympic Games, it largely has been ignored after. And this is looking at only the effect of China’s massive growth on areas like Beijing or Shanghai—reports have generally left the state of the western regions unmentioned, and therefore far from the concerns of the global community.†

The plight of Western China has received much attention from Chinese scholars, and even a few Western economists. Unfortunately, they all tend to say the same things: education, integration, and

* Jeffery D. Sachs, *The End of Poverty*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2005); William Easterly, *The White Man’s Burden: Why the West’s Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and so Little Good*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2006).

† The best of the rather paltry lot would have to be Elizabeth Economy’s “The Great Leap Backward?” in *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2007).

diversification are needed to advance the Western areas and make them comparable with the East coast of China. These issues do, in a large part, correctly identify the key problems facing development throughout China. Unfortunately for the people groups and areas being subjected to economic policy from the East, there is little understanding of localized ethnic groups, cultural needs and concerns, and of long term, historical effects and context on the ecological setting of the region—especially pastoralist groups on the Tibetan-Qinghai Plateau.

There has also been an intense marginalization of the largely nomadic groups inhabiting the Plateau region as the economic fortunes of the coast have risen. This compels one author to say “it is important to rethink the boundaries between tradition and modernity, national and ethnic identity, and center and periphery.”[‡] As this marginalization has occurred, an intense contrast in understanding about the use of the natural environment has also happened—where the more “modernized” Eastern concerns have come in to help develop regions, they bring with them a fundamentally differing viewpoint, one introduced to nomadic and substance agriculture communities that often objectifies the environment as a tool to be exploited until it is of no further use. Caroline Cooper argues that the cause for environmental conservation, and in some ways, development, “inherently draws on the rights to a sustainable living environment and the empowerment of citizens to defend these interests.”[§]

Stretching over the top of all these problems is an absence of historical perspective in the development initiatives from Beijing. As a result of official rewriting of history throughout much of the pre-reform era, a distorted understanding of how Tibetans have historically lived in and on the fragile grasslands prevails in the Chinese Academy. What has been lost is a detailed understanding of how traditional Tibetan lifeways on the plateau, while not the ultimate solution, offer solutions to many of the current issues, and with enough success that they survived for at least two millennia.

Ranging from full scale removal of nomadic groups to smaller scale limited grazing of yak and sheep herds, the implementation of these policies are producing results that, sadly, are either hastening the demise of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau, or at best, are seeing temporary gains in

[‡] Katherine Morton, “Civil Society & Marginalization: Grassroots NGOs in Qinghai” (book chapter), p 15.

[§] Caroline Cooper, “This is Our Way In” 109.

grassland recovery followed by yet another change for the worse on the plateau. Alongside of the abolishment of the traditional life ways of many Tibetan herdsman, there have been no new mechanisms established to alleviate the societal and ecological stress of removing a central force in the region's ecology.^{**} This is perhaps in part due to a "long, deeply entrenched tradition of exploiting the environment for man's needs, with relatively little sense of the limits of nature's or man's capacity to replenish the earth's resources," resulting in a mindset that man should "overcome nature in order to utilize it."^{††}

A key rhetorical device used by the Chinese government as it swept through Tibetan regions in the 1950's was "liberation" from feudalism, religious tyranny, and inefficient economic practices. With the arrival of Chinese forces and the subsequent flight of upper class Tibetans, the nomadic and semi-nomadic communities were placed into communes after 1959 in an effort to bring them up to a Socialist understanding of economic advancement. As a part of Deng Xiaoping's post-Mao reforms, in 1980 and 1981, nomadic communities were allowed to return to their previous methods of subsistence, but with a few notable changes. Whereas land was communally held and reallocated based on herd and rangeland fluctuation, rangeland was no longer communally held.^{‡‡} This combined with the insistence by Beijing to more fully integrate Tibetan nomadic areas into the economic plan of China in an effort to bring up the quality of life of Tibetan nomads, as well as restore and preserve grassland ecosystems.^{§§}

Government officials often assume that the nomads are directly responsible for the current state of environmental degradation on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, and have enacted a policy of "Ecological Migration" (*Shengtai yimin* 生态移民) to "relocate more permanently a

^{**} Namgyal "China's West Development Strategy and Rural Empowerment: Is There A Link? A Case Study of the Tibetan Plateau Region" in *China's West Region Development: Domestic Strategies and Global Implications* Ding Lu and William A.W. Neilson, editors (New Jersey: World Scientific Publishing Co. (2004), 413.

^{††} Elizabeth C. Economy, *The River Runs Black*, 27.

^{‡‡} "Changing Pattern of Tibetan nomadic pastoralism" Melvyn Goldstein and Cynthia Beall, in *Human Biology of Pastoral Populations*, edited by William R. Leonard and Michael H. Crawford (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002), 136 & 138.

^{§§} J. Marc Foggin "Depopulating the Tibetan Grasslands: National Policies and Perspectives for the Future of Tibetan Herders in Qinghai Province, China" in *Mountain Research and Development* 28(1): 27.

large segment of the (former) herding population into new towns.”***
Government officials and scientists argue that the herders, who have nearly 5,000 years of a pastoralist life on the Tibetan Plateau, have overgrazed the area, leading to intense desertification in some areas, and a paucity of flora and fauna in others. In reality the emerging desertification has come about largely due to changing climatic conditions, and as our global climate continues to shift, most likely this trend will continue—through no fault of the nomads, who are merely following a way of life known to them for several millennia. As several authors have shown, the system used by the nomads “has allowed them to subsist on the Northern Plateau for centuries without destroying their natural resource base *precisely because it fostered a balance between their highly adapted herds and their harsh environment.*”†††

An element found in nearly all nomadic pastoralist communities is flexibility. It is “above all a flexible subsistence strategy, involving opportunistic food production and foraging in addition to livestock exploitation for meat, milk and blood.”‡‡‡ This flexibility can be severely curtailed, and even extinguished when a misinformed government attempts to reform pastoralist communities to either develop them economically or increase herd outputs. While this is currently happening on the Tibetan Plateau, it happened during the 1950’s and 1960’s with the Karamoja nomadic groups in Kenya. The colonial government in Kenya enacted massive agrarian reforms in 1954, removing livestock, closing in rangeland, intensive water production, and new types of veterinary care all appeared.§§§ These reforms, intended to push the Karamoja groups into a more modern state, actually served to “accelerate the rate of overgrazing and desertification, to aggravate the contraction of tribal grazing areas, and to inflame further both inter- and intra- tribal tensions.”****

By reaching back into the historical constructions that define the path development will take in Tibetan regions like Yushu, I hopefully have argued three principal things. First, the cultural context of development in ethnically Tibetan regions extends beyond the tense

*** Foggin, “Depopulating the Tibetan Grasslands,” 29.

††† Goldstein, “Traditional Nomadic Pastoralism,” 149 (italics added).

‡‡‡ “Uncertain disaster: environmental instability, colonial policy, and resilience of East African pastoral systems” by Samoha Gray, Paul Leslie and Helen Alinga Akol in *Human Biology of Pastoral Populations*, edited by William R. Leonard and Michael H. Crawford (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002), 99.

§§§ Ibid, 117.

**** Ibid.

political environment. It reaches back to the very foundations of Chinese and Tibetan culture, and is an area that must be more fully explored by both academic and policy makers within China and without. Further examination of the differing understandings of the environment, and man's role in the environment, are needed. Second, there has been a crucial failure by the academy to incorporate the environmental history of the region, and specifically the traditional ecologic knowledge that nomads have, into development plans. This oversight is coupled with the failure, and at times, inability, of many Tibetan communities to attempt to put forth their own knowledge to help shape development policies and the coming cultural change.

Finally, there has been continued repetition by policy makers to revert to old methods of development in the western regions of China—methods that have been tried over the course of several dynasties, and that have largely failed over the course of these dynasties. Policymakers must learn from the past, not blindly imitate it in order to arrive at workable solutions for the country as a whole. With these considerations, taking place in part in small regions of the plateau already, economic development stands to move forward in an organic manner, accounting for the needs of the local ecology, the local people, and the burgeoning Chinese economy. If not, further development will most likely falter at best, and at worst it will present a rapidly growing China with seemingly insurmountable problems.

The impact of road construction on commercial activity in the Annapurna Conservation Area, Nepal

Michal J. Bardecki

Ryerson University

In 1986 the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) established the first and largest conservation area in Nepal in a region recognized for its rich biological and cultural diversity. Even as the Conservation Area has developed into the premier trekking destination in Nepal, it continues to be globally recognized for its innovations in protected area management, particularly in its utilization of multiple land use principles that combine environmental protection and conservation with sustainable community development. Programs to enhance the living standards of the local people are woven into a framework of sound resource management.

Even though road construction is a source of potential conflict with the goals of the Conservation Area, the absence of road connections to the communities within ACAP's boundaries is seen as a barrier for economic development in the region. For decades there has been a vision of road projects linking the communities within ACAP's area to the national road system. In the mid-1990s construction was started on roads following the Kali Gandaki and Marsyangdi river valleys towards the district headquarters of Jomsom (Mustang) and Chame (Manang). Facing substantial financial and engineering hurdles, construction moved in fits and starts, but disjointed sections of the roads were completed. Recently, their construction has been a national priority as a goal of Nepal's Three Year Interim Plan (2007/08-2009/10) was to connect ten district headquarters, including Jomsom and Chame, to the national road network. Spur roads would connect other communities, such as the important pilgrimage site of Muktinath. An even grander vision has been proposed: to extend the road to Jomsom northwards connecting with a spur which already links Upper Mustang (Lomanthang) with the Chinese highway system. If built, this Kali Gandaki Highway is seen as serving as a key connection for future trade between India and China.

Strategic interests have dominated in road development in the Himalayas. Throughout the region the improvement of road access has led to substantial economic, social, cultural, demographic, institutional, and

environmental impacts—both positive and negative (Singh 1989; Rawat and Sharma 1997; Kreutzmann 1991).

This paper previews the general issues related to the road construction in the ACAP region, particularly focusing on the character and extent of the adaptation of commercial activity in ACAP to the anticipated environment of greater ease of access, reduced costs, fresh competition, the shifting of population demographics, and changing visitor profiles resulting from the completion of the road links to Jomsom and Chame. It proposes a structural framework for the analysis of commercial change.

As a baseline prior to completion of the road connections, a census and mapping of businesses was undertaken in each of four diverse communities in April and May 2008: Jomsom, Ranipauwa (Muktinath), Tatopani and Manang (Bardecki 2009). Jomsom is the terminus of the current road construction in the Kali Gandaki valley, with a spur running from there to the important religious and pilgrim centre of Muktinath and the adjacent community of Ranipauwa. Tatopani lies at the junction of two roads designed to join Darbang and Jomsom to the national road system at Beni. The village of Manang lies 1-2 days on foot beyond the planned terminus of the road in the Marsyangdi valley. In coming years subsequent inventories are planned to observe changes following the completion of the road links.

What sort of changes can be anticipated as a result of connecting the communities in ACAP to the national system of roads? Certainly, the experience from elsewhere suggests such impacts can be pervasive and, particularly in the context of this study, one can anticipate substantial effects in the commercial sector. There are fears that the roads could “widen economic disparity, accelerate environmental deterioration, heighten cultural disintegration and contribute to the haphazard growth of settlements” (National Trust for Nature Conservation 2008: 1). Once the road connections in ACAP are complete significant changes will occur in those communities along the routes and in the region generally. Primary impacts may be thought of as fivefold:

- 1) Decreased transport costs;
- 2) Improved access;
- 3) Changing modes of transport;
- 4) Effects of routing decisions;
- 5) The consequences of and response to hazards.

From these a series of secondary impacts emanate.

Prior to the road construction basic goods cost twice as much in Jomsom as in the regional centre of Pokhara (National Trust for Nature Conservation 2008). It is likely that linking communities to the national road network would cause the price differential to fall, resulting in a cheaper cost of living. The greatest beneficiaries from such a change may be among the poor.

Already, as sections of the road have been completed, transportation is more efficient and the cost of commodities has decreased, land prices have increased, and investment patterns have changed (Global Travel Industry News 2008). In anticipation of the roads, land prices in areas suitable for business development have increased, attracting investments from those living outside the region and increasing competition for existing businesses. The anticipated cascade of impacts arising from improved access (and reduced costs) includes:

- An increase in the diversity of goods on offer, notably in consumer goods such as food, clothing, household items, kerosene, batteries, and tools;
- More frequent transport for individual passengers on motorized public and private transport with opportunities for the development of commercial transport and support activities;
- Increased population growth;
- Increased number of shops;
- Improved market access for local cottage industries such as apple products and carpet production and for agricultural goods;
- Growth of the formal commercial sector;
- Changes in shop stocking requirements and characteristics;
- Increased levels of competition among retailers through better mobility, knowledge of market opportunities and the development of intermediary supply links;
- Reduced pricing of imported agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and machinery, and of construction materials, thereby allowing wider use;
- Increased opportunities for the exploitation of resources such as minerals, energy and forest products;
- Increased access for government officials and activities with the potential for the advance of bureaucratic institutions, tax collection and regulation;

- Other features of development such as improvements in access to schools, health centers, and government credit.

As sections of the road were completed, jeeps carried in by helicopter were used to transport travelers and goods. It was anticipated that along the route to Jomsom when the road was completed there would be 30-40 minibuses per day as well as cargo vehicles with an anticipated growth to 3-4 times that volume in a few years (National Trust for Nature Conservation 2008). The most direct impacts of motorized road traffic relate to the development of new commercial opportunities in transporting goods and people, and the competitive effect on existing carriers, particularly mule owners and porters, and, to a lesser extent, air flights. Khatri-Chhetri *et al.* (1992) estimated that there were 3000 mules in the Mustang district, and 2000 to 3000 individuals involved in portering (including those serving tourism) and itinerant vending. Reductions in these numbers as a result of new competition for transporting goods also would serve to reduce business for traditional enterprises catering to porters and mule drivers.

One of the biggest challenges facing enterprises in some communities would occur should the route (and traffic) bypass the village and its businesses. Local protests over the routing of the road to Chame have disrupted construction for periods of months (Ghale 2008). Guesthouse owners and other business owners on the routes affected by the new roads have been concerned over the loss of business. When the road is complete, passengers and drivers may stop infrequently (in contrast to porters and mule drivers), resulting in a severe drop in trade for existing restaurants and guesthouses. On the other hand, growth would be promoted in settlements with increased traffic, whereas others may decline or even disappear. Communities located along the road alignment and intermediate locations where traffic (e.g., minibuses) regularly stops may develop as geographically-focused opportunities for commercial development. Existing intermediary commercial locations may suffer. The roads are likely to suffer from landslides; even lower precipitation areas such as those around Jomsom are not immune. This offers challenges for security of supplies, and opportunities for businesses involved in maintenance and construction. At times construction debris and landslides from road construction have blocked access to the upper reaches of the Marsyangdi valley for periods of weeks. There already are concerns about the increase in accidents on the routes.

Increases are expected in the numbers of domestic, Indian and religious tourists (pilgrims) after completion of the roads with a potential boom in the services catering to them (lodges, restaurants, shops, tour and travel agencies, transportation services); although trekking may decline. However, there are reports that, as road construction has continued, both trekkers and pilgrims are spending less time in the region (Global Travel Industry News 2008; Pradhan 2008) and that trekking agencies in Kathmandu already have been directing tourists away from the region towards alternate destinations (Frieden 2007). Unfavorable comments about the roads and construction by travelers are to be found on travel blogs and in tourism reports (e.g., Ward 2008; von Geldern 2009).

Traditional pilgrimage based on frugality exerted little pressure on local economies. The experience elsewhere (Shrestha 1995; Singh 2002) suggests that improving access by road-building could lead to significant effects from increasing numbers of pilgrims. With increasing numbers of pilgrims, the institutionalization of pilgrimage and a move away from the traditions of austerity and frugality, it may be increasingly difficult to differentiate pilgrims from usual tourists and many entrepreneurs may not do so (Singh 2002).

Vinding (1998: 141) anticipated the effect of the roads on trekking tourists: “the number of trekkers on the Jomsom trail is likely to decrease if a road is built, causing hardship to many inns and hotel owners along the route.” Generally, with reduced maintenance on trekking routes paralleling roads and without the development of new trekking routes to replace those lost or impaired by the road construction, trekking tourism may suffer. With diminished numbers of trekkers, commercial establishments of all types in tourism-dependent settlements on the Annapurna Circuit route would suffer serious economic impacts. Direct impacts would be expected on the income of those: owning lodges, operating businesses providing services to trekkers, owning mules for transporting provisions, and engaged in portering.

Ease of access may increase numbers of casual tourists, both domestic and international. Differing demands may result in an increased demand for resort-style accommodation, the sale of local handicrafts and other souvenirs, the demand for traditional crafts, and the commercialization of art, culture and religious symbols. Roads have long been seen as agents of socio-economic change in mountain areas which act to accelerate the processes of social and

economic transformation. Undoubtedly, commerce in the ACA region will face new challenges. Increased access may promote an increase in the scale of commerce and the consolidation of businesses. The benefits to local consumers and producers may be limited (Hine 1982). There is no certainty that the benefits of road investment will be captured by those currently involved in commerce in the region.

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Surviving on margins: Dilemmas of a Himalayan primitive tribe (Bhoxas) over developmental paradigms in globalizing India

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The Bhoxas are a primitive tribal group inhabiting the foothills of central Himalayan region of northern India. This region includes jungles infested with malaria. The Bhoxas live with the Tharu tribe which is widely spread from India to Nepal whereas the Bhoxa population is distributed over the commissionaires of Kumaun and Garhwal in the newly created province of Uttarakhand in India and in the district of Bullandshahar in Uttar Pradesh. The Bhoxa tribe is believed to have originated from the Muslim occupation of northern India in mediaeval period.

This group is listed as one of the 76 primitive tribal groups in India and is on the Government list of priorities for upliftment and welfare. Somehow the government schemes towards this have been unsuccessful and marginal in their effect on the tribe.

This tribe is showing signs of distress and panic in a fast changing world they feel hard to cope with in order to protect their identity and culture. Their fear is that 'we will not last long and will be lost forever by next generation'. Urbanization and the new industrial economy have caused land alienation as more land passes in the hands of new migrants, and have compounded stresses related to the survival and growth of the tribes. Identity crisis has lowered their self esteem. As one of their prominent leaders said, "we have little hope of surviving in future and will soon be lost in oblivion" as a separate community. This low confidence in their capacity to grow out of their traditional ways of life has become a real cause of concern. Many people have taken to drinking which has contributed to further physical and emotional degeneration of the tribe as a whole in the state of Uttarakhand.

This ethnographic study based on the socio-economic survey of every Bhoxa householder (N=7000) in Garhwal region was undertaken in 2005 and 2007. We explore a variety of problems this tribal group is facing such as subsistence, education, health and hygiene, land alienation, and demands on tribal land for industrial production and commercial agriculture resulting from skewed developmental priorities of government

policy. This paper analyzes the causes of growing economic and political marginalization of our tribal group and strives to find some solutions to the problem.

Policies for reducing horizontal inequalities in post-conflict Nepal

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Introduction: Unequal development outcomes across different social and cultural groups in Nepal offered a basis for the Maoists to sensitise and mobilize excluded caste and ethnic groups for conflict in Nepal from 1996 to 2006. The social and economic situation of excluded castes and ethnic groups has not seen significant improvement since then. The state must end exclusion and reduce inequalities implementing pro-excluded group policies to prevent a conflict relapse. The research method adopted here is to present various socio-economic and political participation indicators across caste and ethnic groups to find out how unequal the groups, based on the concept of horizontal inequalities (HIs). HI is inequality between culturally defined groups with shared identities that are formed by religion, ethnicities, racial affiliations, or other salient features which bind groups of people together.^{§§§§} To study the inequalities, secondary data has been used from the following surveys: Population census 1991 and 2001, Nepal living standards survey (NLSS) 1995/96 and 2003/04, and Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) 2006. Additionally, political participation is compared for 1999 and 2005 extracting data from two sources^{*****†††††}. The reason for choosing different base and reference years for various indicators is a lack of required data for a single year. The paper discusses current government efforts to reduce inequality and presents several policy recommendations for effectively reducing HIs.

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^{§§§§} Stewart, Frances. 2000. 'Crisis Prevention: Tacking Horizontal Inequalities', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol 28, No. 3, PP. 245 – 262.

^{*****} Lawoti, Mahendra. 2002. *Exclusionary Democratization: Multicultural Society and Political Institutions in Nepal*. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh

^{†††††} Neupane, Govinda. 2005. *Nepalko Jatiya Prashna: Samajik Banot ra Sajhedariko Sambhawana* (in Nepali) – The Caste and Ethnicity Question: Caste and Ethnicity Structure and Possibility of Partnership. Centre for Development Studies, Kathmandu

Unequal development outcomes – Poverty and inequality:

Poverty in Nepal varies widely by both areas, and caste and ethnicity. The 2003/04 NLSS indicates that the poverty rate ranged from a low level of 3% in urban Kathmandu to as high as 45% in the Mid-Western Development Region, where the Maoist conflict started. Variation was greater between caste and ethnic groups. Only 19 % of Newar were poor compared to 58% of Dalits in 1995/96. The poverty rate among Janajatis ranged from 49% in the Hills to 53% in the Terai. Only three caste and ethnic groups had a poverty rate of one third or less; all others had a poverty rate above the national average of 42% in 1995/96. The situation was not different in 2003/04: Dalits were at the bottom with the highest rate (45.5%), and Newar were lowest (4%). Observed decreases in poverty incidence were uneven: large decreases in advantaged castes, like Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar, whereas there was little among some Janajati, Dalits and Muslims. Among the Janajatis, the decrease varied widely, with a higher decrease among Terai Janajati compared to Hill Janajati. Apart from incidence, the depth and severity of poverty was also higher among Dalits and certain Janajatis. In spite of a decrease in poverty incidence across all caste and ethnic groups, there remained a high gap in the poverty rate between them. Dalits, Muslims and some indigenous peoples were the most deprived groups in 1995/96, and they were again in 2003/04. Like the poverty rate, income and consumption levels also varied widely across different caste and ethnic groups.

Inequality in social outcomes – Literacy and educational

attainment: Those who are poor also lack capability. The literacy rate was also found highly unequal: only 11% of Terai Dalits were literate compared to 59% of Terai Brahmin and Chhetri in 1991. The situation has not improved even after a period of a decade in 2001. In fact, between 1991 and 2001, the increase in literacy rate hovered between 10 and 14% for most of the caste and ethnic groups, with Terai Dalits registering the lowest increase of 10%. Such inequalities prevail even in recent years. For example, the 2006 NDHS enumerated 81% of adult males as literate versus only 55% of females. The gap further widens at secondary and higher level of education: only 29% of females versus 54% of males.

Unequal participation in state and non-state organs:

The sharing of power or influence is unequal across individuals and cultural groups. Even in today's Nepal the power of an individual is governed not only by personal capabilities but also where one is born, which caste and ethnic groups one belongs to, or whether one is a female or male. Thus,

men of Hill Brahmin/Chhetri group and Newars dominate all three organs of state – legislature, executive and judiciary – and also non-state organs, like political parties, industrial, commercial, academic, professional, cultural, science and technology, and civil society organisations. The Brahmin, Chhetri, Thakuri and Sanyasi (BCTS) with a less than one-third of population shared about three-fourth positions of the Supreme Court and council of ministers. Newar and BCTS held about 90% of top positions in prominent Nepali NGOs and human rights groups in 1999. They comprised 80% of media elite including editors, publishers and columnists.

The predominance of the Brahmin/Chhetri group in the bureaucracy has increased from 70 to 90% between 1985 and 2002, whereas Muslims and Dalits are almost invisible in the government posts. Among higher-level officers in the police, 79% came from the Brahmin/Chhetris, 13% from Janajatis, 11% from Newar and 0.5% from Dalits.^{****} One of the reasons Dalit, Janajatis and women are under-represented in these institutions is that their representation in political parties was nominal, owing to cultural discrimination, among others.^{§§§§} These inequalities between groups, or HIs, have further reinforced exclusion. In fact, exclusion and inequalities reinforce each other.

Root causes of social exclusion and inequality – Caste and ethnicity-based discrimination: At the root of exclusion lies the caste-based discrimination that originated during the 17th century when the Shah rulers of Nepal relied on caste hierarchies to consolidate diverse people into a nation-state. Further institutionalization of the system occurred under the Rana regime 1846–1951. *Muluki Ain*, the National Code of 1854, provided legal basis of such a caste-based hierarchy and made provisions of different incentive structures and obligations to each caste and sub-caste within the system.

Narrow confines of Nepali identity: Nepali Nationalism lacked respect for pluralism. The psychological distance between some castes,

^{****}Deva A. 2002. *Study of Police Public Interaction with Reference to Weaker Sections of Society*. Report submitted to DANIDA/HUGOU, Kathmandu.

^{§§§§}However, after April Janadolan 2006, the successive governments have been implementing inclusive policies which improve the representation of Dalits, Janajatis and Madhesi, and women in constituent assembly (CA) and bureaucracy. A list of such measures appears in UNDP/Nepal 2009. Now one-third of the 601-member CA in Nepal is women.

especially those of Madhes, and ethnic groups from Hills and the Nepali state and other citizens, was aggravated by discriminatory policies enacted in the 1950's and 1960's which codified the *Pahadi* (hill people) cultural norms embodied in the Panchayat slogan of “*ek desh, ek bhasha, ek bhasa*” (“one country, one dress, one language”). This “one-religion-one-language-one-culture policy” of the state created cultural exclusion through a lack of national recognition of other religions, languages, cultural symbols. It marginalized indigenous and minority languages, alienated Madhesis, and enabled the Nepali state to enforce its Hindu politics.

Political exclusion or unfair political participation: Political exclusion of excluded groups in state and society create inequalities, and make them sustain in other dimensions. In the absence of fair representation in the state organs, policies were not either pro-excluded or were not effectively implemented even if they were pro-excluded. The cultural discrimination and political exclusion give rise to several immediate causes of inequality; chief among them are discussed here.

Differential access to opportunities and assets: The historical legacy translated into differentiated capability and social and economic opportunities and created a social environment where certain occupations have been considered appropriate for excluded groups and others not. Dalits, Muslim and certain groups of Janajati were denied of taking profitable and respectable enterprise; a similar situation continues to a lesser extent today. Dalits have been assigned with menial works such as tailoring, black/gold smiths and cobblers, whereas Brahmin has been assigned with the task of learning and teaching. The untouchability puts limits on the freedom of Dalits to open an enterprise relating to food items or opening a restaurant.

Wide gap in the attainment of education and health services: Past deep-seated culture and tradition is a driver of the significant differences in the educational attainment between caste and ethnic groups, and between men and women. Women and also men of certain excluded groups have relatively lower education levels, receive a low quality education, and usually have limited access to vocational training opportunities. The practices of untouchability have been strong in health, education and other social sectors, especially in remote rural areas.

Differences in employment opportunities: Lower level of educational attainment of excluded groups is a very serious impediment to them to access employment opportunities. Rich people in Nepal are educated, they work outside agriculture or have agriculture only as a subsidiary occupation, and they are mostly professional and administrative workers. On the other hand, Janajati, with their 37% share in population in 2001, held only 3% of professional and technical positions and only 0.5% of administrative positions. Dalits have a 12% share in population, but only comprise 3% of professional workers and 0.3 % of administrative workers. Dalits have higher share in professional position than Janjati, because Dalits run their own enterprises, including sewing, shoe making and iron related activity. The shares of these two groups has somewhat improved from 1996 to 2001, but the improvement is still far below their share in population.

Differential access to assets: As high as 78 % of agricultural households in rural areas own some cultivated land but the size is usually quite small. Only 27 % cultivate more than one hectare. Most productive lands are owned by a handful of landlords who have a large number of tenant farmers. Most tenants do not have legal tenancy rights over the land they cultivate. With the state-sponsored policy of Hill migration, migrants acquired tribal lands. In some cases whole villages of Tharus moved to other forested lands.

Government's recent efforts for addressing horizontal inequalities – Ending cultural discriminations: After restoration of democracy in 1990, the Constitution of Nepal 1990 has been progressive on several fronts including the cultural ones; however, it has reinforced the message that Nepal is a Hindu Kingdom. But, the Interim Constitution 2007 is highly progressive and has several provisions to end such discriminations, including the following: 1) Nepal as a secular rather than Hindu state. 2) Nepali has been accepted as official language and all other languages as national languages. 3) Broadcast of news and other programmes in other languages apart from Nepali; and provision of textbooks up to primary level in some other languages. 4) Provision for holidays in major festivals of excluded caste and ethnic groups. 5) No discrimination in the provision of public services on the basis of gender, caste, ethnicity, and religion, among others.

Reducing socio-economic inequality: Although the issue of social inclusion was explicitly recognized for the first time in the Tenth

Plan/Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002/03 – 2006/07), only 6 % of the total budget was allocated to social inclusion, and the plan failed to mainstream inclusion, by having programs with only narrow coverage and non-quantitative targets and by having no adequate system of regular monitoring and evaluation. ***** The recently formulated Three Year Interim Plan (TYIP), which is in the last year of implementation, is cognizant of the relationship between inequality and conflict, and its main objective is to bring about perceptible improvements in the lives of general public by reducing existing unemployment, poverty and inequalities and thereby contributing to long lasting peace in the country. After April Janadolan (movement) 2006, the successive governments have been implementing inclusive policies. The representation of Dalits, Janajatis, Madhesi, and women in the constituent assembly (CA) and bureaucracy has improved; a list of such measures appears in UNDP/Nepal 2009. †††††

A. Policy recommendations for reducing socio-economic horizontal inequalities

1. Auditing of development policies to ensure gender and social inclusion. To avoid negative impact of development policies on excluded groups and to assure that they contribute towards greater social inclusion, the government and non-government organizations must audit their development policies and programmes in terms of their effect on excluded groups. The practice of gender auditing is slowly being initiated in some sectors. This should be extended to cover all sectors and all other excluded groups.

2. Affirmative action. Affirmative action is necessary in the short term to enhance social inclusion. The Civil Service Act and recruitment policy of police force have recently adopted affirmative action; there are now more Dalits recruited in police force than in any other government sub-sector. Affirmative action should be extended to other public sector employment including among schoolteachers.

3. Fiscal policies. The existing HIs have shown that the ultimate

***** Tiwari, Bishwa Nath. 2004. 'An Appraisal of Poverty Reduction Strategy in Nepal', in Madan K Dahal (ed). *Nepalese Economy: Towards Building a Strong Economic Nation-State*. Central Department of Economics, Tribhuvan University and New Hira Books Enterprises, Kathmandu

††††† UNDP/Nepal: *Nepal Human Development Report 2009: State transformation and Human Development*. United Nations Development Program, Nepal

impact of fiscal policies had not been favorable to socially excluded groups in the past. Therefore, such policies should consciously make efforts for reducing inequities. First, increase allocations to programs specifically targeted to women and excluded groups. Second, make income tax policy more progressive and strengthen enforcement to raise revenue for increasing public investments to address the problem of social exclusion. Third, increase allocation to agriculture, which provides employment to most socially excluded households. Give attention to promotion of technologies that are small farmer friendly and labor enhancing.

4. Improve access to assets and resources. Proper distribution of land can increase productivity and production, enhance human capital and improve participation of excluded groups in the political process. This requires: 1) Improved access to land as a basis for the poor and excluded to support their livelihoods and improve their voice. 2) Increased wage rate under the minimum wage policy. 3) Improved access to credit and other resources.

5. Improve access to better employment opportunity. Affirmative action, training and skill development support for youths from excluded groups should be expanded to increase their access to employment opportunities. Some of the key strategies are: 1) Revival of the economy and restoring private sector business confidence for increased investment during post-conflict. 2) Investment in the sector where the employment intensity is high. 3) Hydropower development as a potential source of employment generation. 4) Agriculture as the key to self-employment opportunities and empowerment of social groups but with modernization and commercialization.

6. Increase workfare programmes. Increased coverage of workfare programme and welfare programmes is necessary in the excluded areas where there are limited options. The only such major programme in Nepal is the Food for Work Programme called as Rural Community Infrastructures Works (RCIW), which has been effective in supplementing food deficit areas and generating some infrastructures in remote hills and mountains. Recently, the government has made a provision of employment guarantee scheme for the Karnali region – “Employment of One Member in Each Household”, however; the success of this program has yet to be seen.

7. Improving access to credit. The micro-finance initiative in the country has enhanced access to institutional credit to the poor and excluded groups but interest rates are still high. The Central Bank should monitor to make credit to poor and excluded groups at reasonable rates.

8. Enhance access to foreign employment. Foreign employment earnings have been a major factor in reducing poverty in Nepal. By augmenting skills of Dalits and excluded groups and introducing affirmative action, their access to foreign employment can be increased.

9. Protect the interest of the excluded groups in the upcoming federal structure. Nepal is heading for a federal structure. But, there is no guarantee that federalism will protect the human rights of all and will ensure a decent standard of living for everyone. Federalism has to include some constitutional devices for protect the interest of poor and excluded and for promoting a just society.

10. Improve service delivery and promote equal opportunities. Improved and equitable access to opportunities and government services including health and education, to both women and men, and to different caste and ethnic groups, is necessary for reducing poverty and promoting human development. This requires the following strategies (among others). 1) Enhance monitoring of the provision of services. 2) Promote decentralization for improved service delivery. 3) Improve disaggregated planning and monitoring for promoting inclusion. 4) Build capacity for developing human resources of the excluded groups.

11. Reduce cultural discrimination. Provision of no discrimination in public services by caste and ethnic groups was made in the 1990 Constitution, but it was not put into practice. For changing the mindset and behaviour of the people, following strategies need to be implemented: 1) Raise awareness and advocate against discriminatory practices. 2) Promote gender-sensitive working environment. 2) Build a strong nation-state. 3) Build capacity to incorporate local languages and cultural diversity.

12. Ensure fair and effective representation in state organs. There is a need for pro-poor and pro-excluded state policies and their effective implementation, to ensure a fair representation in all state organs. This can be done through state restructuring, improving the political

system so as to make the governance open to all, and by having a fair allocation of seats in the parliament to different caste and ethnic groups.

Conclusion: Nepal is at the stage of both the state building and nation building which are to be well articulated in the new constitution, which are being drafted by the CA members. While the state transformation can ensure fair representation, it is not necessary that it builds harmonious relationships between different groups. Therefore with the state transformation there is a need for social transformation. That requires nations building – building of a broad national identity and nationalism which can accommodate all 103 caste and ethnic groups. With such a broad-based national identity, promotion of “citizenship” is necessary. This requires provision of all the basic functions by the state effectively. However, the state can fulfil these functions when an individual works as a “citizen” in the country where she or he is very much responsive to the rights of others while looking for his and her own rights. Thus, the state transformation moves together with the transformation of society.

Resources and Environment

Greening historic core for the mitigation of urban environmental problems of the Kathmandu Valley

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Urban environmental problems have become one of the most daunting problems. Improper solid waste management, increasing traffic congestions, deteriorating urban infrastructures, noise and air pollution are perhaps the most discernable problems that are causing detrimental impact on the public health and living condition of the Kathmandu Valley. While the entire valley is facing the problem of degrading urban environmental condition, historic cores of the valley which houses several historic and pilgrimage sites including world heritage sites, have become more vulnerable than ever given its physical and cultural setting and changing socio economic condition. This situation calls for proactive, innovative and unique measures in order to mitigate such environmental problems. There have been a lot of efforts from both government and non-governmental sectors to improve and upgrade the environment of Kathmandu which did produce some good results; yet, most of those big-budget programs failed to reach out to the local communities and many of such programs focused only on upgrading environment without properly addressing prevailing socio cultural context of the historic core. While such big budget programs are essential, given the economic condition, cultural setting and historical importance of the city core, cost effective, yet innovative programs that focus on the bottom up approach and encompass local community and direct stake holders are likely to be more effective.

The paper intends to open a discourse on how we can be effective on mitigating such environmental problems of the historic core. The paper proposes few greening methods which would help mitigate most of the environmental problems and improve overall physical as well as cultural environment of the historic core. The greening methods will include, but are not limited to, a) plantation in public urban spaces including big public

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squares and local “bahals” “chowks” and “nanis”^{§§§§§}, b) encouragement, introduction and implementation of green pavement techniques on public open spaces, c) revamping of “saga”^{*****} with alternative uses, and d) encouragement to urban agriculture techniques. There are direct and indirect benefits of these techniques. The direct benefits are more physical benefits, like reduction of *Heat Island Effect*^{†††††}, improvement of ground water table, improvement of physical and aesthetical environments, delay and reduction of runoff rate and volume and prevention of downstream flooding as well as reduction of loads on sewage system. While indirect benefits will be more cultural and economical, such as improvement of physical and environmental condition and cultural settings, which will not only increase the property value but will be equally beneficial for tourism development. Thus it will help improve both local as well as national economy.

In the implementation part, local community, local guthi (trusts), and local clubs can be involved with the necessary financial and administrative supports from the governmental and non-governmental sectors. As most of the green development techniques are very intuitive and do not require high level of technical expertise, we can expect an effective outcome if we involve the local communities properly. Most of the communities in historic areas are still pretty homogenous, both socially and culturally and most importantly, most of these urban spaces are still in use during various social, cultural and religious events. Therefore, developing and encouraging sense of ownership and sense of identity will be easy, which will further help in successful implementation of the program.

At present, the whole world is facing global warming and many other environmental problems. Greening the historic core of the Kathmandu will also be an effort toward mitigating this global crisis. Moreover, this program will set up precedence for several other historic settlements which are facing identical problems as that of the Kathmandu Valley. For the final paper, relevant journals, articles and other publications will be reviewed to develop in-depth understanding of the

^{§§§§§} *Bhals, chowks* and *nanis* are courtyards found in historic urban core of the Kathmandu Valley.

^{*****} *Saga* is a dump yard found in traditional settlements of the Kathmandu valley.

^{†††††} An urban area remains significantly warmer than its surrounding rural area. This phenomenon is called *Heat Island Effect*.

subject matters, and details on each of planning and implementation strategies will be outlined accordingly.

Benefit estimation of water quality improvements in the Bagmati River: Choice experiments

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In this paper we estimate the benefits of improving water quality in the Bagmati River in Kathmandu using Choice Experiments. Water quality of the Bagmati has direct impact on health, environment, ecology and development of the Kathmandu valley. Only a few known studies have been conducted focusing exclusively on the benefits of improvements in quality of water in the Bagmati River. We identify and use important attributes of river water quality including cost under different management scenario to estimate willingness to pay and willingness to contribute for river water quality improvements. We also calculate compensating surplus for different level of water quality improvements. Society's preference over payment and funding mechanism for the clean up program are also identified. Benefit estimation, households' preferences on payment, and funding mechanism for the clean up program are expected to yield valuable inputs into policy implications, especially in the context of a government initiative for the long term Bagmati River management program such as the Bagmati Action Plan.

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The Indus River Basin in the 21st century

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This project is an examination of the ecological and political relations in South Asia regarding the Indus River Basin in 21st century. The basin is a critical watershed area with a population of over 100 million people. It includes territory in Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and China and crosses three disputed international borders (Afghanistan-Pakistan, India-Pakistan, India-China). Since the partition of South Asia in 1947, the basin has been subject to numerous development projects (including dams, canals and large scale irrigation works). The governments of China, India, and Pakistan as well as the United States, the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank have all been involved in some, but not all the projects. The Indus River basin includes the Indus and Sutlej rivers which originate in Tibet, the Kabul and Kurruam rivers which originate in Afghanistan, the Swat River which originates in Pakistan, the Jhelum River which originates in Kashmir, and the Chenab, Ravi, and Beas rivers which originate in Himachel Pradesh. In terms of waterflow, largest tributary of the Indus is the Chenab followed by the Jhelum, Kabul, Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi rivers.

The political ecology of the basin is divided so that there is little coordination between all of the riparian states. The most notable measure has been the Indus Waters Treaty (1960) between India and Pakistan. The treaty was facilitated by the World Bank and has proven to be successful in political terms. That is, the treaty was designed to prevent conflict between India and Pakistan over use of the Indus waters and, despite decades of hostility, both sides still observe the treaty's requirements. The treaty has been extensively studied as a political document, but much less so as an ecological document. Past studies focus on diplomacy, international law, and security questions rather than examine the sustainability of water use or wildlife conservation in the basin as a whole

Beginning in 1951, India and Pakistan began the negotiations that lead to the signing of the Indus Waters Treaty in 1960. The treaty was facilitated by the World Bank and has proven to be successful in political terms. That is, the treaty was designed to prevent conflict between the two countries over use of the Indus basin waters and, despite decades of hostility, both sides still observe the treaty's requirements. However, the

treaty has important limitations which need to be addressed. The treaty has two major flaws in that only two of the four countries located in the basin are parties to the treaty and that the treaty does not address either the issue of sustainable use of the water or wildlife conservation.

The population of the basin is projected to grow substantially over the next few decades while the amount of water declines as global warming affects the snowfall patterns in the high Himalayan mountains. A major source of the water in the basin is the glaciers of the Himalayas, but these glaciers are now shrinking. The exact volume of the reduction in the waterflow is difficult to determine, but it is likely to be substantial.

There have been serious border disputes between Afghanistan-Pakistan, India-China as well as Pakistan-India. While new border wars between these countries seem highly unlikely, future water shortages are likely to exacerbate competition over water access. The Indus Waters Treaty can serve as a model for a new four country treaty in terms of conflict prevention, but a new treaty must include consideration of water use sustainability and wildlife protection. If the total water supply declines in the future, the allocation of water will have to be adjusted as the various Himalayan glaciers are melting at differing rates. A permanent, fixed settlement between the four may not be possible and they will be required to actively cooperate in managing the basin.

Food, Health and Education

An assessment of the potential impacts of dietary norms in food consumption structure and expenditure in Nepal

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The World Health Organization's (WHO) global strategy on diet (WHO 2004) emphasizing the consumption of healthy foods in order to combat the growing burden of non-communicable diseases. The strategy is based on the available scientific evidence on the relationship of diet, nutrition, physical activity to chronic diseases (WHO 2003). After long consultation, WHO/FAO have specific dietary recommendations regarding desirable dietary consumption for a particular country. The WHO also recognizes that nutrition-related chronic diseases are increasingly occurring in the developing countries. Following the dietary recommendations of WHO is likely to involve major changes in the food habits for the population, with increased or decreased consumption depending on food, country, and population (Srinivasan et al. 2006). While health consideration is important, consumer choice can be influenced by food tastes and habits, so that, in most population groups, consumption tends to be imbalanced compared with nutritional recommendations (Conforti and D'Amicis 2000).

This paper attempts to assess the potential impacts of the adoption of nutritional norms on the consumption structure and expenditure. In other words, what would happen to food consumption structure and expenditure if population changes from their actual food consumption pattern to one that meets nutritional recommendations as defined by WHO? An answer is provided by comparing the actual average food pattern of the Nepalese population with one obtained through Linear Programming (LP). The data source for this paper is the Nepal Living Standard Survey II (NLSS) conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) from April 2003 to April 2004. The available data includes 3912 households across the country and 68 food items both in terms of expenditure and physical amount. Based on these data, unit values of foods was calculated and used as a proxy for the price vector. Food composition data have taken from FAO Food and Nutrition Series (1997).

The main insight provided by this paper is that the adoption of Recommended Daily Allowances (RDAs) is likely to increase expenditure on food in Nepal. About 50% increase in food consumption expenditure to meet RDAs and more than 100% increase in expenditure to meet RDAs and actual food habits could not be a reliable solution for Nepali people. The adoption of RDAs and food habits could imbalance the average food consumption patterns. The exclusion of major foods such as rice, corn, some vegetables and fruits, and inclusion of relatively inappropriate amount of milk, yogurt, and fish in the optimal solution shows inconsistency with actual food habits.

This paper shows that the consumption of food without meeting RDAs is mainly influenced by the income level rather than the nutritional criteria. This means lower level of nutrition consumption is mainly dominated by their low per capita income. Compared to the actual consumption expenditure, consumption pattern obtained from LP model to meet RDAs needs more expenditure than actual expenditure. It seems that in some community, people cannot minimize their consumption expenditure and meet RDAs by changing consumption patterns in a given price vectors. However, food expenditure minimization including RDAs and food habits constraints could be only feasible in high income societies.

Geographic disparity in access to healthcare in Nepal

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Purpose: Since the 1970s, it has become increasingly clear that geography plays a significant role in determining individuals' access to needed health services. However, this work has been conducted on population served by private sectors in developed countries. The extent to which geographic disparities exist among the poor in developing countries constrained by economic decline, and the factors that contribute to such disparities are currently unknown. The purpose of this study is to quantify the magnitude and predictors of geographic disparities in health service use among a national sample of women in Nepal.

Methods: We used data from the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2006 (DHS Nepal 2006), the national study of population and health containing information on PSU (N =260) level geographic variables. These PSUs represent the local communities in which the women in our sample reside. We aggregated women (sample N=10,793) up to their communities of residence, and used weights to obtain weighted mean unadjusted probabilities of health service use separately for each community. By employing varying intercept varying slope Multilevel Modeling technique, we estimated weighted logistic regression models using poverty and urbanization variables. We then added individual characteristics (health needs and sociodemographic characteristics) and empowerment variables (education, social attitudes, media exposure). From each model we obtained the weighted mean adjusted probabilities of health service use. We used these probabilities to construct a GIS map to graphically represent changes in, and the statistical significance of, probability of service use conditional upon women characteristics, and the geographic characteristics.

Results: Controlling for need and other covariates, women in our sample displayed statistically significant variation in probabilities of health service use, ranging between 14% in geographic areas in which majority of the residents are indigenous and 76% in geographic areas where the majority of the residents are non-indigenous. Women in indigenous communities had only 1 in 7 probabilities of health service use compared to the national average of 1 in 2. The more than 5-fold

variations in probabilities of health services use between Indigenous communities and Brahmin/Mixed communities were not solely due to the mean differences in women characteristics such as poverty, health needs, education, social attitudes, and media exposure.

Implications: This is the first study reporting community (260 neighborhoods or Toles) level variations in health service use among a national sample of women in Nepal. Women in Nepal display over 5-fold variations in probabilities of health service use between indigenous communities and other communities. Such variations can be explained neither by health needs nor by individual characteristics. The findings indicate that the policies that seek to improve health access at individual level will not bridge the gap that exists at geographic community level. Attention to the intrinsic development practice and institutions is necessary to determine if these variations are reflective of variations in quality of care available to these women.

Preparing communities for disaster management: Myths and challenges

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The Himalayan state of Nepal is at high risk of natural disasters. People's vulnerability to disasters like floods, landslides, and snow avalanches acquire alarming proportions due to chronic poverty, involuntary migration, and unplanned settlements. Attention of the nation state and international non-government organizations (INGOs) has been drawn towards planning for disaster prevention and preparing local communities in developing the capacities.

This paper is derived from an empirical study carried out in 2007 to assess the programs that aim to strengthen community resilience to disasters in three districts of Nepal, viz. Rupandehi, Makwanpur and Sarlahi. The overall objective of the evaluation was to reflect on the role of INGOs and their accountability, to document the learnings for future initiatives, to use the findings in promoting good practices in disaster risk reduction (DRR), and finally to assess the value of these initiatives in formulating a long term strategy of integrating DRR in national development.

The data was collected through Participatory Ethnographic Method (PEM) where the ethnographic insights were validated through people's participation in the interpretation of social-economic and political data.

The paper underlines some of the challenges emerging from the grassroots such as conceptualizing the notion of 'community,' sustaining people's committees, integrating indigenous people, gender concerns, resource sharing, mobilizing the youth, locating the indigenous knowledge, issues of communication, replicability and scaling up of programs. Comparative issues of citizenship, civil rights and governance are discussed along contested structural and cultural terrains. Through anthropological insights, the study suggests further inputs into development policies in Nepal.

Objectives: The specific objectives of the paper are to examine the collective achievements and learnings of the project against the set outcome of the proposal; to analyze the strength, shortcomings and limitations of the methods and approaches used by civil society institutions in Nepal; and to explore the potential for sustainability, scaling up and replication of the approaches used for ‘mainstreaming’ DRR.

Methodology: A methodological framework was developed to provide the basis for addressing the evaluation questions. In all cases, the framework was aimed to ensure an appropriate, complete, rigorous, and unbiased analysis. Many relevant documents were reviewed to support the investigation.

Primary data collection through fieldwork was done through Participatory Ethnographic Method (PEM) where the ethnographic insights were validated through people’s participation in the interpretation of social and cultural data.

Prior to the commencement of the field visits, checklists were developed for interviews and focus group discussions, with district level project staff, district or village development council (VDC) level stakeholders and members of the local communities. The main focus of the field work was on interaction with the communities, which took place primarily in the form of focus group discussions. Wherever possible, discussions were conducted with men and women separately. Efforts were made to interact with the field mobilizers and other staff separately.

The team met a diverse group of stakeholders ensuring that data and information came from a variety of sources to ensure validity and reliability through corroboration/triangulation. This included District Administration Office, DDC officials, VDC secretary, line agencies staff (District Education Office, District Soil Office, DWIDP) teachers and media.

Observation visits were made to various project sites using consistent criteria to assess disaster mitigation measures and service utilization.

The project is implemented in eight VDCs of three districts, as follows:

<u>Districts</u>	<u>VDCs</u>
Rupandehi	Makraher, Devdaha, Keruwani
Makwanpur	Basamadi, Handikhola
Sarlahi	Sunderpur, Laxmipur, Fulparasi

The team visited all these districts with a plan to spend two days in each of them. The visit to Sarlahi was, however, confined to just one of the scheduled days due to closure of the highway that restricted vehicular movement to districts in the Terai region.

Notion of Community – Myth and Reality: The very word “community” is contested in the contemporary discourse in social development. In case of Nepal, the way “community” is understood by the development professionals, planners, and nation builders is far from what it actually means to the people on the ground. Administratively the Village Development Committees (VDCs) are regarded as the smallest functional units for developmental initiatives. Each VDC comprises nine wards which are usually territorial units. People live in small settlements locally known as *tol*. A *tol* provides the space for everyday interaction and serves as the base for group cohesion and solidarity, which obviously are very important in combating a disaster in emergency situations.

In the villages the VDCs are identified as the units where Disaster Management Committees (DMCs) are formed. Practically speaking, wherever a DMC is formed its office is located in the ward from where the president of the DMC comes. Sometimes the secretary or the treasurer also comes from the same ward. The meetings of the DMC are held in this ward. Though street drama and other training programs are organized in different wards, the decisions are taken in the same *tol*. Even the local people from other wards sometimes find it difficult to communicate or travel to reach the *tol*.

The wards that have been left out mainly belong to the indigenous groups such as Tamang or in some cases Chepang or Vankariya. It could be attributed to difficulties in geographical or cultural/social communication with the mainstream community. Needless to say, the formation of VDCs was more of a political and administrative decision representing a top-down approach to classify local communities in a decontextualized manner without regard to the cultural sensibilities.

The Process of DMC Formation: DMCs are the key structure playing an important role in emergency and everyday situations. Ideally they are to be formed at the level of VDC with a commitment to policies of inclusiveness and equality.

The manner in which DMCs are formed and continue their activities has several implications that require a closer examination. The field mobilizer in consultation with the community members organizes a general body meeting of the residents (different wards of VDC) where the president, the secretary, the treasurer and other members of the DMC are elected. We observed that sometimes the message of the donor or the mission does not reach all wards, much less all the ethnic communities residing there. Moreover, even where a message reaches, it always acquires a different meaning.

The villagers are facing the challenge of not only streamlining the formation of DMCs but also ensuring its continuity over time in an institutionalized manner. Once the DMC is formed, there is no scope for its expansion. Due to shortage of time the partners could not mobilize members from all the wards to take part in a DMC as members.

Awareness and Capacity Building: The tools and approaches used, especially the FM radio broadcasts, the street plays, and competitions at schools were found to be working well in awareness and capacity building. They also helped the community to overcome the superstitious beliefs such as treating disasters as *daivi prakop* (the wrath of god). We feel the training programs should be sensitive to differential abilities of rights holders, for instance, in groups where both the teacher and illiterate youth work together. Training should be in accordance with the cultural needs and resources, e.g. women should be trained to learn to rescue in a *sari* as it is their traditional wear. The focus in training should be clear as to what they are being made aware of and how they would deal with particular situations.

Integrating the Indigenous People: Looking at the list of the DMC members, it is encouraging, at least as viewed from the outside, that the stakeholders have ensured the representation of marginalized communities in DMCs. However, with regard to the nature of their relationship within the DMCs, the particular ethnic groups such as the Tamang, Chepang, Tharu and Vankariya still remain some of the marginalized communities of the areas.

Sharing the Resources: Construction of shelters or community halls has created greater visibility of the resources generated under the initiatives of the civil society. It was only in the last few months that these halls were ready and were rented out. However, differential renting policy might convey a message that the members of the *tol* where the community hall is located has a greater privilege.

Gender Issues: Since it is intended for the entire population, the disaster preparedness tends to rely on existing social structures built on patriarchy. Women face the likelihood of being marginalized in accessing benefits from the project. The project proposal, in its policy and general guidelines, is silent about gender issues as it fails to mention the rights and entitlements women should have in this patriarchal social setup, thereby having implication for the project's overall achievements. But in terms of the practice the project has given due attention to the participation of women in all project activities.

Coordination with Other Agencies: The project has undertaken a multi-dimensional disaster management program that includes raising awareness, capacity development and mitigation measures. The project has supported communities to be organized and has built solidarity in the form of Disaster Management Committees and Youth groups.

Interface with Local Bodies: The project has taken initiatives to interface and coordinate with local bodies, the DDC and the VDC. The DDC officials, including the Local Development Officer, attend programs organized by the project at the district level while partner organizations are invited to the annual planning meeting in the DDC. In some districts, the DTO has supported the project by sending technicians to inspect the project's mitigation works. The DDCs have also provided disaster preparedness materials (such as gabion wire and stone/sands) when requested by the DMCs.

Coordination with Government Agencies: Though development agencies play a key role in disaster preparedness and management, they are not formally involved in the District Disaster Reduction Committee which is headed by the Chief District Officer (CDO) and comprise representatives of line agencies, army/police units and the Red Cross. The project's coordination with District Administration Office is generally limited to involvement in functions and inaugurations.

Civil Society Linkages: To avoid duplication and share information and learning, all district based organizations working in disaster related issues were invited by the project during its orientation stage. These organizations also interface and come together in the DDC's annual planning meeting and other formal events organized at the district and local levels. The project has also pooled in resources with other development agencies for implementation of larger mitigation works.

The Issues of Communication: The reasons for some of the wards of a VDC remaining unrepresented in a DMC is due to the process of communication. While the active members of some of the wards convey the message of DMC formation at least a week in advance to their fellow residents, the message is sent through local leaders and other contact persons towards that may be far off and mainly inhabited by ethnic groups or marginalized people. In most such cases the political leaders and other contact persons are not from the ethnic communities and a given message can acquire an unintended meaning when transmitted indirectly.

Sustainability, Replicability and Scaling-up: Sustainability is one of the areas where key issues cutting across all major and interrelated themes converge. For sustainability of the project, community awareness should attain a desirable level in terms of its magnitude and spread transcending the assumptions. A follow up for training programs to prevent loss of skills should be given priority. It is important that the issue of loss of skilled personnel due to migration be discussed. Coordination with various government agencies at the district level for mainstreaming DRR is highly essential. Overdependence on partners could pose a problem and thus needs to be addressed. High visibility of structures, and the emerging issues of ownership and resource sharing all point toward challenges that lie ahead. In addition, the mitigation work has to follow adequate awareness generation and capacity building for sustainability.

Money, Finance and Remittances

The impact of microfinance and remittances on the lives of Nepali people

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The income from microfinance and remittances helps poor people address their basic needs. This research focuses on how microfinance and remittances are affecting the lives of people in Nepal. Some specific questions for this research are: 1) How do people use income generated by migration and microfinance for their livelihood? 2) Are they using money mainly for consumption or investing it to generate more income? 3) What are the characteristics of those who use the funds they receive? 4) What is the proportion of such people? 5) What factors help them to make decisions about spending on consumption and production?

This quantitative research is based on data derived from Nepal Living Standard Survey 2003/04. The survey was conducted by Central Bureau of Statistics, Nepal and supported by the World Bank and DFID (UK Department for International Development). The NLSS survey has followed the World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS) methodology, which the World Bank previously applied in more than 50 developing countries.

This is an ongoing research. The project will assemble important information about the consumption and investment behavior of people. It will determine the factors behind these decisions by analyzing background information of people who consume the most and who invest the most. An understanding of the key aspects of such household behavior should provide a basis to judge the sustainability of microfinance programs in the country, and yield some implications for policy on remittances.

Remittance to Nepal from foreign employment: Changes and implications

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Foreign employment has increasingly been a major source of income for households in Nepal with important implications for the development and socioeconomic structure of the country. For example, the growth of gross national product and decline of poverty in the country during the 1990s and early 2000s have been attributed to soaring remittance from foreign employment. Given that certain groups are more likely than others to go abroad for employment, remittance also has an impact on how resources are distributed and how various socioeconomic and demographic groups relate with each other.

Using data from the 1995/96 and 2003/2004 waves of the Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS), this paper examines how large a role remittance is playing in the household economy nationwide, how different socioeconomic and demographic groups have benefitted from it, and how it is changing over time. The analysis will be both horizontal across groups and temporal over time. Since remittance constitutes one of the various sources of income for households, appropriate reference and comparison will be made to their overall income level. Findings will be valuable for researchers and policymakers to systematically understand the extensiveness of this increasingly important issue at a macro scale and to apply it to analyze and devise policies affecting the economic, political, and social structure of society. While the analysis will not capture more recent changes marking further acceleration in foreign employment, the findings will be contextualized to draw more specific policy implications for the present day political economy of Nepal.

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Towards a South Asian common currency: Evidence from macroeconomic shocks

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My paper empirically assesses suitability of the South Asian common currency by testing for symmetry of underlying shocks. Following Mundell's (1961) seminal work, a key precondition for the formation of a successful monetary union is that member countries face similar types of shocks for coordinated macroeconomic policy response, which paves the way for a currency union. I apply structural vector auto regression (SVAR) approach to determine the nature of shocks affecting the South Asian nations and to find out whether the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) forms an optimal currency area (OCA). Through this econometric methodology, two series of exogenous shocks namely demand and supply shocks, for each country are obtained, and the pair-wise correlation matrix of the demand and supply shocks is computed. Apart from obtaining important information about the symmetry and asymmetry of shocks, the paper compares the response of the SAARC economies to the shocks in terms of magnitude and speed of adjustment. This is important because having huge symmetric shocks and slow adjustment process affect relative international competitiveness among countries as they cannot use exchange rate as a tool to correct disequilibrium in the balance of payments. The paper examines the size and speed of adjustment through the impulse response function (IRF).

The results obtained through SVAR models suggest that macroeconomic shocks are quite heterogeneous in the SAARC countries; therefore, this region is not an OCA. The correlation results show that the contemporaneous shocks are not perfectly and strongly symmetric among the countries. An immediate enforcement of a monetary union in the SAARC would cause a huge cost to the member countries as their economies have to undergo a costly adjustment process amid asymmetric shocks to bring their respective balance of payments (BOP) into equilibrium. In particular, an immediate adoption of single currency can be ruled out. The paper argues that the SAARC countries should enhance

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economic integration first and then liberalize trade further so that patterns of shocks would turn to be symmetric overtime.

Indo-Nepal open international border: Challenges and management

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International borders are becoming a great concern for understanding and organizing international affairs and for accelerating global economic progress. The border management seeks to secure states first and then to maintain inter-state relations. However, in this era of globalization, the welfare of global / regional community receives a high priority and therefore the restricted border practices are felt obsolete by a majority of people though not by the entire world. Borderless models are being supported in theoretical frameworks, especially by economists and academicians of the developed and developing world. Though border liberalization and opening are not easy to implement, especially among developing countries, people have started thinking positively in this direction.

The feasibility of the unrestricted opening of borders has not been assessed yet. Yet this idea can help the world to access unused resources and raise national income for human welfare. It may also help to decelerate regional income disparities globally. The evaluation of borderlessness needs an intense exercise in all its aspects to ensure the removal of barriers between countries are beneficial. This exercise has two clear aspects – the first in the context of economic advancement and international relations, and the second in terms of national security.

These two aspects may help to compare the relative utility of the models in terms of their viability, cost factor and overall contribution to human development. Despite propagation of this ideology and its promotion by a majority of academicians across the world, the open border practices on the globe may be counted on tips. The borders between the US and Mexico, the US and Canada, within the states of the European Union (EU), India and Nepal etc. can be cited as examples in the world exercising open border system. The open border system is

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blamed often to be unsafe for national security as people can move across without any recorded entry. This argument alone is, however, insufficient to discard the model. The porosity of the Indo-Bangladesh border between India and Bangladesh, a restricted international border, is nowhere less than that of the Indo-Nepal border. Mass infiltration through this border itself questions its relevance and may require adoption of alternate control measures. If the two Indian land borders, namely the Indo-Nepal and the Indo-Bangladesh borders, are compared, then the first model ensures national security and good mutual relations economically.

Our study is an effort to assess the role of the Indo-Nepal border in the development of areas around it in the two states. The border has historic justifications for its origin. It was somewhere in the early 19th century (1816 A.D.) when the border was demarcated between the two countries along with its “open status”. Though the alignment of the border was changed afterwards through subsequent treaties, its nature remained unchanged. After the independence of India, the border was kept open through a mutual treaty. It is of course a unique example of its own type in Asia and the world.

Nepal is landlocked and has access to sea through India. There are 22 legal routes agreed for trading between India and Nepal. 15 of these routes are transit points to Kolkata Port and 6 points are immigration posts for foreign nationals. Except for the above entry points, the entire border is almost unguarded. The border is porous and passes through highly uneven terrain, especially in high altitudes of Uttarakhand & Sikkim states in India where vigilance is difficult.

Nepal is divided into three distinct physiographical/ecological zones – mountains, hills and tarai which extend over 15, 68 and 17 percent of the country respectively. Out of a total of 75 districts in Nepal, 26 districts lie along this open border as are 20 Indian districts out of which 3 belong to Uttarakhand, 7 to UP, 7 to Bihar, 1 to West Bengal and 2 districts to Sikkim.

The Indo-Nepal international border is one in the Indian subcontinent which facilitates mutual friendship between the two societies. Both the social relations and political linkages with mutual commitments of support and sustainability exist across the border. The mutual dependence of the two societies has personally been witnessed during the survey of the area. The same sense of cordial feeling is

observed among people living around the border from Pithoragarh in Uttarakhand to Naxalbari and Sukhia Pokhari in West Bengal and even further northward at Dentam and Geyzing in Sikkim.

Besides, the mountainous and hilly people of India and Nepal have a mutual feeling of support for their counterparts across the border out of their preference for regional affiliations as well. However, spatial disparity in development among different geographical regions has led to diversity in demography, lifestyle, occupational structure and economic development. Spatial disparity is prominent from west to east in all the three ecological zones in both India and Nepal.

The narrations in this paper are based on a personal survey of the border area. The survey was conducted throughout the border length to find out its relevance for strategic development of the area and the effective management of the border. This paper discusses a part of this survey from east to west in West Bengal, Sikkim and Pithoragarh zones respectively. The opinions about the border status are based on the responses from 530 respondents (172, 210 and 148 from Uttarakhand, West Bengal and Sikkim respectively). These two areas were repeatedly observed in the years 2006 & 2007. The study also resorts to personal observations and discussions carried on with locals who cross the border for their individual needs. They could be retail customers, businessmen, workers, academicians, researchers, servicemen, facilitators like transporters, hoteliers and others. Discussions with security personnel and customs and excise officials were also carried out to provide additional support to the responses. No criteria for managing the number of respondents from each category could be followed owing to safety reasons, especially Maoists' insurgency then prevailing in Nepal. People were not ready to speak freely. Therefore those who were easily available to respond were interviewed.

The survey covered a total of six entry points (3 in Uttarakhand – Dharchula, Lohaghat and Banbasa-Tanakpur, 2 in West Bengal: Sukhia Pokhari and Naxalbari-Kakerbhitta, and one in Sikkim – Dentam). However, to compare the opinions on the basis of topographic and east-west areas, we only discuss our findings on four points – Naxalbari, Sukhia Pokhari (West Bengal) and Dharchula, Banbasa -Tanakpur (Uttarakhand). Our findings on other entry points are only explained without tables to avoid unnecessary detail.

The most important fact that emerges from the survey is that the border can be called a *life line* for people living nearby particularly in areas that are remote, rural and barely accessible. Our survey indicates the number of border crossings and their reasons as summarized in tables reported in a longer version of the paper. The cross-border movement has also strengthened socio-cultural as well as economic relations between the two countries. There is hardly any physiographic and cultural difference between the two lands. Settlements have grown rapidly on both sides with the residents belonging to the same race. Economic activities and people's life styles are also very similar. However, variations by topography are quite apparent and dominant. In Pani Tanki (Naxalbari)-Kakerbhitta corridor, the bridge over river Mechi separates the two lands that could otherwise be called homogeneous. Population has been growing and economic transformation rapid along either side of the border in the area.

Conclusion: The Indo-Nepal border is a very delicate medium of international relations in South Asia. Nepal is India's closest market but markets in Nepal can also look threatening to the industrial development on the Indian side because of inexpensive products made in China and elsewhere being supplied through this border. Thus any decision about a change in the border administration needs a dual strategy to protect people across the border.

Population growth has rapidly increased in and around Siliguri, West Bengal. A huge number of immigrants have flown into this region during the last two decades. Such growth has concentrated in some well identified pockets i.e., Shivmandir, Sukna, Salbari, Dabgram, Naxalbari, Bagdogra, Sivok area. The sex ratio in these areas has not changed significantly except in Siliguri. Religious composition has not changed much either except for a marginal increase in the minority community.

But a significant change is observed in occupational structure of the population. Primary activities have yielded to secondary production, particularly assembly of goods made of foreign components. Such activities are mostly concentrated in the Naxalbari & Bagdogra areas. Illegal trading of foreign goods has also become an important occupation for many people, which gets a boost from an uninterrupted immigration from Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. About two thirds of the current population in Siliguri and its surrounding areas are immigrants from the above neighbouring countries.

This area has witnessed significant economic development driven mainly by small to medium industrial units, services, transport, and trade & commerce. Growing educational awareness has also led to a boom in the number of educational institutions, mostly in the private sector. In fact the immigrants of skilled work force from both India and Nepal have played a large role in the development of Siliguri as a commercial capital of the Northeastern part of the country.

Another development is in terms of woman trafficking. Siliguri itself has emerged as an important prostitution market with a major contribution from Nepal and Bangladesh. The infiltrates enter not only through points with a lax enforcement of border control along Indo-Bangladesh border in West Bengal but also use the areas of Northeast to enter Nepal. Most of them proceed towards other parts of India. Another result of a loose border is smuggling which seems significant although it could not be captured well from the respondents' answers.

So far as Sikkim is concerned, especially Dentam and Gangtok, the majority of people are Nepalese in origin. They have contributed a lot to the economic development of the area. The Nepal-Sikkim routes in higher altitudes are not being used for illegal trade, and the rate of organized crime in Sikkim is also low. Gangtok resembles Darjeeling for much of its Nepaliness. There is a cooperative environment among people of different castes and groups. Almost 50 to 60 thousand Nepali workers supply seasonal agricultural labor to Sikkim facilitating economic progress in the area. However, it is also important to note that this open border seems to be a threat to national security.

The opinion from Uttarkhand was clearly in favour of strengthening cross border relations and to make the cross border practices easier. The respondents there acknowledged the symbiotic need of the Nepalese for continuance of the open border to sustain their economy. So was also the opinion of the Nepalese counterparts whose need for the open border emanated from a lack of opportunities in Nepal. Transport problems within Nepal also made the border residents in Nepal feel closer and more dependent on India than on other areas of Nepal.

A clear preference of the residents on either side was for status quo in border regulations although the respondents certainly favored more effective vigilance along the border to prohibit terrorism and smuggling. People denied any harm caused by the open border and instead

acknowledged cooperation of their counterparts across the border was highly beneficial. The labor needs of India are met from the adjoining parts of Nepal.

On the other hand, any cross border illegal business seems to be taking place with the consent of the safety personnel and the local police. The innocent risk torture whereas the culprits escape. The current border administration is not favorable to national security of either nation. Neither the security personnel nor the customs officials seem honest. There is an urgent need to address the situation on these fronts to consolidate the friendly environment that prevails among people on either side.

Finally, the clear pros and cons of both the open and restricted borders indicate that no single model of border management can be perfect. The Indo-Nepal open border may, however, be cited as a model of strong international relations and regional economic prosperity. There is no direct or indirect harm through this border to India or Nepal provided the two friends take their friendship seriously and work to protect common interests. There is a need to ensure national security and understand the needs and problems of the residents on either side of the border. To those ends, the following steps can be recommended for effective management of the border:

- a) Casual visitors fill up a form supplying their personal details, with a digital photograph taken by a border agency;
- b) Frequent visitors (conditionally allowed for some specific purpose) be issued a separate identity card by a joint border commission;
- c) Joint responsibility of border safety be ensured by both the states;
- d) Mutual co-operation in desired areas be increased to strengthen bilateral relations and communal harmony.

To conclude, the Indo-Nepali border should be kept open but an introduction of effective control measures is necessary to maintain its fruitfulness. Further studies and discussions may pave the way to suitable solutions for a more effective border management.

Conflict and Political Transformations

Religious pluralism in contemporary Nepal: Nepali indigenous movements and recommendations to creating a ‘fully democratic’ Nepal

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On a hot summer day in 2008, hundreds of *Himali* people gathered to celebrate their Constituent Assembly (CA) representatives. A common theme in the speeches of participants at this event organized by the *Himali Loktantrik Ganatantrik Nagarik Manch* was the liberation of indigenous peoples from 240 years of Hinduization of the country and the beginning of a new Nepal. The Constituent Assembly members, responsible for drafting a new constitution for the now secular state, were reminded of Himali peoples’ struggles for their citizenship rights and their contribution in making the Peoples’ Popular Movement of 2006 successful. As a response, CA members assured the audience that the new constitution will be fully democratic, protecting the rights of all indigenous peoples of Nepal.

Participant observation of many other such meetings that summer in Kathmandu shows reference to 240 years of Hinduization persisted in indigenous participants’ speeches. Hinduization is the process by which the country of Nepal was turned into a Hindu state disregarding the diverse cultural, religious and linguistic nature of the people and often replacing their culture, religion and language with that of dominant Bahuns’ and Chhetris’ from the Hills of Nepal through political, legal and constitutional measures (Gaige 1975). Gaige has pointed out that Hinduization, the process by which Nepali, a Sanskrit based language as well as Hindu practices have been introduced to the peoples in Nepal, actually extends beyond linguistic and religious changes to include a whole complex of interrelated cultural changes, ranging from the adoption of different values to that of different clothing styles and food preferences. Therefore, Nepalization is a broader and a more appropriate term for this process (Gaige 1975, 23). However the process of homogenization is termed, it is evident that it provides historical legitimacy for indigenous movements. Under the auspice of this legitimacy, many indigenous groups now rally around social actions aimed at transcending the oppressive

political structure and moving towards a fully democratic one, as suggested by the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007.

Religious pluralism in contemporary Nepal refers to the current transitional phase of the country where indigenous religious identities are competing with previously nationalized Hindu identity. Transformation of the country into a secular state and recognition of indigenous peoples have created a need for constructing a new national identity by Nepali citizens. In contrast to the previously Hindu kingdom, indigenous peoples today are neither subjects nor second class citizens from a legal and political standpoint. However, socio-cultural translation of these changes at local level has not occurred at the same pace as at the national level and continues to sustain indigenous movements. Better understanding of religious pluralism and its effects in contemporary Nepal is achieved through identification of indigenous peoples and their concerns. Analysis of legal and political history that gave rise to indigenous movements further sheds light on the current metamorphosis of the country.

This paper examines the criteria for identification of indigenous peoples in Nepal and their concerns. It goes one step further to include voices of those not actively participating nor represented in indigenous movements. This paper is threefold. First, I examine governmental policies that have encouraged social exclusion of indigenous nationalities in Nepal leading to the rise of indigenous movements. Second, I highlight indigenous concerns that are on the forefront of these movements followed by the perception of indigenous movements among observer Nepali citizens. Third, the paper presents the prospects for a fully democratic country under the recognized religious plurality in contemporary Nepal. Ethnographic data on indigenous movements in Nepal shows that indigenous leaders are actively pursuing their goal of creating a fully democratic country, and citizens are struggling to redefine identity in the now secular state.

Civilian conflict and internal displacement, dimensions of forced migration in Nepal

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This research investigates circumstances that force people to abandon their homes during civilian conflicts. Every year millions of people leave their homes and become either refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a result of conflict. At the same time, millions of others choose to stay put and risk their lives. Existing literature on international politics tends to conclude that displacement is an obvious consequence of conflict and focuses exclusively on explaining the causes of conflict at the macro level. However, little is known at the individual level about why some people choose to stay while others choose to leave. My research is motivated by this puzzle. Specifically, I ask why some people, even when faced with extreme violence, stay put and risk their lives while others flee?

Prior research on forced migration concludes that people make a choice either to leave or stay even under highly adverse circumstances. Although convincing, this view, based on aggregate cross-national analysis, stops at pointing out that such choices are available. The present study goes beyond the existing literature on forced migration to investigate individual level choices. Which factors determine individuals' decisions to leave or stay put? I employ primary data, collected during the summer and fall of 2008 at the individual level in Nepal, to explore these questions. Evidence suggests that factors beyond the presence of conflict distinguish who flees and who stays put. This article explores various facets of those differences.

Nuclearization of the Kashmir Conflict

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The role played by the nation-states of India and Pakistan in the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) echoes the animosity created during the Partition of 1947. The political and social upheaval that followed upon the creation of the two nation-states in 1947 has left legacies that continue to haunt the two countries. The Partition enabled the thunderous forces of violence and displacement to tear the preexisting cultural and social fabric so systematically that the process of repair hasn't even begun. I would argue that although the "Third-World" intelligentsia unceasingly complains about the manipulations and short-sightedness of British imperial cartographers and administrators, the onus of the calamity engendered on 14 and 15 August 1947 does not lie entirely on the colonial power. The failed negotiations between Indian and Pakistani nationalists who belonged to the Congress and the Muslim League, the blustering of those nationalists and the national jingoism it stimulated, and the unquenchable hatreds on both sides contributed to the brutal events of 1947. In the words of historian Uma Kaura, "the mistakes made by the Congress leadership, the frustration and bitterness of the League leadership, and the defensive diplomacy of a British Viceroy cumulatively resulted in the demand for Partition." The borders that were brutally carved by the authorities at the time of Partition have led to further brutality in the form of those riots, organized historical distortions, and cultural depletions with which the histories of independent India and Pakistan are replete.

One of the legacies of the Partition is the Kashmir conflict, which is now a nuclear flashpoint. For India, Kashmir lends credibility to its secular nationalist image. For Pakistan, Kashmir represents the unfeasibility of secular nationalism and underscores the need for an Islamic theocracy in the subcontinent. In January 1948, India referred the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations. Subsequent to the declaration of the cease-fire between India and Pakistan on January 1, 1949, the state of J&K was divided into two portions. The part of the state comprising the Punjabi speaking areas of Poonch, Mirpur, and Muzaffarabad, along with Gilgit and Baltistan was incorporated into Pakistan, whereas the portion of

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the state comprising the Kashmir Valley, Ladakh, and the large Jammu region was politically assimilated into India. Currently, a large part of J&K is administered by India and a portion is administered by Pakistan. China also annexed a section of the land in 1962, through which it has built a road that links Tibet to Xiajiang. Although, separatist movements have been surfacing and resurfacing in J&K and parts of Pakistani administered Kashmir since the accession of the state to India in 1947, the attempt to create a unitary cultural identity bolstered by nationalist politics has been subverted by regional political forces, backed-up by the governments of India and Pakistan. The culturally, linguistically, and religiously diverse population of Indian and Pakistani administered Jammu and Kashmir has been unable to reach a consensus on the future of the land and the heterogeneous peoples of the state. The notion that social tensions and weaknesses can be redressed by an essential Islamic or Hindu culture ends up fortifying religious fundamentalism in communities. The strategic location of Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) underscores its importance for both India and Pakistan.

The state of J & K borders on China and Afghanistan. Out of a total land area of 222,236 square kilometers, 78,114 are under Pakistani administration, 5,180 square kilometers were handed over to China by Pakistan, 37,555 square kilometers are under Chinese administration in Leh district, and the remaining area is under Indian administration (*Census of India, 1981*: 156). In order to make their borders impregnable, it was essential for both India and Pakistan to control the state politically and militarily.

Although Pakistan distinctly expresses its recognition of the status of J&K as a disputed territory, it dithers from doing so in areas of the state under Pakistani control. Pakistan arbitrarily maintains its de facto government in Azad Kashmir. South Asia affairs analyst Victoria Schofield (2001) astutely observes: 'There is no question . . . of Pakistan ever agreeing to relinquish control of the area, either to form part of an independent state of Jammu and Kashmir or as an independent state in its own right.' Therefore, advocating self-determination for the entire former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir would irreparably damage Pakistan's political and military interests.

In the age of globalization, India's policy vis-à-vis Kashmir has been influenced by various variables. Pakistan's formal political alignment

with the United States of America motivated the Soviet Union, in the 1950s, to overtly support the Indian stance towards Kashmir. The explicit political support of the Soviet Union in the Cold War era bolstered Jawaharlal Nehru's courage, and, in 1956, Nehru reneged on his earlier 'international commitments' on the floor of the Indian parliament. He proclaimed the legitimacy of the accession of Kashmir to India in 1947, which ostensibly had been ratified by the Constituent Assembly of J&K in 1954. Nehru's well thought-out strategy was deployed in full measure when the Soviet Union vetoed the demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir made at a meeting of the UN Security Council convened at Pakistan's behest. It was in 1953 that Pakistan initiated negotiations with the USA for military assistance.

Subsequent to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, India lost its powerful ally (Kodikara 1993). India's relations with the US reeked of distrust and paranoia at the time. This worsened when senior officials in the first Clinton administration questioned the legality of the status of Kashmir as a part of the Indian Union (Battye 1993). The nonproliferation agenda of the US in South Asia actively undermined India's proliferation strategy in the early and mid-1990s (Perkovich 1999: 318–403). Washington's agenda was propelled by the fear that South Asia had burgeoning potential for a nuclear war in the future. Pakistan's overt policy of abetting fanatical elements in Kashmir and Afghanistan led to its political insularity and seemingly legitimized India's proactive approach.

The US adopted the policy of persuading both India and Pakistan to actively participate in the nonproliferation regime by agreeing to comply with the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and to an interim cap on fissile-material production ('Interview with Strobe Talbott', *The Hindu*, 14 January 2000). The insurgency in J&K, which has extracted an enormous price from the people of the state, was generated by the systemic erosion of democratic and human rights, discrimination against the Muslims of the Valley, socioeconomic marginalization, relegation of the right to self-determination to the background, etc. While the rebellion may have been incited by India's political, social, and economic tactlessness, it has been sustained by military, political, and economic support from Pakistan. Proponents of the independence of the state of J&K are just as stridently opposed to Pakistan's administration of Azad Kashmir as they are to India's administration of J&K. During the ongoing insurgency, the Indian military has been granted *carte blanche* without an

iota of accountability. Custodial disappearances and deaths continue to occur, and official orders regarding the protection of detainees are brazenly rubbished. The introduction of other severe laws by the Government of India has made it further non-obligatory to provide any measure of accountability in the military and political proceedings in the state. Despite these highly discriminatory and unpopular measures, the support enjoyed by some of the militant organizations in the early 1990s abated by the mid-90s. Pakistan has won the disapprobation of international powers by adopting the policy of fighting proxy wars through radical Islamist groups, which has reinforced New Delhi's confidence that the internationalization of the Kashmir dispute would not get unwieldy. India also believes that the restraint it exercised during the 1998 nuclear tests has given it the reputation of a responsible nuclear power.

Despite international pressure, the India–Pakistan crisis has not been defused; on the contrary, it is highly volatile. Given their interests in South Asia, Russia and China have expressed their concern about the brinkmanship between the two countries. In order to facilitate a rapprochement, President Vladimir Putin of Russia offered to play the role of mediator between Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee and Pakistani President Musharraf at the scheduled regional summit conference in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Both Putin and the Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, held talks with Vajpayee and Musharraf in order to create a space for political negotiations. But the two heads of state continued to remain aloof and uncompromisingly condemned each other's belligerence. The one positive outcome of the summit talks, however, was the proposal of the Indian government for joint patrolling of the Line of Control (LOC) by Indian and Pakistani forces. But the Pakistani government was quick to reject this proposal and expressed the requirement for building a third-party force instead. Subsequently, the lethal and hitherto readily adopted practice of maneuvering a dangerous situation to the limits of tolerance mellowed, due to Vajpayee's and Musharraf's judicious approach to nuclear warfare. But the simmering grievances between India and Pakistan, and the distress of the Kashmiri people remained unredressed.

The Pakistani military reinforced western concerns regarding nuclear proliferation in South Asia. In reaction to Pakistan's aggressive transgression of the LOC India exercised political tact and restraint, winning international support for its diplomacy. Washington's political volte face became apparent when it explicitly demanded that Islamabad withdraw from occupied Indian positions and maintain the legitimacy of

the LOC in Kashmir. It was implicit in this demand that it saw Pakistan as the egregious aggressor. The attempt by the US to mitigate Pakistan's aggression also implied that it would not reinforce the status quo in Kashmir (Kampani 2005: 171). Washington's incrimination of Pakistani aggression mitigated New Delhi's fear that internationalization of the Kashmir dispute would spell unambiguous victory for Pakistan. India's strategy of diplomacy and restraint increased the international pressure on Pakistan to withdraw its forces from Indian Territory. India took recourse to limited conventional war under nuclear conditions, prior to President Clinton's March 2000 visit to New Delhi. This issue further receded to the background during the Bush administration. The neo-conservatives in that administration zeroed in on India as a country in the Asia-Pacific region that would offset China's burgeoning economy ('US-South Asia Relations under Bush' 2001). US strategic ties with New Delhi were further consolidated in the wake of 11 September 2001, when the links between militant Islamic groups and Pakistan's military and militia forces were underscored.

As one of the consequences of the decision of the Bush administration to eliminate Al-Qaeda and its supporters in Afghanistan, Pakistan's General Pervez Musharaff found himself with no option but to sever ties with the Taliban. Following this drastically changed policy decision to withdraw political and military support from the Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, Islamabad found itself unable to draw a clear line of distinction between 'terrorists' in Afghanistan and 'freedom fighters' in Kashmir. Islamabad's quandary proved New Delhi's trump card (Chaudhuri 2001). New Delhi was able to justify its military stance vis-à-vis Pakistan in the wake of the terrorist attacks on the J&K State Assembly in the summer capital, Srinagar, in October 2001, and then the attacks on the Indian Parliament, New Delhi, a month later, in November.

New Delhi's strategy was validated by US military operations in Afghanistan, and the deployment of US forces in and around Pakistan to restrain Pakistani aggression. India was assured by the US that it would stall any attempt by Pakistan to extend the Kashmir dispute beyond local borders, which might disrupt its operations against the Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Also, deployment of the US military in Pakistani air bases strengthened New Delhi's confidence that Islamabad would hesitate to initiate nuclear weapons use (Kampani 2002). The result of India's policy of coercive diplomacy was that the Musharraf regime was pressured by the US to take strict military action against the mercenary and militant

Islamic groups bolstering the insurgency in Kashmir. New Delhi was successful in getting Islamabad to both privately and publicly renounce its support to insurgents in J&K. The Indian administration decided that in the event deterrence measures failed, the Indian army would have to fight a limited conventional war under nuclear conditions. The possibility of fighting a war has driven the Indian government to contemplate a nuclear response to Pakistan's deployment of nuclear weapons (see Chengappa 2000). But Indian leaders have threatened Islamabad with punitive measures if Pakistan resorts to nuclear-weapons use (Tellis 2001: 251–475). India and Pakistan routinely brandish their nuclear capabilities to intimidate each other. The two countries have also resorted to direct nuclear signaling through ballistic-missile tests. Such strategies emphasize the military and political volatility in South Asia. Pakistan's nuclear arsenal has given its military the prowess it requires to exploit the disgruntlement of the Muslim population of the Kashmir Valley. India's cautious stance is however dictated by multiple factors. Its primary concern is that a limited war will not enable it to accomplish substantive political or military objectives; that such a war might spin out of control and would be impossible to cease according to the wishes of the administration and the military; that India might find itself in disfavor with and spurned by the international community, and that a war might beef up nuclear armament. The impending menace of precipitative nuclearization has been one of the many factors underlining the necessity to maintain a quasi-stable regime in the South Asian region (Kampani 2005: 177).

Pakistan's explicit aiding and abetting of insurgents in Kashmir has created misgiving about its strategies, and enabled India to prevent UN mediation. New Delhi managed to diminish the threat of internationalization of the Kashmir dispute in 2001–02 by threatening a nuclear exchange unless the US intervened to prevent Pakistan from fomenting cross-border terrorism (ibid.: 178). The insurgency in Kashmir, India and Pakistan's ideological differences and their political intransigence could result in the eruption of a future crisis. The atmosphere of paranoia and mistrust is exacerbated by the frightening attempts of Hindu fundamentalist groups to rewrite Indian history and the recasting of Pakistani history by Islamist organizations: efforts to radically redefine Indian and Pakistani societies in the light of ritualistic Hinduism and Islam, respectively.

In the wake of Benazir Bhutto's assassination in December 2007, the politically chaotic climate of Pakistan, the belligerence of the military,

and the tenacious control of fundamentalist forces basking in the glories of a misplaced religious fervor, can India and Pakistan produce visionary leaders capable of looking beyond the expediency of warfare, conventional or otherwise? Preparing to lead the new coalition government in Pakistan, co-chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party and Benazir's widower, Asif Ali Zardari, condemned the distrustful atmosphere created in the Indian subcontinent by the Kashmir imbroglio. While underwriting the importance of fostering amicable relations between the two countries, Zardari said that the Kashmir conflict could be placed in a state of temporary suspension, for future generations to resolve. In the age of globalization, will the besieged populace of the state of Jammu and Kashmir remain beholden to a leadership that doles out crumbs to them while dividing the spoils amongst themselves?

Son preference and gender bias: Emerging skewed demographic trend in Uttarakhand Himalaya, India

Atul Saklani and Bina Saklani

HNB Garhwal University

Our field studies during last one decade in Uttarakhand Himalayas have observed that ongoing transition from subsistence to cash economy is contributing to a marginalization of female labor. Today, in communities where farming is losing its importance and is substituted by incomes from salaried employment of men, the sex ratio has gone negative. In those remote parts of the state where new opportunities for salaried employment are few and far between, and male migration is low, the sex-ratio is invariably balanced. In another international study, it has been observed that a positive child-sex ratio prevails in those hill areas characterized by a high proportion of joint families and a 'traditional' lifestyle, together with continued dependence on agricultural production which uses both male and female labor for subsistence and for market. However, this study failed to note the fact that a balanced sex ratio remains intact in communities where son preference has been historically absent, and folk customs like bride price, polyandry, remarriage and divorce do not form part of preferred social mores in the Hindu society.

Our study also observes that new economic trends like increasing remittances of money seem to have inflated demands for dowry, resulting in very high costs for marrying off daughters. We find that the lower survival rate of the female child is associated with deep seated cultural biases against girls particularly for the second daughter. Improved education and the consequent adoption of small family norms mix with deep-seated preference for sons to give rise to sex-selective birthing as families take advantage of sex identification technology. This trend has become a cause for concern even in parts of the Himalayan region that was known for the balanced sex ratio. Yet the newly emerging trend of missing girl child has not failed to acquire a wider social tolerance.

E-Prostitution and its impact on society

Rashida Valika

SZABIST, Karachi

This research study aims to find how women are used by men in this society in the form of prostitution, not through the typical medium of the “Red Light Area” but through the modern way of the internet. The sample for this study consists of college and university students who are much more aware of the internet medium. Also, this study tries to find out the possible causes for this menace and suggests remedial measures to curb the growing illness.

Experimental results: Respondents interviewed were between the ages of 15 and 23 with a sample size of 76 from 3 different universities: Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology, Institute of Business Management (previously known as CBM) and Iqra University. 18 of the respondents were female while 58 were male. Most of them did not disclose their names or residential addresses. The sample provided a near accurate picture of what our young generation does. The results support the belief that internet does aid prostitution. Further statistics clearly show their attitude and reflect their thinking. The sample chosen for this research was a purposive sample and the problems in data collection were numerous. This ranged from non-cooperation of the respondents to hostility encountered in certain places. Where logical arguments and reasoning did not work, I even resorted to emotional blackmail to extract a response.

Does the internet aid/alert prostitution? The majority of respondents – approximately 93% of males and 78% of females – believed the internet aids prostitution. Most have access to the internet in their own houses or to someone who has such access. This makes it easy for users to access internet without any control from someone over the material being viewed.

Have you ever visited any porn sites? The majority of respondents have answered with a yes to visit such sites. One of the strongest factors that influence people to visit such sites seems to be sexual frustration, while others include ‘just for fun or pleasure’ or curiosity to know what porn is about.

Do these porn sites stimulate people to engage in prostitution?

The majority of male and female respondents (66% and 78% respectively) believed porn sites act as stimulators to incline individuals or groups to enter into prostitution. For some of the respondents the internet gave arousal and satisfaction and for others it did not, so they try to enter into a real time experience of prostitution.

Do you know of such sites which people use for pornography?

Since a majority of females (78%) do not visit these sites they also do not know of the sites which people use for this activity which is logical. Yet some said they did know of such sites, which also goes to show that awareness is slowly spreading. Most of the male respondents said they knew such sites and listed some which are www.sexwithme.com, www.pinkworld.com, www.desibaba.com, www.worldsex.com.

Did you meet someone on the net on pornography? Regarding this question a majority of the respondents said that they haven't met anyone on the net who was interested in this sort of activity, i.e. prostitution. Since a person when sitting on the net (especially in café's) experiences or meets many sorts of different types of people it is not possible that the majority has not met any prostitutes or someone associated to the profession.

Do you know anyone directly or indirectly who has used internet for pornography? Many people replied that they knew people indirectly i.e. through a friend who have used the internet for prostitution. They didn't disclose the names of the people but said that their own friends were involved in this activity.

Is internet a safe and easy way for these people to engage in prostitution? The majority believed the internet is a safe and easy way since it helps in concealing their true identity and it also helps to engage in prostitution in a relatively safe environment. Some seem aware that the computer might be traced by a hacker and their identity revealed and people can actually end up getting caught.

Why do you think people engage in prostitution? Out of the total 76 interviewed, 44% and 46% believe that people engage in prostitution due to sexual frustrations and desire to get pleasure, respectively. About 9% of those interviewed believed that it is due to other

reasons such as financial needs. Very few, about 2%, believe that it is due to depression.

Sexual frustrations in most cases are the result of a lack of communication among family members, such as between parents and children, or among siblings. The frustrations also result from not having a trusted advisor which in turn leads to unanswered questions, embarrassment, feelings of loss and abandonment, or a loss of self-control.

Conclusion and future directions: During my survey, I encountered numerous problems in finding information about people's perception of the internet and prostitution. The problem was acute due to the sensitivity of the topic in a conservative society like Pakistan. However, I believe I was able to extract sufficient information from them to reach the results of my research. I could come to the conclusion that for the most part the younger generation is aware of the internet and its negative aspects, a major one being prostitution. I believe that besides giving education in schools and other institutions, children should also be given clear information about internet, prostitution and its evil effects because limited knowledge can encourage a child to experiment in a way that can eventually lead him to a wrong path.

Recommendation: It is also alarming that many people are sexually frustrated and some also want to engage in prostitution for pleasure, satisfaction and enjoyment. I agree that our nation should have strict laws regarding adultery and prostitution and anyone found guilty should be punished severely. It should be a lesson for others. Yet, we do need to create a consensus that besides education in schools, children should also be given complete information about the internet, and its pros and cons, particularly information about sex, prostitution and the darker side of unsafe or unprotected sex. As a matter of fact, information regarding changes taking place in adolescents should be discussed very diplomatically. Worrisome and frequently asked questions should be answered in schools and colleges. A trained and trusted counselor is the need of the hour.

The media which today plays a major role in our lives could help in educating youth in line with the above mentioned recommendations. The extent is not known to which men's experiences and behaviors are affected by using internet technologies. Early research in this area indicates that the impact is high and contributes to an escalation of

exploitation and abuse of women and children. Using the internet to access prostitution empowers men to sexually exploit women and children. The combined experience of using high tech computer hardware and software, finding a supportive community on the internet, and having a sexual experience can be reinforcing and empowering in mitigating the negative effects of the internet pornography among the youth.

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Yates, D. (1982). *Bureaucratic Democracy: The Search for Democracy and Efficiency in American Government*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Journal articles should be cited as follows:

Bertelli, A.M. and L.E. Lynn (2003). "Managerial Responsibility." *Public Administration Review*, 63(3):259-268.

A reference in the text could be cited in various ways:

According to Douglas Yates (1982, p. 151), the state can weild power to....
...that links policymaking to the democratic popular will (Bertelli and Lynn, 1998).

... and magnitude of substantive delegations (e.g., Bawn, 1995; Epstein and O'Halloran, 1995, 1999).

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Referee # 1, comment #1:

"I found the results of the model with GR and VFG interesting. However those results are not well integrated into the text."

Author's response:

The reviewer's comment has been addressed on page 13 (second paragraph) with the line that begins with "The negative effect of GR could be interpreted as" A foot number 5 at the end of the manuscript has also been added to further clarify the seemingly contradictory effect of GR by citing two other similar findings in the literature.

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