

Social Reality, Social Forestry:
The Case of Two Nepalese Panchayats

by

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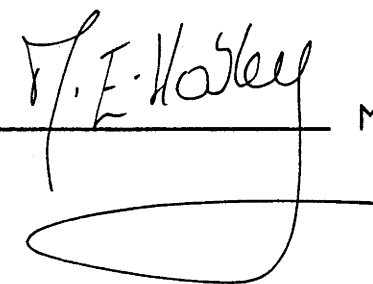
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I declare that this thesis
is entirely my own original work except where
stated otherwise.

Signed:  M. E. Hobley

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Abstract

A new paradigm has emerged within forestry termed social forestry. Social forestry assumes that the aggregate benefit of a project to a village leads to benefits to people within it. In particular it assumes that at least some of the benefits will percolate to the major users of forests - women and poor.

This thesis reveals that although an intent of social forestry is to help the poor and women, class and patriarchal structures limit their access to and control over forests, and limit their participation in social forestry projects. But the notions of gender and class as theoretical abstractions remain remote from the daily lives of individuals, and the experience of each person and the relationships into which they enter are constructed by the workings of these notions. Gender and class are shown to be real constructs which determine the way in which individuals interact and how resources are allocated between individuals. Social realist methodology is used here to explain the appearance of relationships at the empirical level.

The study is placed within the lived experiences of villagers in two panchayats in Nepal where forests are a resource essential to life. To understand the current formation of individuals' complex reality their relationships are placed within a wider historical framework.

The patriarchal construction of society places ownership and control of resources with men, and so women are subordinated through relations of production, and control over their labour power. Empirical experience

reveals women of all classes dominated through relationships of human reproduction. The class construction of society ensures that some women are dominated by women of a higher class, and that some men of a lower class are dominated by men and women of higher classes. Thus each individual's relationships are determined by this complex reality of the articulation between class and gender.

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Abbreviations

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
HMG	His Majesty's Government (Nepal)
NAFP	Nepal-Australia Forestry Project
Rs	Rupees (unit of currency: £1 = Rs 30)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL FORESTRY AND REALITY

1.1 THE THESIS

'Forestry is not about trees, it is about people. And it is about trees only insofar as trees can serve the needs of people' (Westoby, 1987:ix).

A new paradigm has emerged within forestry which is termed social forestry. Social forestry subsumes a number of other forms of forestry which all have the common denominator of people.

Social forestry has a declared intention of helping the rural poor and involving women in the projects and the decision-making within them. Social forestry affects women's lives particularly because in many countries it is they who are the major users and labourers in the forest resources.

Social forestry makes the assumption that the aggregate benefit of a project to a village will lead to benefits to the people within it and that at least some of the benefits will percolate to those most in need. It also assumes women's participation in the benefits from projects.

But 'those most in need' view the situation differently:

Everybody listens to the rich but no-one listens to the poor even if they shout. If some project comes to the village, the rich go to the front and take their share of the money: the poor get nothing. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:17) ¹

The foreigners told the villagers that because women are the forest users they must also be members of the forest committee.....The problem cannot be solved by outsiders imposing such ideas on men. If men wish to dominate women then that is what will happen. (Satibama:15-17)

I sought to question whether the assumptions of social forestry have any validity. I have done this by disaggregating 'rural people', 'the poor' and 'women' to reveal the relationships between individuals that determine their access to resources.

Class and gender form the social reality of individuals and determine the social relations which shape and reflect patterns of access to and control over economic production and human reproduction. This is examined by using a social realist framework to expand the historical materialist structure through the articulation of class relationships with those of gender. This method allows for the primacy of individuals as units of study.

I believe that historical materialism alone does not allow for the emergence of the individual, rather it speaks of classes of human subjects, and ignores their essential relations of gender. Although the man/woman contradiction cuts across social formations and modes of production, the particular form that relations take between men and women are historically and materially specific (McLennan, 1981). Therefore, an explanation of an individual's social reality is dependent on an understanding of the formation of an individual's relationships: 'For each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations, but of the history of these relations. He (sic) is a precis of all the past' (Popular Memory Group, 1982 :234; Thompson, 1978).

The notions of gender and class as theoretical abstractions remain remote from the daily lives of individuals. However, the experience of each person and the relationships into which they enter are constructed by the workings of these notions. Gender and class are real constructs which determine the way in which individuals interact and how resources are allocated between individuals; who owns resources, and who controls them. It is the confluence between gender and class and the determination of access to and ownership of the major means of production - land, raw materials such as forests, and control over labour in and between households which forms the focus of this study.

1.2 THE STRUCTURE

Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical framework to be used to explain the complex reality of individuals in two Nepalese panchayats. It examines the debate within the philosophy of science between positivist and social realist positions, to form the basis of an analysis of the theoretical construction of forestry in Chapter 4. The theoretical framework draws on theories of social reality, historical materialism and gender, in order to provide an analysis which is dialectical and historical.

Chapter 3 posits individuals within their historically contingent circumstances through a description of the formation of a landed class and the differentiation of rural producers as a result of the emergence of Nepal as a nation-state. The superstructure of the state is paid for through extraction of surplus from people and exploitation of natural resources. The state controls relationships of the infrastructure through

allocation of the major means of production - land. Control over land and labour was vested in those who supported the structure of the state, where caste was used to further consolidate processes of differentiation based on ownership of the means of production. The increasing incorporation of Nepal into the world system through Gorkha and British imperialism also affected the differentiation of rural producers with increasing taxes to support the expansionary policies of the Gorkha empire. The reemergence of the monarchy and the institution of the panchayat system are examined to show how the mechanisms of surplus extraction previously formed continue to exist and contribute to the differentiation of rural producers.

Chapter 4 follows the changing role of forests within social formations as one of the raw materials essential for the production and reproduction of life. The chronological ordering of political change in Nepal used in Chapter 3 is followed in Chapter 4 to show how forests were exploited by the state to support the superstructure, initially to furnish the expansion of the Gorkha empire, and then to provide increased sources of revenue to the Rana hegemony. The tributary nature of the relationship between Nepal and British India was expressed in part through the supply of forest products, in particular timber, to India. Forestry as a formalised institution and service within Nepal emerged from the British imperialist forestry paradigm established in India, and developed in Nepal through British Indian forest advisers.

Forestry and forests as the subject of aid are examined in the global context, from forestry for industrial development to forestry for 'local community development' (FAO, 1978: foreword). The assumptions of

communality within rural societies underlying notions of social (community) forestry are examined to show their ignorance of differentiation between individuals due to their gender and class; and the effects of this ignorance at the interface between rural producers and their access to forests. The construction of a global forestry is examined through the historical emergence of forestry as an institution, and the concomitant changes within the profession.

Forestry as a practice and institution is in a state of flux where accepted paradigms for action are being challenged by proponents of the new social forestry.

Chapter 5 draws on empirical experience to expand the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2. This framework based on an articulation between class and gender is amplified to provide a typology to describe individual relationships in the two study panchayats of Tukucha and Banskarka.

The purpose of the empirical Chapters, 6 and 7, is to create a dialectic between theory and practice rather than deriving one from the other, and thus empirical experience is used to illustrate the theoretical framework. My concern follows that of Freire to allow individuals to express their perceptions of their reality, for their expression to form my understanding:

The concrete reality for many social scientists is a list of particular facts that they would like to capture; for example, the presence or absence of water, problems concerning erosion in the area or those of production or productivity. For me, the concrete reality is something more than isolated facts. In my

view, thinking dialectically, the concrete consists not only of concrete facts and (physical) things, but also includes the way in which the people involved with these facts perceive them. Thus in the last analysis, the concrete reality is the connection between subjectivity and objectivity; never objectivity isolated from subjectivity. (Freire, 1974:134)

These two chapters are divided on the basis of their different social and cultural histories. Chapter 6 describes individual social relationships in Tukucha, a primarily Hindu panchayat, and Chapter 7 describes individual social relationships in Banskharka, a predominantly Buddhist panchayat. Both chapters use the framework derived from theoretical constructs and empirical experience to give expression to social relationships between individuals based on their class and gender.

Chapter 8 draws on oral histories to construct the historical formation of forests in Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats, in terms of ownership and control over access to the forests. The second part of the chapter reveals interactions between individuals in these panchayats which became apparent through the actions of a community forestry project, the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project. The perceptions of individuals of different class, gender and ethnic group of the actions of the Project form the focus of this discussion. Chapter 9 discusses the importance of this study for the construction of a realist social forestry.

The following sections describe the research methods used for the collection of empirical material.

1.3 THE RESEARCH METHOD

The fieldwork was carried out over a continuous period of nine months, (from June 1986–February 1987) divided between two village panchayats: Tukucha and Banskharka. The research methodology drew on techniques of oral history and popular memory.² The use of oral history was to enable villagers with whom I was living to be able to express their own understanding of their relationships. The foci of the research were the relationships between males and females and resource-use decision making, and thus, my own position as a white, female, single, middle-class researcher was obviously part of the nature of the problematic. Below I present a discussion of the difficulties faced by a researcher carrying out this type of investigation.

My intention was to spend as much time as was possible with individuals at the bottom of the village and household hierarchy, women and poor people; not mutually exclusive categories. I elected generally to stay with female-headed households, as I and they felt most comfortable with this relationship. I was thwarted in my bid to stay in low caste households because of the intense degree of disapproval I met from higher caste families. Indeed, when I broached the issue of living with a poor family, the family were suspicious and did not want the intrusion of an unknown researcher into their midst. Nevertheless, I spent as much time with low caste families as was possible. The first condition to obtain an understanding of each individual's relationships with another is through 'daily association at close quarters, and a simultaneous detachment from the circuit of vested interests' (Breman, 1985:9). However, it is important to retain good relations with both sides of the labour continuum with the

labourers and the employers of labour.

Since my interests lay in the differential access to natural resources and the social control over these resources, a single village location for the fieldwork was insufficient. I was interested to examine relationships under different ecological and social conditions, and thus chose one Buddhist panchayat and one Hindu panchayat. The panchayat which is the lowest form of administrative and political control acted as the initial geographical focus of the study, but within them I then concentrated the study in several villages - gauns, and hamlets - tols. Throughout the thesis I will use the Nepali terms used by my informants to describe the status of their settlements.

The focus of my interests was in the social relationships between individuals that determined their access and rights over land as a means of production and forests as a raw material essential to the maintenance of life. Indeed, the gaun or tol was not necessarily the best entry-point, as forest access and land ownership are not generally determined on these bases. However, for this study, it provided the most easily identifiable entry point since in both panchayats members of these gauns and tols had been protecting local forests for several decades. All the settlements studied provided a closed arena in which to observe the various relationships, both within and between households.

The difficulties of this type of research are not easily resolved: I was interested in observing and participating in all aspects of the household's daily activities but for some poor households I was a burden; they could not offer me food or accommodation nor did I expect it:

You belong to a higher caste, you are not supposed to stay in my home. If you and I were of the same caste, you could have stayed with me. If I had enough to eat, I could have welcomed you as my guest. In that case you would have known me well. But you cannot stay in my home and you are not supposed to eat food touched by me. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:46)

Poverty is a real and daily lived experience I could not expect in this short period of time to gain more than a fleeting glimpse of individual difficulties. However, by spending time with poor women in their daily work I began to unravel the relationships that maintain the social structures within the village.

The first point of entry to the village is important; in both cases my introduction came through the leading family of the village and the area. This was a major hindrance in the initial stages of the work when I wanted to make contact with poor households. Suspicion of my motives was high and I was viewed as an ally of the leading families. Fortunately, most of my contacts in the first few weeks were with women and I was able to build relationships with these women based on my participation with them in agricultural work. I had my inexperienced labour to offer them and they became my teachers, by so doing I had begun to turn the relationship round, I was no longer the one who was to tell them how to run their lives, I had come to their village to learn from them.

The quality of the information depends upon the context in which it is acquired, thus a woman on her own will speak more openly than in front of her husband; in some cases women refused to speak in the presence of their husbands, and referred all questions to them. These particular

relations of gender are discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7. I built up relations with several women in each village and they acted as my sources of key information. From them I obtained a detailed picture of resource use and labour division which could then be more generally verified by talking to other women and men.

Visits to individual households ranged from a couple of hours to several days. I ensured that each household was familiar with the aims of my work and so I spent much time explaining my presence in the village. However, in one tol my presence was not welcome, (Khanaltol) I was asking questions about the forest and they were suspicious of my intentions. They thought that I was an emissary from the pradhan pancha, village leader, to spy on their illegal incursions into the forest. At this time there was a feud between the villagers and the pradhan pancha; the villagers had ignored injunctions from the pradhan pancha prohibiting them from cutting in the forest. These acts of defiance were used as a political lever in the forthcoming elections against the power of the pradhan pancha. ³

I found that the information collected varied according to the social background of the informant. It was easy to establish a relationship of trust with low caste farmers, in conversation they were open about their relationships with landlords and money lenders; on the other hand such open conversations with the landlords were much more difficult to achieve. I often had reason to distrust the information they were giving me, particularly concerning the rates of pay for their agricultural workers. It was not until the discussion turned towards historical changes in landuse and tenancy systems that an open conversation developed. A

discussion of past events leads naturally into a comparison with current events and so following this pattern the discussion remained open and honest. It is important when conducting this type of research to understand the reasons why individuals are reluctant to reveal certain types of information. The absence of information is as indicative as the giving of information; reluctance to reveal information over land ownership often hid conflicts between individuals over land ownership.

The most open relationships were those established through horizontal introduction where relations and neighbours introduced me to their friends and relations (Breman, 1985:18). My relations with women were built slowly on a basis of solidarity and friendship; they were relationships of mutual respect and learning.

I found in both panchayats that the first approaches to the foreign researcher were always made by the leaders of each gaun and tol. In Tukucha, the vetting was easily achieved, because I was staying with an elderly woman who ran a small teashop which serviced the surrounding houses. The teashop was the centre for the male exchange of gossip and provided the perfect excuse for all the men to find out who this foreign woman was. It was also the perfect forum for my own work, here I could establish contact with the men and present my credentials in a non-threatening environment. My relationship with the woman who ran the teashop was of utmost importance in providing me with access to all levels of the village, she introduced me to rich and poor alike and she became one of my key sources of information and understanding.

Information Collection

The methods I used to gather information relied entirely on individual discussions and some more formal interviews. I had decided that the types of information I needed did not respond to formal survey techniques.⁴ The richness of the information is contained within the dialogue, it was each individual's construction of their environment that I was interested in, and not the quantification of it.

Formal survey techniques could not provide the types of information I was interested in nor could discussions where I wrote down the informant's replies. The written word is threatening to the illiterate individual, it signifies officialdom, and is a medium over which the individual has no control. The power is held by the interviewer; s/he records the information which may or may not represent the views of the informant. After initial meetings where I took notes, I decided that this process did not facilitate open and easy discussion, I could not concentrate on the informant if I was trying to write what s/he was saying. The easiest way to record these discussions was to use a tape-recorder. In this way I was able to record exactly what the informant had said and did not rely on my often faulty and imprecise memory. I was also accompanied by a young Chetri girl from another village in Sindhu Palchok, whose rapport with the villagers and insights into the relationships of village men and women were of great value. At the end of each interview I played back the recording of the discussion to the informant and so provided an opportunity for further discussion or amendment to the interview. I was sharing the research process with the individual and using a medium in which the informant felt comfortable. It

is the distillation of these 39 interviews that provides the basis of Chapters 6 and 7, where the information is presented in case-study form. This particular form of presentation is used because it posits the information in the complex of individual's social relations. In total 107 interviews were carried out, and are drawn on throughout the study. Appendix B details the caste, ethnic group and sex of each interviewee. These interviews form the basis of the description of the division of labour in agriculture and forests (Figures 6.10, 6.11 and 7.15-17.23) and Appendix A which describes the seasonal use of land and forest.

The Researcher's Position

The relations of power that I was studying are also the relations in which I was involved. I was an observer with a bias (Breman, 1985:29); I had chosen a particular focus for my research and framed the problems according to my perspective. I could not be an impartial or objective observer, nor did I wish to embrace such Weberian principles. However, I was aware of the biases which would colour my research and so I continued to redress the balance through my questioning to ensure that I represented the views of rich and poor, male and female. My interests lay with women and the poor and their everyday relationships with men and the rich; my research had to encompass all sides of the relationships involved.

My own methodological position is clearly aligned with that of others who have worked with the poor; for example Breman (1985:28) who studied

migrant workers in Gujarat noted that:

My research took on an outspokenly qualitative cast, which is not to say that I avoided any attempt at quantification...Still, I did refrain from reducing to tables and other statistical presentations the multitude of interviews with the diverse categories of informants The standardisation according to a fixed protocol which would have been necessary for this in the fieldwork procedure, was irreconcilable with the freedom I took in giving a personal slant to each interview and on the other hand with the reluctance, if not the inability, of my informants to answer many questions specifically and uniformly.

Women's Knowledge, Women's Domain: Men's Knowledge, Men's Domain

It became apparent that there are two separate systems constructed by gender and class. The males dominate the sphere of exchange and sale, while the females are involved almost exclusively in the sphere of production for own use. Thus decision-making and knowledge of decisions within each of the spheres is concentrated in each gender though there is not a rigorously defined boundary between the two spheres. This division meant that women were unable to answer questions that required knowledge outside their sphere; they were ignorant of decisions made about rights over resource use, payment of loans or similar matters. Men were equally ignorant of decisions made by women in their own sphere of production for use. Generally, the decisions made by women were unlikely to affect their legal/political access to resources. However, decisions made by men directly affect women's physical access to resources (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

Men often withheld information from women, whether consciously or not, so that women were less able to control or influence decisions than were the men. Women had little understanding of their rights of access to local forests, whereas men, generally understood their access rights and were aware of the legal status of the forest.⁵ A case of women's labour and men's control.

As a female researcher gaining access to women was not difficult. My gender rendered me invisible to men, who could dismiss my interests in women's affairs as of no direct importance. However, this invisibility changed when I began to ask questions about access to the forest, control over the forest and ownership. These were areas of interest to the men and the women would constantly refer me to their husbands or fathers-in-law for answers to these questions.

My own position within the society was anomalous and was a continual source of uncertainty. I was unmarried and alone and desired to work with men and women of all ages and class. These anomalies placed some restrictions on the degree of trust and understanding that could be built between myself and married women. However, slowly, I found that mutual understanding was built up between my informants and myself as we worked together in forest and field.

The exclusion of women from public life had a direct effect on the development of my research. I chose to work through women, but, they were less effective informants than men, they were less articulate and their world view was constricted by their limited experience and exposure. The exclusion of women from the public sphere had rendered

them inarticulate on a range of issues which were outside their cognisance. This was viewed more as a subject of research than as a limitation to it, for if women are to participate in decision-making then it is necessary to understand the societal mechanisms which restrict their participation.

1.4 TASKS AND INNOVATIONS OF THE THESIS

In this thesis I undertake several tasks simultaneously. On a theoretical level I address the complex reality of individuals, its determination through the articulation of class and gender. I then posit this analysis within the lived experiences of villagers in Nepal and their interaction with forests. The construction of individual relationships is placed within a wider historical framework in order to understand the formation of current relationships.

Forests are discussed as a resource essential to life. They are also discussed as a resource which is controlled and owned, and which have become part of a global theatre of aid. The assumptions underlying social or community forestry are examined at the panchayat level. The actions of the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project in Tukucha revealed a further complexity of relationships which became apparent through interventions in the forest system by the project. In Banskharka, similar relationships became apparent through the actions of the panchayat leader in establishing local systems of control over forests in the panchayat.

I also discuss how class and gender relationships are factors determining the control over forests. Participation in decisions about access to and ownership of forests is determined by the class and gender of the individual, and mediated by their caste or ethnic group.

Conceptually, this thesis introduces two major innovations: first the use of a realist methodology to analyse concrete and empirical experience. Secondly, the analysis of individual control over the major means of production - land, and an essential raw material - forests, in terms of the articulation between gender and class. The use of realist methodologies allows for the individual and his or her relationships to become determinate. The particular form of the research, oral history, allows for individuals to express their perceptions of their relationships.

NOTES

1. Each interview has a specific written transcription that is referred to in the text by the name of the interviewee and a page number reference to the transcript.
2. Oral history is a means by which 'popular memories' are constructed and reconstructed as part of contemporary consciousness. The past cannot be separated from the present; both form the other, reflection on past action occurs through the experience of intervening years.
3. See Chapter 8 (p.321) for detailed comment on the use of forests for political advantage.
4. I had observed one such questionnaire survey where women were questioned about forest use. The interviewer arrived at the house and expected the woman to begin answering questions fired at her. The woman was obviously uncomfortable and often refused to answer the questions; there was no relationship of trust built up between the interviewer and the informant. This threatening environment could not produce reliable information, and at the end of the survey the interviewer herself said that she thought that the women had not been open with her.
5. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the effects of class and caste on access to decision-making.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL REALITY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the theories to be used in the construction and understanding of the social relationships between individuals in rural Nepal. To reach a framework for the analysis of these relationships theories of social reality, historical materialism and gender and its relation to patriarchy are used. The importance of this analysis lies in the confluence between class and gender, where to understand the construction of an individual's social reality it is necessary to see the individual in terms of all of her or his essential relationships. From the articulation between these theories categories are drawn up through which to understand the means by which differentiation amongst rural producers occurs, and how access to resources, in particular forests, is controlled.

Social reality is constructed through causative social factors working at different levels of abstraction. The concrete expression of social factors are partially observable at the empirical level of appearances. However, social dynamics are not fully expressed at this level and empirical observation alone will not reveal them or the full social reality of an individual.¹ The social factors can be examined and structured through the theory of social reality.

The analysis of an individual's social reality has its roots in the conjunction between the researcher and the observation and experiences of villagers daily living in the society into which projects and programmes are imposed. The daily life of an individual is constructed from the social relationships into which s/he enters and which are in turn determined by class, gender, and caste or ethnic group.

This research focuses on the individual and the social relationships which determine access to natural resources including forests. This form of analysis would be equally applicable to an understanding of any other sector: health, agriculture, education.

People starve 'at the level of appearances', even if that starvation is produced through social relationships which are not immediately apparent (Wright, 1978:11):

....The level of appearances (the concrete) shows us starving people and fields that once grew subsistence food crops growing cash crops for export or growing nothing at all while the social dynamic that permits some to eat while others go hungry, and that determines the need of poor countries for foreign exchange, can only be apprehended in abstract thought. (Those who only see starving people may alleviate suffering in the short term. Those who only apprehend the social dynamic of starvation fail to do even this). (Sklair, 1988:700)

It is the links between the level of appearances, the concrete, and the abstract which are to be explored in this chapter using the notion of reality and the articulation between gender and class. In Chapters 6 and 7 the articulation between the level of appearance and the social reality for individuals is examined through empirical studies of two Nepalese

panchayats.

Marxism has left large areas of social inquiry untouched, particularly the conflict and articulation between genders. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the actual operation of the interaction between gender and class and the effects of this on access to natural resources and political processes. I demonstrate the importance of a class analysis that is fully integrated with gender analysis, each complementing the other, neither dominating. Class and gender form the determinate features of an individual's social reality, their articulation produces the social relationships which are observable at the level of appearances.

In the following sections I discuss the theoretical base which has been used to understand the structures that determine an individual's social reality. The importance of the choice of research methodology and the role of the researcher as an integral part of the reproduction of reality, discussed in Chapter 1, indicate the importance of understanding each person's role in the reproduction of knowledge.

2.2 THEORY OF SOCIAL REALITY

The emergence of social reality, from the debate within the philosophy of science concerning the methodological unity of natural and social science, has provided a powerful tool for the analysis of social systems (Keat and Urry, 1982:1). It was proposed as an alternative to positivism, which is a dominant philosophy in the natural sciences and which has been widely adopted for the study of social phenomena, based on Weberian principles of

objective value-free judgements. The late 1970s saw an upsurge in criticism of positivism in social scientific research, and many suggestions for research based on participation, action and change.²

The detailed work of Keat and Urry (1982) summarised the different conceptions of science - realism, positivism and conventionalism - and showed how the development of theory in the natural sciences has acted as a template for the development of theory in the social sciences. However, there remain substantial differences between practices within the social and natural sciences which must lead to different practices for the natural and social science realist:

.....social scientists must eschew the prediction/verification procedures of the natural sciences in favour of the explanations which rely on historical and comparative analyses and or practical interventions in basically open systems. (Jessop, 1982: 219)

In the following sections I examine the two concepts of science which have the greatest bearing on this work: positivism and realism. The paradigmatic split between these two concepts is exhibited in forestry, where the biological determinism of most forestry practice conflicts with the social change engendered within social forestry. This split within forestry practice is discussed in Chapter 4.

Positivism and Realism

For positivists, science is an attempt to gain predictive and explanatory knowledge of the external world. However, positivists do not see the:

purpose of science to get 'behind' or 'beyond' the phenomena revealed by sensory experience, to give (them) knowledge of unobservable natures, essences or mechanisms that somehow necessitate these phenomena. For the positivist, there are no necessary connections in nature; there are only regularities, successions of phenomena which can be systematically represented in the universal laws of scientific theory. (Keat and Urry, 1982:5)

The primary objective for realists is the pursuit of explanation and not prediction. Realists must reveal the connections between phenomena, through a knowledge and understanding of the underlying structures and mechanisms at work; and thus, a scientific theory is a description of structures, and mechanisms which causally generate the observable phenomena, a description which enables realists to explain them (Keat and Urry, 1982:32).

Realists dispute the validity of determining universal laws to explain social phenomena and follow Marx in dismissing the position taken by some economists that there are natural economic laws applicable to all societies. All economic laws are dependent on and will vary according to different historical structures (Keat and Urry, 1982:99).

The greatest problem with the positivist explanation of science is its inability to explain, it allows only prediction. The positivist position is exemplified in the work of Hume who adopted the position that stated:

To say that one event is the cause of another is to say that the first is temporally prior to the second, and that whenever an event of the same type as the first occurs, it is always followed by one of the same type as the second. (Keat and Urry, 1982:28)

Keat and Urry give the example of striking a match; striking a match does not always lead to a flame, the action in itself is insufficient to produce the predicted outcome because there are many reasons why the match may not necessarily light. In a strictly positivist interpretation it would be predicted that the act of striking the match would lead to its lighting, it is not an analysis of explanation. This Humean view of causation forms the foundation of the positivist analysis and scientific explanation. It is these forms of prediction based on the temporal precedence of one event over the other which are disputed in the realist science, realism observes and explains events by reference to mechanisms which lead to one event producing another phenomenon; the existence of a regular relationship between two phenomena does not necessarily indicate a causal connection. The realist describes the processes which produce change. This necessitates an understanding of the underlying structures and mechanisms which generate the observed phenomenon.

In summary, theoretical realists reject positivism on the grounds that:

1. Positivism limits science to the observable and restricts theories to the observational basis by which their truth or falsity can be assessed.
2. Positivism defines the theoretical vocabulary by rules linking it with observational terms. It requires that all non-observational terms in a theory be defined by reference to observational statements.
3. Positivist analyses of scientific laws are limited to statements of universal regularities.

Theoretical realists believe that scientific theories can explain observable phenomena only by describing the mechanisms and structures

through which various often unobservable entities possess the 'power' to generate these occurrences, for example class and gender do not have a tangible form but they are observable through the relations that they engender at the level of appearances. It is by understanding the mechanisms ie class and gender, which produce the observable that explanation of phenomena becomes possible (Keat and Urry, 1982:232).

Realism

For realists working in the social sciences, methodologies produced for the natural sciences need to be developed for the 'open-system' of social science as opposed to the 'closed-system' of the natural science experiment.³ The realist approach sees:

the real world as being stratified into different domains or regions which reveal distinctive *sui generis* emergent principles and thus require the development of different scientific disciplines to consider their respective conditions of existence, it also argues that each domain comprises not only a level of appearances or phenomenal forms but also an underlying level or levels at which are located the mechanisms that generate the surface phenomena of that domain. (Jessop, 1982: 219 emphasis in text)

Thus, realists assume that reality has ontological depth and that it is structured in a hierarchical fashion. Observable events constitute surface phenomena and reflect the realisation - at the level of the actual - of generative mechanisms located at the level of underlying relations. Generative mechanisms refer to the causal powers of entities, aspects of their nature which cause them to act in certain ways.

The depth of reality is usefully illustrated with an analogy to air to explain the importance of the difference between appearance and reality, and different levels of abstraction. The appearance of air is different from but dependent on its essence or reality. Air appears as an undifferentiated mass. However, it is hierarchically structured. The reality of air is constituted through its parts, represented by molecules at one level. Molecules, however, are further differentiated and articulated. They form a part of a hierarchy which is composed of atoms, protons, electrons and other particles, unobservable at the level of surface phenomena but which constitute the reality of air. The various levels of this hierarchy all articulate to produce the level of appearances, or the surface phenomenon - air. It is the articulation between the molecules, their bonding, which gives air that can be breathed or air that cannot. Thus it is with the world of which each individual is a part; each individual enters into relations with others which determine the social reality of that individual (see Chapters 6 & 7 for a discussion of individual reality). However, the relations are the product of underlying mechanisms of class and gender. Realism permits the explanation of these underlying mechanisms and the explanation of the surface phenomena. To examine this level of appearances, three levels of abstraction can be identified:

1. The real, which is the level of the generative mechanisms. This refers to the causal process of entities, aspects of their nature which cause them to act in certain ways. In the above example the actions of the atom.
2. The actual - the effects, operation and activation of generative mechanisms, eg the act of the elements of a molecule bonding to form a molecule.
3. The empirical - the observation of such effects eg the observation of air. (From Bhaskar, 1975:52)

The empirical level provides us with observable phenomena, observation which is not 'theory-neutral but theory-laden'; theory directs the interpretation of phenomena through hypothesis (Sayer, 1981:6). At a higher level of abstraction, the level of the real, is 'a set of assumptions about the constituent parts of the world and about the possibility of knowledge of them'.⁴ It is remote from empirical proof but provides theories and thus hypotheses which can be tested at the level of appearances.

The process of abstraction makes it possible to produce a temporary simplification of the social world in order to render it intelligible. It involves 'dropping' some elements of a situation in order to concentrate, for the moment, on others (Johnson, 1982:162). In this sense the individual relationships of interest to this study are those of class and gender, although this analysis excludes the biologically determined attributes of an individual it does not deny the importance of these attributes.

Realism provides the framework through which to expand and deepen Marxist analysis. Moreover, it allows gender and class to be articulated at the same level of abstraction. For as Sweezy states:

For Marx, social reality is not so much a specified set of relations, still less a conglomeration of things; it is rather the process of change inherent in a specified set of relations. In other words, social reality is the historical process, a process which in principle, knows no finality and no stopping places. (Sweezy, 1946:20)

Social reality forms the basis of historical materialism and, for the

individual, the basis of an articulated construction of class and gender. In the following sections, historical materialism and its utility for the analysis of pre-capitalist societies are discussed.

Empirical events which are observed at the level of appearances are the product of highly complex interdependent processes. Marx said that:

The concrete concept is concrete because it is a synthesis of many definitions, thus representing the unity of diverse aspects. (Marx, 1973:101)

The synthesis of many relationships acting together qualitatively modifies each constitutive entity, ie class cannot be separated from gender and vice versa, each acts on the other to form the concrete. The empirical observation of relationships based on class and gender is the perception of many diverse forces not all of which are observable individually at the empirical level (Sayer, 1981:7; Keat and Urry, 1982:246).

Empirical research bears on theory at a number of different points, and levels of abstraction. It may provide evidence for hypotheses but is not sufficient to confirm the existence of a particular explanation. Theory gives understanding to the concrete by means of abstract concepts denoting its determinations. Thus, in the case of forestry, theory provides an understanding of the particular working of forestry within a capitalist world system and directs the understanding of particular determinations which produce the empirical form of what is observable.

A Marxist examination of forestry does not exclude the technical and biological aspects of the study but indeed must draw on them to provide a

complete understanding of the forestry context. Thus, aspects of 'biological' forestry, which may be the prime object of study for others working at a different level of this hierarchy form only a small but nonetheless necessary part of the whole.

Relationships are historically specific which means that historically-specific abstractions must be used. In natural sciences, however, where generally a closed-system is investigated, the necessary relations remain unchanged. Sayer presents this as the reason why social theorists cannot base their assumptions about the working of a system on particular known theories or relationships: 'the necessary relations change with respect to the historically contingent circumstances' (Sayer, 1981:9). This argument can be developed both for the theoretical meshing of gender with class and at a lower level of abstraction to examine the relationships between 'traditional' forestry dogma and 'social' forestry which is discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3 HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND SOCIAL REALITY

Historical materialism is concerned with the explanation of production and reproduction of the conditions of existence and in particular the conflict between the owners and the non-owners of the means of production: land, labour-power and raw materials. The expression of social relationships between individuals varies according to the historical circumstances. Marx (1974), in an oft-cited passage argues that:

in order to produce, men enter into definite connections and relations with each other. It is only within such relations that

their action in working on nature, that is production, takes place. Each set of the relations of production corresponds to a definite stage in the development of the material forces of production. Such forces of production consist of land, labour-power, raw materials.....Further, what is important is the organization of these forces within a particular mode of production. The social relations of production consist of the relatively enduring connections between people, and people and things, which result from the functions to be fulfilled in the process of production and in the control of the forces of production.....The principal source of change from one type of society to another is the contradiction between the forces and the social relations of production. (Marx, 1974:361-5).

The principal categories of importance when using a Marxian analysis to determine relationships between individuals are those of production, reproduction, circulation and distribution. These combine with the juridico-political and ideological structures to form the social formation, a spatially, historically determined conjuncture of relationships:

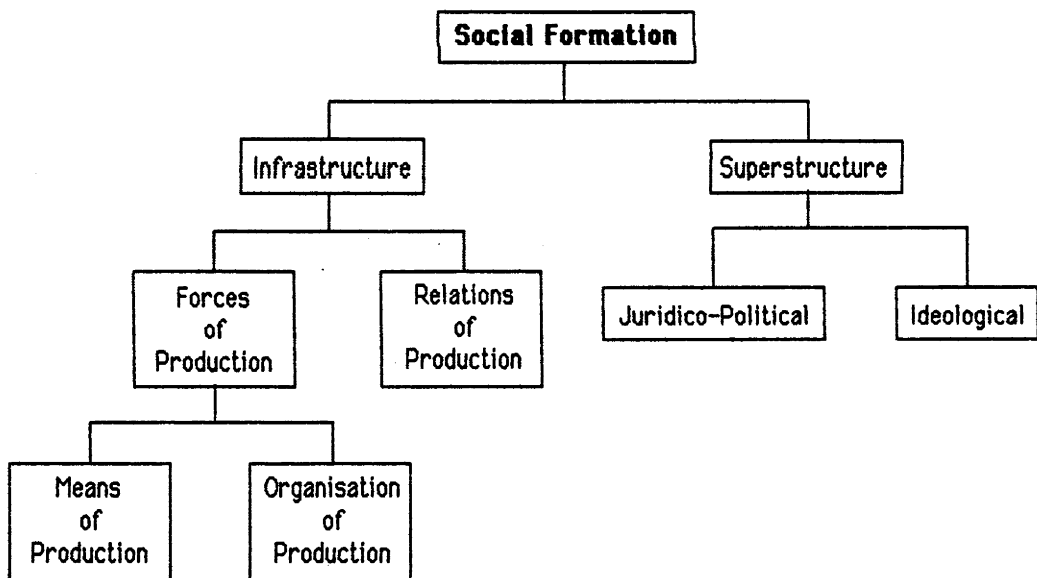


FIGURE 2.1: Construction of the Social Formation

Elements of the infrastructure combine to form a particular mode of production, which in the case of Nepal is pre-capitalist. The mode changes according to the development of the relations of production relative to the development and ownership of the means of production. The forces of production - the articulation between the means of production and the organisation of production, combine with the relations of production to determine the form of the mode of production. The relationships between individuals and nature change over time; the move from feudal to capitalist societies entails changing relationships between individuals, ownership of the means of production, and the superstructure.

As societies move from one mode of production to another tensions emerge between the new relationships, tensions due to changing relations between the forces of production and the relations of production between individuals. These changes are caused in part by expanding populations, agricultural intensification, land settlement and the concomitant needs for formalised systems of land adjudication with the emergence of states and nations.

2.4 GENDER AND PATRIARCHY AS A LEVEL OF ABSTRACTION

Much Marxist analysis has excluded the relationships of gender as a determining feature of an individual's position in the production and reproduction process, and thus, has failed to explain an individual's social reality fully. In this section I examine the articulation of class with gender to form the basis for the individual construction of social reality in Chapters 6 and 7. In the final section of this chapter I draw together

the three strands of this analysis, class, gender and modes of production to show how they can be used in the explanation of an individual's social reality.

Marxism and Feminism

The inadequacy of some Marxist analyses to include gender as a determining social structure, has formed the basis for some of the most important structural arguments made by socialist feminists against 'patriarchal' Marxists. It is not until social systems are interpreted in both their gender and class dimensions that a true understanding can be obtained:

It is not enough to say that all women are exploited and oppressed by men. There is not only the hierarchical division between the sexes; there are also other social and international divisions intrinsically interwoven with the dominance relation of men over women. That means the feminist movement cannot ignore the issues of class, or the exploitative international division of labour, and imperialism.....(T)he old argument put forward by scientific socialists, that the 'woman question' is a secondary contradiction and belongs to the sphere of ideology, the superstructure or culture, can no longer be upheld to explain reality for women. (Mies, 1986:1)

The sexual division of labour can no longer be seen merely as 'functional' to capitalism but must be considered as a defining feature, as central as wage labour or surplus value. Class and gender provide a clear and determinate articulation at the same level of abstraction. Class and patriarchy rather than being two separate structures, one in relation to production and the state and the other sexual and ideological activities, are two patterns of determination within one set of practices, each

conditions the history of the other to form the level of appearances.

A clear distinction must be made between sex and gender. ⁶ Hartmann (1979:16) describe the social and biological formation of sex and gender: 'We are born female and male biological sexes, but we are created woman and man, socially recognised genders'. Nature produces two sexes, but gender is constructed by social and cultural processes. ⁷

Before proceeding I must rebut Geertz's notion of the dualistic economy of formal and informal sectors, which came to be synonymous with the male and female work divisions; an interpretation which merely reinforces the patriarchal understanding of society (Geertz,1963:53). There are not separate domestic and public spheres each of which exists independently of the other, rather that these two spheres are inseparably articulated and are formed by many different social relationships between individuals.

For both Marx and Engels the family contained all the contradictions of society, and thus family structure defined the structure of society (Eisenstein, 1979:15). Engels did not differentiate between gender exploitation and class exploitation, and considered that the exploitation of an individual was primarily dependent on their class position and not also on their gender. However, Engels did identify the link between production and reproduction and the exploitative nature of these relationships:

According to the materialistic conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life. This, again, is of a twofold character: on the one side, the production of the means of existence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary

for that production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social organisation under which the people of a particular historical epoch live is determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labour on the one hand, and of the family on the other..... (Engels, 1986:35-36)

Engels considered, however, that women would achieve freedom through incorporation into the labour force: 'capital and private property....are the causes of women's particular oppression' (Hartmann 1979:4). For both Marx and Engels the family was the essential unit of society and it was the relationships of the family with the external economy, as defined through the relations of production, which ultimately determined the freedom of the individual within the family.

This study disaggregates the family, as a unit, and concentrates on the relationships between individuals both inside and outside the family. The family is a word which describes a particular set of relationships between individuals rather than a theoretical construct. The family is a word which must be further defined in the context of each individual. As is described in Chapters 6 and 7, each individual within a family shares different relationships with other individuals depending on age, gender and economic position. Any strategy which does not challenge the essential nature of the family and disaggregate its basis will not challenge the patriarchal relations which 'sustain the frozen apathy of much village life' (Harrison, 1977:335).

Engels saw the exploitation of women as the logical outcome of the development of private property (Engels, 1986). In the absence of private property 'men's productive work and women's household work were of

equal social significance' (Sacks, 1974:209). Both men and women were involved at different stages in the production of subsistence - production for use. However, with the change to private property came the change in the relationships between men and women:

The material base for women's transformation from equal members of society to subordinate wives lay in the development of valuable productive resources, initially the domestication of large animals, as private property.....Only goods or resources with productive potential can be considered property...the most important types of private property are domesticated animals and cultivated land. These are productive resources. (Sacks, 1974:209 emphasis in text)

Formation of private property and male control over the means of production become the central feature of the relationships between individuals. Meillassoux (1981) follows Engels in asserting that changes in agriculture mirror the development of private property. Neither Engels nor Meillassoux recognises that women's oppression is not to be found solely where relations of private property have developed, but in those societies where patriarchal relations dominate relationships between men and women (Sharma, 1985:61).

The interpretation of the subsistence system in terms of class and access to resources alone does not reflect the true determinants of the control of production and reproduction (O'Laughlin, 1974).⁸ Deere (1976) in her studies of Latin American communities has asserted where gender determines the allocation of labour and involvement in the commodity and subsistence economies it is important to analyse an individual's class and gender, rather than analyse the families.⁹

Gender was an implicit but not an analytic feature of society in the works of both Marx and Engels. This is demonstrated in the characterisation of human history by Marx and Engels (1977) 'three moments' are identified which existed at the beginning of mankind and also exist today:

1. People must live in order to be able to make history; they must produce the means to satisfy their needs: food, clothing, a shelter.
2. The satisfaction of needs leads to new needs. They develop new instruments to satisfy their needs.
3. Men who reproduce their daily life must make other men, must procreate - 'the relation between men and women, parents and children the family' (Marx and Engels, 1977:31).

These three moments are dependent on the formation of particular relations between individuals. However, the determining role of gender in both production and reproduction is only obliquely alluded to. The articulation between relationships based on gender and class, which form the basis of both reproduction and production, has been ignored in most Marxist analyses of the individual. At the base of these relationships lies power, its ownership and control. Relationships of power are expressed through gender, race and class and are manifested through patriarchy, racism, and capitalism. These relationships are characterised through the control of one individual over another and are expressed through the oppression of one person by another (Eisenstein, 1979:23).

Patriarchy and the Mode of Production

The mode of production used to define the economic production process is incomplete without equal reference to the mode of reproduction - the

means through which the human capital required for maintenance of the production process is produced. Following Hartmann (1979), patriarchy is defined:

as a set of relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men's control over women's labour power. That control is maintained by excluding women from access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's sexuality. (1979:18)

Patriarchy is not a static formation contingent on a particular mode of production but it transcends different modes of production and time. Its operation as a form of oppression can be traced from the feudal through to the capitalist system. The removal of economic oppressions in the production sphere do not necessarily lead to the removal of sexual oppression in the sphere of human reproduction. In Chapters 6 and 7 I examine in detail the effects of the interaction of a patriarchal system on both men's and women's access to resources.

For radical feminists 'history was perceived as patriarchal and its struggles have been between the sexes. The battle lines are drawn between men and women rather than between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the determining relations are of reproduction, not production' (Eisenstein, 1979:17). Class is not defined purely in terms of its economic relationship to the means of production, rather class is defined in terms of sex: 'Woman as a sex, is a class, man is the other and opposing class'.¹⁰ However, this position ignores the important and determinate articulation between production and reproduction. The radical feminists

are proposing a juxtaposition of ideas: sexual power as opposed to economic power. In such an analysis, capitalism is replaced by patriarchy as the oppressive system, ignoring the articulation of the two systems which ultimately determines social positions.¹¹ Patriarchy is a structure of oppression which transcends specific history, it has both biological and political dimensions (Eisenstein, 1979:19-20). Socialist feminism, as opposed to radical feminism, 'analyses power in terms of its class origins and its patriarchal roots' (Eisenstein 1979:22). Hence, in an analysis of relations between individuals it is necessary to define these relationships in terms of both production and reproduction.¹²

There is a real need for analysis of the articulation between Marxism and feminism, theory is divided and not articulated, weakening instead of strengthening the class struggle. Eisenstein (1979:28) argues for the complementarity of capitalism and patriarchal systems both together forming the political economy of society.

The orthodox Marxist approach sees production and reproduction as a single system with the mode of production determinate in the last instance.¹³ In this way the relationship between Marxism and feminism can be seen as:

The marriage of marxism and feminism has been like the marriage of husband and wife depicted in English common law: marxism and feminism are one, and that one is marxism. (Hartmann 1981:2)

But similarly it is important not to follow the theoretically inadequate path asserted by some feminists who separate feminism from Marxism and

ignore the reality of their articulation. Vuorela (1987) In an interesting and useful work drawing on socialist feminism and the writings of Meillassoux (1981) has advocated an analytic separation of production from reproduction. She suggests a separate mode of human reproduction which is dialectically linked with the modes of production, neither mode can exist without the other: each person's complex reality is composed of elements of both modes. It is, however, important to retain their analytic separation in order to tease out and understand the 'dynamics of the articulation and the dialectical relationship between the two' (Vuorela, 1987:21). This position is mirrored by Redclift (1985:119) who considers that 'The difficulties of empirically separating production from reproduction are evident; they must be rooted in their material base, yet to see either one as determinate (as is advocated by most Marxists in the supremacy of relations of production) seems problematic.' Production and reproduction should be considered as a unity, in which each forms an essential part but cannot exist without the other. Mackintosh (1977) also argues for a mode of production theory which takes account of relations between men and women.

2.5 THE ARTICULATION OF CLASS AND GENDER

Following on from the work of socialist feminists, it becomes apparent that class and gender, production and reproduction are the two articulating levels of analysis. Class must be defined in terms of 'women's complex reality and her consciousness of that reality' (Eisenstein, 1979:31).

This analysis of class and gender relations rejects the mainstream sociological approach of dividing societies into strata on the basis of ranked scales of privilege and deprivation using 'indicators of rural inequality', for example the ownership of capital equipment, land and livestock (Castro et al. 1981). The indicators exemplify distributional categories and do not posit individuals in determinate social groups. Such stratification does not enable an analysis to penetrate below the level of surface phenomena to the level of generative mechanisms. However, indicators can be useful at the phenomenal level if they are seen in the context of the social relations of production of individuals. Chapters 6 and 7 use both material ownership and social relations of production and reproduction to determine the position of each individual within village society. Analytic categories used in descriptions of rural economies can be classified into two distinct groups:

1. indicators of inequality stemming from a concept of 'social class' that sees the latter in terms of various ranked scales of privilege and deprivation;
2. differentiation in the materialist sense which poses class and gender in terms of the social relations of production.

In this analysis of rural production the household was taken as the unit of production and also the '... unit of reproduction of familial labor power on both a daily and generational basis' (Deere and de Janvry, 1979: 602). Thus, the sets of empirical data necessary for an understanding of the articulation between class, gender and the control over the means of production within and outside the household include the following:

1. Raw materials: land, water.
2. Means of Work: seeds, trees, animals, tools, implements, fertilizers, fuels.
3. Household labour power: number, sex and age of members.
(Deere and de Janvry, 1979:602)

Material indicators, as has been stated above, cannot be used as definers of class position; they must be seen as indicators of different levels of individual consumption at a particular point in time. These differences may be accounted for through various means: a household's access to outside remittances; vulnerability to periodic disaster; the age-structure of the household. For example, those households with large families of young women, each requiring a dowry, and with no young men to maintain the family's agricultural land and to bring in dowries, will be more vulnerable to natural and financial disasters. This is, however, a generational problem and one which may be resolved in subsequent generations. Examples of these differences causing either temporary or permanent loss of means of production are discussed in the case studies.

2.6 CASTE AS A MECHANISM OF DIFFERENTIATION

The explanation of the relationships entered into by each individual forms the basis for an understanding of the social reality. The complex whole that is synthesised to produce the social reality of a rural producer in Nepal is not just composed of class and gender relations but is articulated with caste and other cultural factors:

....The internal composition and division of labour within productive households and the characteristics of household members, are largely determined by the external relations of households to each other and to other social groups. The structure of the larger economy thus conditions the relative importance of internal processes. (Friedmann, 1980:159)

The concept of different levels of abstraction is useful when considering the articulation between class, gender and caste or ethnic group. Gender and class operate at the same level of abstraction, that of the real. Caste which has subsumed within its hierarchy non-caste ethnic groups, operates at the level of the actual. Class and gender articulate at a deeper level of abstraction and transcend the divisions of caste.

Class, gender and caste or ethnic group articulate as contradictions each with its own dynamics. These internal dynamics continue to operate, but elements from other contradictions will dominate and obscure the ultimate appearance of the contradiction at the level of appearances. Thus class, in a pre-capitalist Nepalese village society is obscured to an extent by the operation of caste or ethnic group. Caste is the idiom in which power relations are perceived and expressed but it is not the basis of these power relations (Harriss, 1982a). On one hand caste can be seen as an obscurant of class, but on the other hand, it reinforces existing class relations. The caste system is predicated on inequality in the system of exchanges between castes. It is a structure of religious interdependence organised and given meaning by the opposition of purity and pollution.¹⁴ However, the traditional systems of exchanges between castes are breaking down, the penetration of capitalist relations and the increasing dependence on waged labour for the reproduction of life, are changing the face of caste relations to an increasingly patriarchal classed society.¹⁵

The determination of these relationships forms the basis for the discussion of social reality in Chapters 6 and 7. It is these relationships which ultimately determine an individual's access to the means of production, where control over the means of production is exerted through the workings of class and gender relationships and is modified through the expression of caste and other cultural factors.

2.7 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has derived a framework for the analysis of class and gender relations within rural Nepal, using the notions of social reality, historical materialism and the articulation between gender and class.

Social realist theories allow for the explanation of structures and mechanisms that operate at different levels of abstraction and together generate the level of appearances or the empirical. Class and gender articulate at a deep level of abstraction and form, together with other factors such as caste and ethnicity, the complex reality of individuals. The appearance of relationships between individuals at the empirical level can therefore be explained by reference to this hierarchical and articulating structure. However, class and gender as entities are not apparent at the level of appearances, and their actions on individuals' relationships although determinant may be obscured by the appearance of other entities such as caste.

The discussion of the differences between realist and positivist forms of science are drawn on in Chapter 4 to form the basis for the theoretical construction of forestry.

The appearance of relationships between individuals at the empirical level is investigated using a social reality framework in Chapters 6 and 7.

NOTES

1. The importance of psychological and other factors such as natural disasters affecting the way in which individuals relate to each other is accepted, but remains outside the scope of this thesis.
2. For discussion of the theoretical formation of different methodologies for action see: Bhaskar (1975); Susman and Evered (1978); Sayer (1981); Jessop (1982); Keat and Urry (1982).
3. See the work of Bhaskar (1975); Sayer (1981); Keat and Urry (1982).
4. Sklair (1988:697) used the term metatheory to distinguish between the level of the real and empirical. However, his notions of metatheory are equivalent to those of the realist using the level of the real to indicate this level of abstraction.
5. Source of diagram - Friedmann (1974:445).
6. The distinction between sex and gender was first made by Oakley (1972) see also Rogers (1980:12).
7. See Moore (1988:7,12-41) for a detailed discussion of the literature concerning the social and historical construction of 'man' and 'woman'.
8. See O'Laughlin (1974) who states that the sexual division of labour seen merely in terms of participation in particular activities conceals inequalities in access to means of production, control of labour and distribution of the product which are more fundamental features of the mode of production.
9. Deere (1976:107) observes that: 'Given the division into male semi-proletarians and female subsistence producers that has been identified for some region.....it may not be helpful to consider the family as a unit in its relationship to the means of production. Differentiation by gender within it may be of greater importance'.
10. Eisenstein (1979:18) discusses the work of Shulamith Firestone (Dialectic of Sex published in 1970), to show how radical feminists separated sexual and economic class, rather than viewing both as articulating structures which form men and women's relationships.

11. Bandarage (1984) discusses the fundamental differences between radical, socialist and liberal feminists.
12. See Eisenstein (1979:24) and Vuorela (1987) for a detailed study based on empirical work in Tanzania, on the articulation between economic production and human reproduction.
13. See Gimenez (1977).
14. Dumont (1970) in his seminal work describes the formation of the caste system in India and the interactions between members of the caste hierarchy. He describes caste systems based on notions of purity and exchange between high and low caste.
15. Chapters 6 and 7 describe the use of caste and ethnic group to control access to the means of production and the use of caste rules to reinforce systems of patriarchy.

CHAPTER 3

PERSISTENCE AND INCORPORATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines aspects of the formation of the Nepali state and in particular the mechanisms through which land, the major means of production was used by the state to consolidate its ruling position, and to form a class of owners of the means of production. Relationships of tenure, indebtedness and forced labour were the means through which surpluses were extracted by the owners of the means of production from the direct producers. The exploration of these relationships is necessary for an understanding of the mechanisms through which rural producers are differentiated.

The historical emergence of Nepal as a nation-state illustrates the persistence of pre-capitalist modes of production within a changed social formation and the effects of its incorporation into a capitalist world system. This analysis is based on the categories of land and labour and the articulation between class, gender, caste and ethnic group. It leads to an examination in Chapters 6 and 7 of the social reality of rural producers in the light of their historically contingent circumstances.

3.2 HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION of Nepal: 1000 BC-1951 AD

From: 1000 BC-1768 AD

The area of the Himalaya now known as Nepal has emerged as a nation-state over a number of centuries through mass movements of peoples of different races. It is thought that the original settlers of this area were the Kiratis in 1500-1000 BC from the north-east; followed by the Pahari migrations from India into West Nepal in 1000 BC-1532 AD. In the seventh century there was a large influx of Tibetan and Mongolian groups into the hills. During the Mongolian invasions of Tibet (11th-12th century) Tamangs entered the hills of Central Nepal. The major influx of high-caste Hindus into the southern hills came from north India at the time of the Moslem invasion in the fourteenth century. The first Sherpa migrations from the Tibetan area into eastern areas of Nepal, the Solu-Khumbu region were in 1532 AD (Poffenberger, 1980:31; English 1985:65-66).

Nepal is the confluence of northern Lamaism and southern Brahminism though most of the tribal groups practise the shamanistic cult of mediums and sorcerers (Stiller, 1973:14). Thus by the middle of the eighteenth century immediately prior to unification, this area of the Himalaya was composed of a number of groups of different ethnic origin, religion and caste. There were some 80 principalities which were governed under feudal systems, where the state owned the means of production - land, and also the tenant's labour (Stiller, 1973).

Land appropriation by the Indo-Aryans led to changes in the agricultural

systems practised by the diverse populations living in the hills from transhumant pastoralism - shifting-cultivation to settled 'intensive' agriculture (Blaikie *et al.*, 1980:25). The spread of the Hindus from India led to an intensification in agricultural production. Rice became the staple diet with low lands terraced and irrigated. Ethnic groups who inhabited these lowland areas were forced up the hill sides to less fertile agricultural land through the gradual acquisition of the fertile land by the high caste Hindus through their activities as money lenders and mortgage holders (English, 1982:75). The Hindu perception of the high cultural value of rice led to the general perception of the importance of ownership of rice land as an indicator of high social position and wealth. Rice as the main staple of the diet became the symbol of cultural purity and high status. ¹ With the formation of Hindu princely states and development of new agricultural technologies came an increasing division of labour in society. A state apparatus was formed which supported the class structure based on the ownership of land and the control of labour (Blaikie *et al.*, 1980:25).

By the sixteenth century there was a well-established high caste Hindu landlord class. This class had a common political tradition and a sense of cultural identity which acted as a powerful unifying force and enabled the Hindus to gain ascendancy over the indigenous and ethnic groups (English, 1985:64).

Emergence of the Gorkha Empire: 1768-1846

The various principalities were in a state of dynamic change with alliances and wars changing boundaries and the composition of the ruling

classes. However, it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that there was a significant change in the geopolitical map of this area. A vigorous campaign of expansion and subjugation was pursued by the Hindu king of Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan Shah. By 1768 Gorkha rule was extended to the conquered territories, including Kathmandu valley which had previously been divided into the three principalities of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhadgaun under the rule of the Malla kings.² Kathmandu became the capital of the newly created nation-state, a centre of trade and Hinduism - the religion of the dominating parties.

There followed a period of territorial expansion which included wars against the Chinese in 1792 and Britain in 1814.³ This period marked the beginning of the incorporation of Nepal into the world system.

Expansion of Empire: Britain and Nepal 1768-1846

The birth of capitalistic relations in Britain and the need to seek new regions for raw materials to furnish the expansion of industry changed the balance of British trade to massive imports of raw materials and export of manufactured goods to dependent colonies.

There are two distinct periods in the history of this area under British influence: the first a period of mercantile expansion under the rule of the British East India Company; and the second a period of civil and commercial agricultural expansion under the British Raj. These two phases correlate with changes in the world system, from a period of nascent industrial development where nations were restricted to trade with neighbouring nations, to one of imperialism where expanding

markets were sought for the products of the burgeoning industrial societies.

These two periods had a significant impact on the Himalaya; the aggressive expansion of the British East India Company coincided with the equally vigorous campaigns of the Gorkhas. The end of the 1700's mark the period of Britain's most voracious expansion and acquisition of territories.

Formal relations between Britain and Nepal were established in 1801 when a trade treaty was signed which provided for the stationing of a British resident in Kathmandu (Joshi and Rose, 1966:26). Relations with Britain through the East India Company became of increasing importance both to Nepal and to Britain. However, the Gorkha aim to conquer the Himalaya from Kashmir through to Bhutan was in obvious conflict with the expansionary aims of the East India Company and led to war.⁴

In the period leading up to the war with Britain, Nepal sought an alliance with the Sikhs (1809), military assistance from China (1812), and alliances with other neighbouring independent states in India. All these missions failed leaving Nepal vulnerable to attack from the East India Company which viewed the Hindu monarchy of Nepal as a threat to its own expansionary activities within the region. Attack from Britain was delayed until 1814 because on other fronts Britain was fighting for its hegemony in the Napoleonic wars. The war continued for two years and ended in the Treaty of Sugauli which marked the beginning of British influence in the political administration of Nepal. The terms of the treaty had three major effects:

1. Britain was authorised to establish a residency in Kathmandu.
2. Nepal was forced to surrender all its hill territories west of the Kosi river and the disputed Terai areas below the hills to the Company or to subordinate Indian states.⁵
3. Other land was surrendered to the British and then handed over to Sikkim, thus ensuring that the British could control the important trade route between China and India through Sikkim.⁶

Appropriation of territory by the British resulted in the loss of a major source of revenue to the Gorkhas and led to an increasing tax burden on the already over-taxed agricultural producer. The defeat by the British ended the expansionary programmes of the Gorkhas and left the newly unified state in a position of tribute to the East India Company, where policy and action were to a large extent dictated by the Company and not by the rulers of Nepal.

Relations with the East India Company showed little improvement, and in 1837 Governor General Auckland agreed that Nepal was the most dangerous enemy the British faced in this area: '..... the Company had allowed a thorn to grow in her side, which must greatly paralyse her efforts elsewhere: and which it behoves her to pluck out and eradicate at the earliest favourable moment' (quoted in Rose, 1971:99). The Company extracted a pledge from the king of Nepal 'to totally cease all secret intrigues.....and to have no further intercourse with dependent allies of the Company without British permission' (quoted in Rose, 1971:99). Nepal's foreign policy for the next century was to be directed by Britain and to follow the way of India.

The indirect incorporation of Nepal into the British empire through treaties regulating expansion of territory was to take a more direct form under the terms of the British residency in Nepal. The resident was pledged to assess the possible use of Nepal as a direct colony of Britain. To this end Hodgson, the British resident, writes in 1841 on the possibilities of European colonisation of the Himalaya and recommends the area for its healthy climate, free from diseases of the plains. Hodgson suggests that Europeans should be encouraged to settle in the Himalaya and become farmers; the climate is similar to Europe and thus European fruits and crops could be successfully grown. Hodgson, in 1841, speaks of the 'luxuriance of the arboreal and shrub vegetation'. He makes constant reference to the high degree of forest cover which he notes could be one of the causes of poor crop yields. Hodgson concludes the case for colonisation with:

the infinite variety of elevation and exposure, together with the indefinite richness of the soil, as proved by the indigenous tree and shrub and other vegetation, are premises one can hardly fail to rest soundly upon in prognosticating the high success of European culture of the Himalayan slopes. (1972:87)

Hodgson saw colonisation as a means to stabilise British power in India. The settlers that Hodgson wished to encourage were the peasantry of Scotland and Ireland; grants of land would be given to them on which small rents would be paid. These settlers would then become the support for the British 'upon occasions of political stress and difficulty' (1972:89).⁷

From Gorkha Empire to Rana Hegemony: 1846

The period up to 1846 was marked by factionalism within the ruling elite of Nepal; the Shah monarchy was ineffective and was eventually deposed by Jung Bahadur Kunwar a member of one of the ruling families. Following the Kot Massacre in 1846 many members of the ruling families were killed and any effective opposition to Jung Bahadur eliminated.⁸ Jung Bahadur succeeded in consolidating his power base and was granted absolute authority in 1846. In 1847 King Rajendra was deposed by Jung Bahadur and the king's son installed as monarch, an act which was condoned and supported by the British. This marked the end of the power of the Shah monarchy and the beginning of the rule of the Rana family which remained in power until 1951 (Rose, 1971:99).

Rana Hegemony: 1846-1951

Caste was used as the idiom through which political power could be exercised. Jung Bahadur belonged to one of the less prominent sections of the nobility that had followed Prithvi Narayan Shah to Kathmandu, the Kunwars. In the Hindu caste hierarchy the Kunwar caste was not of superior status to other sections of the Gorkha nobility. However, Jung Bahadur used his position, as ruler of Nepal, to pass an order in 1849 which confirmed the Kunwar's claim to be descendants of the Rana family of Chittor in India, thus acquiring higher status than other groups in Nepal.

Under a royal order of 1856 Jung Bahadur became Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung. The order demanded that the Maharaja bear allegiance to the Emperor of China and to the Queen-Empress of England, thus elevating the

position of Jung Bahadur to that of head of state. Through this royal order the Rana family firmly established their ritual and actual status above the remaining Hindu nobility in the Kathmandu court. ⁹

The period of Rana rule has been described by Joshi and Rose (1966:38) as being 'an undisguised military despotism of the ruling faction within the Rana family over the king and the people of the country'. The rule was maintained for 100 years through a number of measures:

1. Control of the military and the monarchy
2. Suppression of any political opposition with a highly regulated society - strict enforcement of moral, caste and ethnic codes
3. Support from the British Government which was to each country's mutual benefit:
 - a. Nepalese support to the British at the Mutiny in Lucknow, 1857
 - b. open recruitment of Gurkhas to the British army from 1885: 'British power in India had become a major bulwark of the Rana system' (Joshi & Rose, 1966:50).
4. Centralised administration which was controlled by the Rana family

The importance to Britain of this change in composition of the ruling family was through the reorientation of Nepal's foreign policy away from the Chinese towards seeking alliances with Britain. Nepal from this period became a virtual annex of British India. Nepal responded to crisis within India, sending troops to the aid of the British at the siege of Lucknow in 1857. In recognition of Nepal's support of Britain, land annexed in the Terai under the 1816 treaty was restored to Nepal. Thus

Nepal became more than just a dependent state of British India, it was also 'a vital link in the politics of India's northern border as well as in the maintenance of British rule in India' (Rose, 1971:149).

The period of Rana rule was also the time of Britain's greatest expansion in the area. Control had been handed over from the East India Company to the British Government; India was united under the British Empire. This period was one of commercial agricultural expansion in India and consolidation of the imperial rule. Demands of empire required the mining of natural resources to support infrastructural developments; forests in the Himalayan regions, including those in Nepal became the major source of timber to furnish this expansion.

Nepal's position as 'a gourd between two rocks' continued (Stiller, 1968:47), with claims made by China to Britain that China had suzerainty over Nepal, and Nepal was a vassal state of China (Joshi and Rose, 1966:167). Up until 1906 Nepal had been referred to by the British as a 'Native State', at this time Chandra Shamsheer the then prime minister requested that Nepal should be recognised as an independent state. However, his request was rejected and the resident was instructed to inform Chandra that 'Nepal's position lay somewhere between independent Afghanistan and the feudatory states of India' (Rose, 1971:138-182). Nepal was a useful buffer between China and India and also between the possible advances of Russia. ¹⁰

Britain maintained this position of dominance over Nepal until 1923 when the treaty of Sugauli was abrogated. Under the conditions of this treaty Nepal was forbidden to have contact with any other country except Great

Britain. Although the independence of Nepal was recognised by Britain, clauses remained which ensured that Kathmandu had to refer to Britain in matters of foreign policy. Throughout the period from 1816 until 1923 Britain maintained a resident in Kathmandu, whose job was to ensure a steady flow of information about the state of affairs in Nepal to the British in India.

Nepal was used by the East India Company and the British government as a buffer against hostile attack from the north. As a tributary state Nepal supplied raw materials - timber and labour in the form of soldiers and workers to maintain the British empire and its plantation economy.

The second part of this Chapter examines the emergence of a landlord class during the period of Rana rule through the formalisation of mechanisms by which extraction of surpluses from agricultural producers was made possible. These mechanisms continue to underpin the relationships entered into by villagers and contribute to the differentiation of rural producers. These relationships need to be understood in the context of their evolution under the hegemonic rule of the Ranas, and the partial incorporation of Nepal into the British empire.

3.3 HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS: 1768-1951

Mechanisms of surplus extraction described in Chapter 2 were developed under the Gorkha empire and consolidated under the Rana hegemony. These mechanisms included appropriation of production surpluses through taxation, rents in kind - share-cropping, and forced labour services. Structures were set up by the state for the extraction of taxes which were implemented through a landlord class. These mechanisms of surplus extraction led to the differentiation of rural producers into the owners and non-owners of the means of production. Caste was also used as a mechanism of differentiation.

Caste as a Mechanism of Differentiation: 1768-1951

Gorkha Empire: 1768-1846

In the preceding sections reference has been made to the successive migration of peoples from both India and Tibet. The two major areas of cultural influence in Nepal were Hinduism, following the migration of Brahmins and Rajputs from India, and Buddhism from Tibet. However, between these geographically and ideologically disparate influences remained the animist practices and Masta and Bon cults (Stiller, 1976:157). Thus a great diversity of cultures and forms of customary law evolved amongst the many princely states.¹¹ The process of sanskritization was strengthened with the conquest by Gorkha and subsequent Hindu ruling.¹² Regions united under the Gorkha monarchy were permeated with Hindu beliefs and injunctions; it was prohibited to

kill cows and bulls, with heavy penalties for those accused: 'anyone who kills cows and bulls will have his property confiscated and suffer capital punishment' (Stiller, 1976:82).

In the struggle for power, the rigorous adherence to caste hierarchies ensured that the position of the high caste groups could be maintained and enhanced. Caste was a tool of social and economic differentiation which was ably used by the ruling families to maintain their control over the means of production, particularly land.

Ritual purity is the unifying and divisory factor that maintains the caste system; separating the Brahmins, Chetris and some Newars from Buddhist groups such as Sherpa, Lama and Tamang, and the low caste, artisan, groups.¹³ The political and social system was predicated on an acceptance and enforcement of the rules which maintained 'caste exclusiveness and caste privileges' (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1966).¹⁴

In the period between 1768-1846, the rulers came from the same coterie of families: Shahs, Choutariyas, Thapas, Basnets and Pandays, who were all members of the Kshatriya or Chetri caste.¹⁵ ¹⁶ This ordering followed the Hindu precept that rulers should come from the Kshatriya (warrior) caste and that they should be guided by the intellectual and spiritual elite, the Bramins (Joshi and Rose, 1966:23).

The high caste status of the ruling groups was maintained through marriage with Indian families of equivalent caste status and thus resulted in an exchange of elites and ensured the continued dominance of the Hindu caste system (Rose, 1971:8). The king, as head of the Hindu caste

hierarchy, was considered to be a manifestation of the Hindu deity Vishnu. His role as ruler was modified by the obligation to uphold the traditional Hindu precepts that delegate responsibility for decision making on a broad range of issues as a right not a privilege.

At this time the non-Hindu groups did not have any power or representation at court; the political elites were the caste elites. The support base for these families was found in the hills amongst the Brahmin families. From studies carried out in the eastern hills of Nepal it becomes obvious that the power base of the high caste rulers consolidated through land grants was also destroying indigenous land ownership systems and transferring ownership of land from indigenous populations to the high caste landlords and money-lenders (English, 1982:84).

The Newars who had controlled the administrative systems of the Malla kings of Kathmandu valley, were initially excluded from political or administrative position under the Gorkha rule. However, due to their skill as administrators the Newars gained a virtual monopoly over many positions in the administration becoming private secretaries and economic advisors to Kshatriyas in high office. They wielded enormous but unnoticed political power. Administrative and political office rapidly became the preserve and hereditary right of particular families and caste groups.¹⁷ Through such monopolies caste groups gained absolute control over particular aspects of the government of Nepal.

Rana Hegemony: 1846-1951

The Rana family subsequently maintained its power through the exclusion, by constitutional law, of other political classes from political power, as well as through the formal institutionalisation of its own privileges and obligations. After the royal order of 1856 (see note 9), other sections of the nobility from amongst whom prime ministers had been chosen - Thapas, Chautariyas and Pandays - were excluded from the ranks of the political elite.

The legal code that slowly evolved failed to recognise all citizens as equal under the law, there were different practices according to the caste and ethnic background of the individual (Stiller, 1976:182). These laws of caste hierarchy gained their greatest strength with the passing of the Muluki Ain, legal code, by Jung Bahadur Rana in 1854.

Caste was used as a tool of discrimination and division between and within races, and between genders: 'The union of a Brahman or Chetri woman with an untouchable is a criminal offence, the punishment for which amounts to 3 years imprisonment for the woman and 12 years imprisonment for the man' (Füerer-Halmendorf, 1966:22).

Füerer-Halmendorf (1966:22) describes discrimination on the basis of both caste and race used for the reinforcement of the position of the Indo-Aryans over the indigenous peoples:

.....all of the Tibeto-Burman speaking groups - Newars, Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Sherpas and Kirantis - fall within the category of matwali castes, a term applied to those who do not

wear the sacred thread and who drink alcohol....Until the abolishment of slavery in 1926 members of matwali castes were liable to be made slaves, either by being sold as children or by being deprived of their freedom as a punishment for a crime, whereas no Brahman, Thakuri or Chetri could become a slave unless he had been expelled from his caste on account of a grave offence resulting in permanent pollution. (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1966:23) ¹⁸

Discrimination against members of other castes and racial groups ensured that the hierarchy of power was maintained through strict rules governing marriage and exchange of food. The caste hierarchy was all pervasive and penetrated each relationship be it social, political or economic. Caste and Hinduism became the dominating precepts, non-caste groups and Buddhism were subordinated under this system. ^{19 20}

Patriarchy and Caste:1768-1951

The interpretation of male oral histories and histories from secondary sources does not reveal the explicit means by which patriarchal relations were asserted. Male reporting of history colours the relationships which are described and the interpretation made of those relationships: the history becomes a male construct and a mirror of the patriarchal society which renders the woman invisible. However, rules and regulations promulgated by the Gorkhalis which tried to impose a uniform system of law and culture based on patriarchal Hindu ideology, but incorporating some customary law, indicate the areas in which patriarchal relations were used as a means to subordinate women.

Marriage and the rules governing it varied amongst the ethnic groups. If a man wanted to marry a woman who was already married he was free to do

so as long as certain fees were paid to the various parties. This practice was in direct conflict with the Hindu custom regarding the sanctity of marriage - once married there could be no divorce. In this case central government allowed the practice to continue but registered the deviance of the practice from accepted behaviour by imposing fines on those involved (Stiller 1976:174). The penalty for lack of conformity to Hindu orthodoxy was relegation to low caste status.

There were certain areas of Hindu law which could not take account of local customs. These included inter-caste sexual offences between high caste Hindus and lower or non-caste, such offences were severely punished, due to the threat to the solidarity of the pure high caste groups. Women who were convicted of committing adultery were subject to punishments such as nose-cutting and men lost their caste status:

The Rana rule was very strict, it was a 'tit for tat' system....If someone eloped with my wife I would have the right to take money from her second husband. Also I could cut off her nose and her braids. If a Brahmin committed such a crime his head would be half-shaved on four sides and he would be exiled. No-one could drink water touched by him. (Bahadur Thapa:17-18)

Most of the Hindu laws which maintained the purity of the caste system were strictly enforced and ensured the adherence of caste members to their positions within the caste hierarchy.

Mechanisms of Surplus Extraction: 1768–1951

Land: Tenure, Rent and Tax

Gorkha Empire: 1768–1846

Ownership of the means of production and the control of labour were two of the key determinants of power in this primarily subsistence economy. Social relations between agricultural producers were based on exchange at the village level and on extraction of surplus production from the tenant by the landlord or state. Neither markets nor technologies were developed, there were some handicrafts produced for own use, but the level of reinvestment in production was low. Taxes and rents in cash and kind represented a transfer of surplus from agricultural producers to the owners of the means of production.

Tenure:

There were several major forms of land tenure and obligations associated with the tenure in operation in unified Nepal:

1. Raikar:

- a. Land was considered to be the property of the state.
- b. Land under raikar tenure was cultivated by private individuals with no right of alienation through sale ie there were user rights only.
- c. The state alone had the right of alienation which led to the endowment of land to individuals and institutions. This right gave rise to secondary forms of land tenure.

2. Birta

- a. Ownership of birta land indicated high social and economic status
- b. Ownership rights were given to priests, soldiers, members of the nobility ie. those on whom the structure of the state depended
- c. The state could repossess birta land
- d. Birta land grants were given in recognition of past service to the state

3. Guthi

- a. State or birta owners endowed lands for religious and charitable institutions leading to land under guthi tenure.
- b. Guthi land is protected from repossession by the state.

4. Jagir

- a. Jagir land grants were made in appreciation of current services in lieu of salary.
- b. Income from jagir lands was assigned to government employees and functionaries termed jagirdars.
- c. The land grant was for as long as the period of government service.

5. Rakam

- a. Refers to raikar land.
- b. Cultivators of some raikar land were obliged to provide unpaid labour or in-kind or cash payments on a compulsory basis to meet government requirements.
- c. This system was limited to the hill regions and the Kathmandu Valley.

6. Kipat

- a. Based on the custom of communal rights to land.
- b. Communal authority superseded any claim that the state might extend on the grounds of internal sovereignty or state landlordism.
- c. Rights to kipat land were derived from membership in a particular ethnic group and their location in a particular area (Regmi, 1984:19)

Birta, guthi, and jagir were all secondary forms of raikar land, ie jagir was a particular tenure of raikar, where the state still retained ownership of the land.

Kipat: The formation of Nepal as a nation-state under a Hindu ruler led to a generalised change in land ownership practices; from communal land tenure practices - the kipat system of the indigenous groups, for example the Tamangs of Banskharka panchayat, to private ownership. Land was the major reward of the state to persons who had rendered some service to the state. The kipat system represented an 'effective, communally sanctioned organisation capable of controlling resource usage' (Poffenberger, 1980:52). The last areas of kipat tenure and communal control were in the east, under this system land was assigned to members of the community on the basis of availability and need (English, 1982; Regmi, 1965:82-83). The state was not the ultimate owner of kipat land, thus reducing the power of the state in those areas where this land tenure system remained (Stiller, 1976:143).

The demise of the kipat system signalled the end, in many areas, of local control over resource usage. It was also the beginning of the acquisition of land by more powerful groups. As populations increased and placed greater pressure on limited resources of land, agricultural production systems intensified and this resulted in dominant groups acquiring control of large areas of fertile land through tenancy and usurious relationships (Hitchcock, 1966:104).

Jagir: This tenure form arose as a state response to an increasing cash crisis from the 1760s onwards. The cost of unification and war with the

East India Company and the establishment of a nationwide bureaucracy could not be met from existing sources of revenue. Taxes had been paid in kind, markets for agricultural produce were limited and access to cash also limited. As a result the government could not pay soldiers' salaries in cash and instead gave them land grants for the duration of their service - jagir. In 1793 legislation was enacted to provide for assignment of land in preference to cash salaries. By 1804 there was an acute shortage of land that could be used as jagir assignments. This acted as a limiting factor on the expansion of the army. To remedy this land being used without authorisation as birta, guthi or kipat was confiscated and reassigned to soldiers. The government thus redistributed land to those who supported the regime - soldiers and administrators. The expense of maintaining a large army was borne by the villagers through increased taxation and appropriation of village lands through jagir assignments (Regmi, 1978:19).

The relative proportion of government controlled land to privately controlled jagir and birta land declined. The tenant's redress to courts of law over land rents and tax issues were limited, with extensive judicial powers given to the jagir and birta holders (Regmi, 1978:22).

Jagir assignments as with birta grants provided jagirdars with various sources of revenue. There was some limited protection for tenants, for example when the crops failed jagirdars were obliged to pay compensation to their tenants, but this was later abolished. There are many accounts of exploitation of tenants by landlords; rents were subject to the whim of the landlord and were renegotiated at the end of each year. The jagir system ensured that land was cultivated not to provide for the long term

subsistence of tenants but to extort the greatest amount of rent from them in the shortest time.

Rent:

In the central hill region, a rent on rice-land was assessed and collected in the form of paddy under the adhiya system which divided the produce of a field equally between the producer and the landlord. Rents on land under government ownership were assessed under the kut system (fixed rent), where a specific amount of paddy was paid, or a sum of money, irrespective of the actual yield. Kut rents were as high as adhiya rents but were easier to collect (Regmi, 1978:55).

After the Anglo-Nepal war (1814), the adhiya system of taxation was abolished, as it raised insufficient revenue for the government and the kut system was introduced on both government and privately owned land. Government and landlords could now fix the rent at whatever level they wanted, increasing competition for land and thus preventing those farmers who had poor quality land from being able to afford the high rents on good quality land (Stiller, 1976:60). Those tenants who refused to pay the increased rents were evicted.²¹ Every year with the renewal of the tenancy agreement, the jagirdar could take the tenant who offered to pay the highest kut. In a time of agricultural land scarcity this practice increased the kut rates (Regmi, 1978:57).

The introduction of the kut system had several effects on the producer:

1. Minimum rent payable was 50% of the crop (under the adhiya system this was the maximum rent).

2. The level of kut rents were not determined by the production of the land but by what the landlord could squeeze from the producer.
3. Kut rents reflected the scarcity value of agricultural land.
4. Rates of in-kind rents rose to an average of 75% of the rice crop and were often demanded in cash and not in-kind.
5. High rents led to land being left uncultivated; tenants could not afford to work the land.
6. Increased indebtedness.

The high levels of rents led to an increased dependence of agricultural producers on local money-lenders, who as Stiller (1976:63) observes would probably also have been the landlords. The farmers would have had little or no surplus with which to repay loans and many were forced to place a member of their family into bonded labour where the son or daughter would work for the creditor until the loan was repaid.

Tax:

Most cultivators paid taxes directly to the government, or rents to institutions or individuals. Rates of taxation on irrigated rice land were levied at the highest rates, and the cost of building canals was prohibitive and required levels of cooperation between farmers which only the rich and powerful were able to achieve, as a result little irrigation was practised (Regmi, 1978:11). Unirrigated land therefore had to provide most of the subsistence needs of households.

Agricultural producers were also subject to other taxes: chardamtheiki - payable on renewal of tenure on the land each year; a tax on winter crops;

and ghiukhane under which each household had to supply the ghiu, clarified butter, needs of the landlord, who would use this surplus for sale or barter. Importantly, during this period there was a chronic shortage of coinage, thus those without surplus production, the mass of agricultural producers, could not enter the market for goods that they did not produce and were forced to remain in a subsistence or lower state (Regmi, 1978:55).

Taxes were also levied on homesteads: saunefagu was charged on each roof, and serma based on a rough estimation of the size of the homestead; both taxes were payable only in cash to the dware, appointed by the government or jagirdar.²² Other taxes on agricultural producers were based on caste, ethnic origin or occupation (Regmi, 1978:58). Jagirdars and other landlords were also entitled to collect customary gifts such as ghiu, firewood, chickens, fruit, and vegetables (Regmi, 1978:58). These rights were usually vigorously enforced to the detriment of the agricultural producers and to the benefit of the landlords.²³

Rana Hegemony: 1846-1951

The Ranas inherited a political and administrative system that had one basic characteristic - sovereign authority and ownership rights in the land were vested in the king, but the collection of revenue was delegated to revenue farmers, land assignees and local functionaries (Regmi, 1978:22). Central government did not collect taxes and rents directly from agricultural producers. The Ranas changed this system and institutionalised structures through which to collect revenue on a systematic basis, which ensured that the maximum amount of revenue

came to the government and was not determined by the individual who was collecting the money. There was little direct effect on the economic position of agricultural producers but it did change the powers of their direct overlords.

The new functionaries were salaried and new district administrators were civil servants. Systems were instituted to punish for corruption and bribery. However, the importance of this reorganisation lay in the increased control by central government over the lives of agricultural producers. An independent judiciary was also established for the first time and with this came the abolition of the judicial position of the revenue farmers. They had previously been able to act as feudal lords over their vassals: extracting surplus in money or kind, demanding compulsory unpaid labour, and dispensing justice and extracting fines (Regmi, 1978:23).

Formation of a class of appropriators:

The various taxes imposed by the state were collected by different functionaries within the village. The mukhiya or village headman was responsible for collecting land revenue for the government and submitting it to the government office, he was also responsible for the population records of his village.²⁴ The jimmawal was responsible for the allocation of rice-land in a particular area and would also help the jagirdar with collection of rents:

At this time land rent was paid on the number of manas of seed sown on an area of land, at a rate of 13 paise per mana. The jimmawal was paid a commission of 5% of the land rents collected. (Ganga Prasad Adhikari:22)²⁵

The agricultural producer was liable for several forms of rent or taxation including a flat rate tax on pakho, or grazing land, called the '7 mohor doko'. The kodale or spade tax was payable on cultivated land.²⁶

The jagiradar would also appoint dwares, who were paid by the government, to collect taxes.²⁷ Dwares wielded considerable local power:

Everybody had to be loyal to him because he was the administrator of justice to the village. Even the jimmawal was responsible to him. (Kami Dorje:53)

In kipat villages a talukdar was appointed to collect taxes. The talukdar was paid 2 manas of rice from each household for his own use.^{28 29} The talukdar was eligible to extract three days of labour annually from each household in the village.³⁰ The jurisdiction of the jimmawal extended over several villages and he had the authority to command labour for the construction of canals and trails. In such a case the katuwal or gaurung, in Lama and Tamang villages, who was responsible to the jimmawal would call the villagers to work on a particular task.³¹ Villagers were obliged to perform this work.³²

Rent in labour services:

The right to exact unpaid labour on a compulsory basis belonged to the government. However, when land was allotted to individuals under the various categories already outlined, this right was also transferred (Regmi, 1978:90). The landowners used this privilege for the supply of firewood and other household necessities. It was usually the local functionaries who collected the rents who also demanded labour services

from the agricultural producers. One village elder remembers these systems whereby the village headman extracted labour from members of other households:

At that time the village head was the jimmawal. There were jimmawals, dwares, and mukhiyas. The dwares used to be the village heads if the villages were large. Their responsibility was to collect land tax and pay it to the government. Villagers had to pay bethi and jhara to these village heads.³³

We had to pay 5 pathis and 4 manas of grain or the equivalent in money. I had to pay Rs 38 to Rs 40 during those days. Now I need only pay Rs 3. These days the government has made it much easier for the people. The jhara and bethi system no longer exists. Besides paying jhara and bethi villagers had to go to the village head to receive a tika on Dasan, and also give him presents. If people did not go for tikas, they would be fined. That was the system during the Rana time, it no longer exists. (Hira Lal Shrestha:39)

Jhara labour services were demanded from every agricultural producer but on a casual basis, whereas rakam was part of the obligation that a tenant had who was working a particular piece of land. These forms of forced labour were of particular importance with respect to forests in the hills, where commercial exploitation was not possible. Here, rakam labour was used to ensure the continued supply of forest products to the royal household and civil and military establishments (Regmi, 1984:165). The labour of individuals was owned by the state to produce certain products for the state, at no cost i.e. a form of tax in terms of an individual's labour. Regmi gives a specific example of this form of labour appropriation:

Firewood was supplied to the royal household under rakam obligations. In Chapagaun, Lalitpur district, 16 households had been enrolled in the nineteenth century for the supply of 12 loads of firewood every month. The obligation was often

commuted into a cash payment of 2 annas a load. Each household supplied firewood to the value of 18 rupees per year, without any payment for their labour or for the product they produced. However, they were granted free access to local forests. (Regmi, 1984:166)

Rakam labourers were usually exempt from jhara labour obligations.

Demands for compulsory labour fell most heavily on the lower classes and on sano jat or artisan castes (untouchables). Kamis were required to supply charcoal to munitions factories and Sarkis had to supply hides (Regmi, 1984:168-169). The artisan castes transferred to the state part of their production without payment. The enforcement of the caste hierarchy throughout Nepal increased differentiation between people and limited the power of the lower castes and classes to accumulate on any scale. Accumulation and power were the sole right of the nobility - the Brahmins and Chetris, the ruling elite who had come with the Gorkha kings. Landownership was concentrated in this group as was the ownership of the means of production.³⁴

Brahmins and Chetris consolidated their power through the acquisition of land and control of labour and capital. Those who were in a position to lend money could also acquire land through these means. Thus, it was as money-lenders that the Brahmins were able to appropriate large amounts of land through the redemption of mortgages. Brahmins lent money to members of all castes, but it was mainly the sano jat, untouchables who suffered a serious diminution in the amount of land they owned (Caplan, 1972).

Agricultural producers had to share their surplus not only with the

landlord and the state, but also with the revenue collector.³⁵ Agricultural producers were subject to a multi-layered form of taxation, where village-level functionaries acted as brokers between government and producers. Producers effectively paid rent to revenue collectors for usufruct rights to the land, revenue collectors would then take a cut from the rent paid by producers and pay the remaining required tax to the government.³⁶

Rent:

Concomitant with the change in the powers of landlords was a move away from jagir assignments for service towards cash payment. However, this again increased the demand for cash which was to be met from the agricultural producers through more rigorous collection of taxes in cash and not in kind. The high levels of rent introduced under the Gorkhas were incorporated into the Rana tax assessments. The taxation rates on newly cultivated land were based on the rates of taxation on adjoining land. If one area of land had a higher tax assigned then adjoining areas were also taxed at this higher level.

Taxation became increasingly complex with the growth of the state. It constituted the chief method whereby economic surpluses were extracted from agricultural producers of food crops. However, the levels of taxation were not raised to a point at which there would be civil unrest.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the burden of taxation and rents on agricultural producers was enormous. The Rana regime instituted a number of reforms aimed at stabilising the kut rents. In 1854, legislation was enacted which abolished the right of landlords to raise kut rents and a

jagirdar could not evict a tenant on the grounds that another tenant had offered a higher kut. During the 1890s the remaining adhiya rents were changed to kut rents. In the case of crop failure there was some remission for tenants, but only in the case of extreme failure and not if there had been only slight reduction in crop production. ³⁷

Tenure:

Before 1854 there was little attempt to regulate landlord-tenant relations on birta land. The reforms made to jagir holdings did not extend to birta land, instead traditional landlord rights on birta lands were upheld. There were no limits to the amount of rent demanded. A birta owner could evict a tenant if another cultivator offered to pay a higher rent. However, there were checks on the landlord, because clearers of raikar land were allowed to attract birta tenants onto their land. The rates for birta land were therefore equal to the rents payable on adjoining raikar land. However, levels of rents were high and left tenants with no surplus.

The nature of the ruling groups and the caste hierarchy established in Nepal ensured that birta land grants were concentrated among Brahmins, Chetris and other groups of Indo-Aryan origin to the exclusion of indigenous groups, including the Tamangs, Limbus, and Magars (Regmi, 1976:27). The Newars through their position as administrators within the nascent bureaucracy of Rana Nepal were able to acquire birta land. However, the Rana family became the largest birta owners and consolidated their political power through this extensive land base.

Birta owners were exempt from paying land taxes to the government and were entitled to appropriate not only agricultural rents but also revenue from non-agricultural sources (Regmi, 1984). The local-level judicial powers of birta owners remained until the beginning of the twentieth century when courts were established at the district-level. In 1907 legislation was enacted to regulate the rents paid by tenants to birta owners and to provide security of tenancy. No tax liability meant that birta owners would often leave land fallow or under forest for their own use. Indirectly these policies of land tenure maintained large areas under forest which otherwise would have been cultivated. However, as policies began to change and the need for revenue increased more fallow land was brought under cultivation.³⁸

Birta lands remained exempt from tax until 1958 when taxes were introduced but at a lower rate than on raikar land. In 1957 'all individual rights on birta forests and wastelands were nationalised without compensation' (*Nationalisation of Private Forests Act* 1957).³⁹ By 1959 the birta system had been abolished and the government had thus managed to widen the tax base by converting birta land to raikar.

The high proportion of land grants handed out to individuals left the state with a large revenue deficit. The major proportion of land revenue was absorbed by the landlords with no control over its collection by Kathmandu. The government introduced a series of measures to reduce the power of the landlords and to ensure that a greater proportion of land revenues came to the state. These measures included taking over forests that were under jagir assignments. However, the overall effect of these changes on the agricultural producers was slight; the actions of the

landlords were not controlled by the state and they still wielded power in local areas. Some of their judicial and police functions had been removed but rajas, birta-owners and jagirdars continued to occupy the role of parasitic landlords, extracting surplus from agricultural producers and preventing these surpluses from either being reinvested in the land or producing tax revenues for the state. In the words of Regmi (1971:20):

the birta system created a privileged class of individuals who gave social and political support to the regime, the guthi system helped to satisfy the religious propensities of both the rulers and the common people. The jagir and the rakam systems enabled the government to support an administrative structure without the use of much cash in a situation where an exchange economy had not yet fully developed.

The period of Rana rule was geared towards amassing a large personal fortune by the Rana family at the expense of the rural producers. 'No distinction was made between the personal treasury of the Rana ruler and the treasury of the government; any government revenue in excess of administrative expenses was pocketed by the Rana ruler as private income' (Regmi, 1978:27).

At the end of the Rana rule in 1951, at least one-third of the total cultivated area in the Kingdom was under birta tenure and of this land three-quarters belonged to the Rana family.⁴⁰ The birta land assigned to the Ranas was inheritable and unconditional, whereas grants made to non-Ranas were often non-inheritable and taxable. Through these mechanisms of land ownership the Ranas were able to consolidate their power and ensure that other groups were not in a position to challenge. Land and its acquisition was the key to the continued existence of the Rana regime.

The Rana period was considered to be a time of hardship in the villages:

People had difficult lives during the Rana rule. Nothing was imported from other countries. We did not have everything in our country, so we had to manage with whatever we had. We faced difficulties especially in clothing. People did not have enough food and clothes....People did not have freedom of speech. (Ram Bahadur Panday:5)

The Rana regime was maintained in power through systems of corruption that had become institutionalised; nepotism and kinship patronage were widespread features of the bureaucracy (English, 1985:75). These systems of patronage continued but were weakened after the removal of the Ranas from power. At the end of the Rana period of rule, there was a well-entrenched local landlord class who had exploited agricultural producers over a long period. Caste was used by the ruling groups to maintain their positions of authority and to increase their access to and control over the means of production. High levels of taxation prevented agricultural producers from accumulating surpluses in order to invest in land and other means of production. This maintained the division between landlords who owned the means of production and tenants who laboured to produce grain for their landlords and for the subsistence needs of their households.

The village elite strengthened through their revenue collecting powers acted as brokers between agricultural producers, birta-owners and jagirdars, and central government. Each level of the system ensuring that the maximum was extracted from agricultural producers. The landowners needed the village functionaries to collect rents and taxes and control the

agricultural producers; and the village functionaries needed the political backing provided by the landowners. The village functionaries were already in a position of traditional leadership which they were able to exploit through the policies of government. However, the burden of maintaining the complex hierarchy of revenue functionaries was borne by the agricultural producers.

The jagir and birta land tenure systems made it possible for the landlord classes to consolidate their positions of power within the village through extraction of agricultural surplus from the producers and control over their labour. The actions of the landlord classes through land acquisition and money-lending are apparent today both in the distribution of the means of production amongst the agricultural producers, and in the control over political processes. Those households who were members of the landlord classes retain both political and economic power within the villages I studied.

There was a deep division between direct producers and landlords who appropriated agricultural surpluses and labour through the extraction of tribute, taxation and corvée (English, 1982:181). This division has continued and deepened as is shown in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.4 FROM RANA HEGEMONY TO SHAH MONARCHY: 1951-1961

In the period from 1950 to 1960 Nepal suffered a large political upheaval: the Rana regime was overthrown and the Shah monarch, King Tribhuvan, reinstated. The Nepali Congress revolution of 1951 inspired and supported by India, followed the lead of India's own independence from British rule in 1947. The overthrow of the Rana regime heralded the new 'democratic' era but as Seddon *et al* (1979:27) has suggested there was no real revolution in the political system - there was a 'degree of structural continuity between the tributary state' and the newly emergent democratic government. The same structures remained in place with little actual change in the class or caste composition of the ruling groups.

One of the immediate actions of the post-Rana government was to rescind some of the exploitative practices of the Rana government, forced labour and gifts for the support of the state were banned; high positions in the army previously reserved for members of the Rana family were now made open to members of any caste or ethnic group (Joshi and Rose, 1966:160). The final attempt at dissolution of Rana power came through the abolition of birta land and grants. Discrimination on the basis of caste which had characterised the Rana regime was gradually reduced, and the government passed an order which stated that children of untouchable castes must be permitted entry to government schools (Joshi and Rose, 1966:160).

The politics of the post revolution period were characterised by disunity and conflict. Many of the original principles of government laid down by King Tribhuvan were left unimplemented. Nepal did not reach a position of democracy. Assurances that had been made about the abolition of birta

land were later softened and action confined to survey and record. Policies of land redistribution were ignored and changes in the ownership of land were not substantial.

Several governments were appointed and dismissed in the two years after the revolution. With each new appointment came increasing conservatism. Measures to reform land ownership were restricted to an investigation of land tenure systems and to recommendations for the improvement of agricultural practices.⁴¹

The weakening of the Nepali Congress during this interim period of nascent democracy led to an enhancement of the power of the King and the Palace. Following the failure of the Nepali Congress government, the King instituted rule by Councillors. This heralded the beginning of direct participation in the political process by the monarchy, in contradiction to the original principles of the constitution. By 1954 the independence of the judiciary had been lost and the constitutional monarchy had become an autocratic monarchy. The King held supreme power over the judicial and legal system and the government was relegated to a position of limited executive power (Joshi and Rose, 1966:175).

After the death of King Tribhuvan in 1954, the development of an autocratic monarchy continued under Tribhuvan's son, Mahendra. King Mahendra appointed a council of royal advisors who had responsibility for the various areas of state. They were a reactionary council, who had all served under the Rana regime - and were a mouthpiece through which Mahendra could implement his own policies. A succession of councils followed with a similar constitution, all were directly controlled by the

King. During this period there were some limited reforms; the *Land Tenancy Act* enacted in 1957 made some improvement to tenancy conditions. It stipulated a maximum rent of 50% of the produce, a rent which is similar to the adhiya practice of the early nineteenth century and a 10% interest rate on loans taken in cash or in kind. A village leader discussing the changes instituted by the King sees the end of exploitation of the tenants by the landlords:

His late Majesty King Mahendra also brought land reform in to abolish the exploitation of the weaker by the powerful. Before land reform came into effect, the tenants were exploited. They got a minor portion of the yield and the major portion of the yield had to be given to the landlords. Sometimes the tenants got only straw or hay. After the land reform came into effect the tenants have to pay 50% of the yield (rice) in a year to the landlord. They do not have to pay anything of the other (second or third) harvest (wheat). In this way people have rights and facilities now, also they have enough to food to eat. (Ram Bahadur Panday: 5)

The perception of change by one landlord does not reflect the actual changes as understood by all the tenants interviewed, these households indicated that rents and interest payments remain at a level above that stipulated in law.⁴² A ban on forced labour and a 10% tax on birta land were also introduced.

By 1959 there were many parties but no coordinated system of government. Finally, the first general election was held in February 1959, immediately after the release of the first Constitution of Nepal. The objectives of the Constitution included the following:

To help our subjects to attain all-round progress and achieve the fullest development of their personality; to

insure to them political, social, and economic justice; and to cement the unity of the nation by bringing about political stability through the establishment of an efficient monarchical form of government responsive to the wishes of the people. (Joshi and Rose, 1966:286 my emphasis)

Several parties ran for election including the United Democratic Party under the leadership of K.I. Singh.⁴³ The United Democratic Party leadership was also unusual in its composition which was largely non-Brahminic. This was in contrast to the other political parties where the leadership was almost entirely Brahmin.

The Nepali National Congress (the party of democratic socialism) won an absolute majority of seats in the House of Representatives, with a manifesto dedicated to a programme of rapid industrialisation, land reform, elimination of the feudal system and nationalisation of forests.⁴⁴ It stated that there would be reform of the administration and eradication of corruption in the government. However, the action that the government could initiate was constrained by the Constitution which stated that the Crown was 'the sovereign entity from which all executive, judicial and legislative authority emanated' (Joshi & Rose, 1966:312). The monarchical form of democracy was to become an absolute monarchy.

The Congress government gained in strength with little internal dissension. Democracy was to be instituted throughout Nepal through locally elected panchayats. The rights of 'peasants' were to be upheld by mobile courts which would enforce laws passed to protect tenancy rights. Government commitment was to ensure the end of exploitation of the 'peasantry' by a privileged and wealthy minority through the exploitative systems of land tenure. This led to promotion of policies of land from the

landlords to the tenants and landless with the result that in 1959 the *Birta Abolition Act* was enacted (Joshi and Rose, 1966:346).

Oral histories from older male villagers indicate the oppression of those who were tenants and in debt during the latter years of the Rana regime and the transition period between 1951-1961:

At that time there were many tenants. If a poor man had to borrow even Rs 5 he had to give his land to the money-lender, so most people cultivated other people's land.

Before the Land Reform Act came into effect, if the poor needed money they had to give their land to the money-lender on mortgage. This entitled the money-lender to the use of the land in lieu of interest until repayment of the debt. But very few people could repay the debt so the money-lenders kept the land so causing the poor to become landless and homeless. They then had to work for the landlord to survive. Many people were thus made landless and homeless and were driven away from the village. Three to four households went to Chitawan from this village and obtained land free of cost to cultivate.

After the Land Reform Act came into effect, people got their land back from the money-lenders. Some people bought new land. Now poor people are not exploited by the rich as they were exploited before the Land Reform Act came into effect in 2022 BS (1966 AD). At that time, the rate of interest on one rupee for one month was 4 paisa. One muri to 25 pathis of rice had to be paid as the interest on Rs 100 for one year. The rate of interest was very high before. Although the rate of interest fixed by the government was 10% the money lenders used to charge 30% or 1 muri of rice for Rs 100. If a person borrowed Rs 100 and was unable to repay the debt in 4-5 years he lost the land. The money-lenders became richer and richer. The money-lenders were in Nala and they took these people's land. Now the land has in some cases been left barren, some have raised utis trees on it, some maize, whilst others have resold the land to other villagers. (Ram Bahadur Panday:37)

Democratic socialism was the ideal towards which the Nepali Congress government worked, under the leadership of B.P. Koirala.⁴⁵ The form of socialism that was to be pursued in Nepal would be responsive to the particular ideological environment, one based on Hinduism and Buddhism. It would draw on the principles of international socialism but would not be dependent on these principles for its policies. The political opponents of the policies of the Nepali Congress Party who led to the dismissal of the B.P. Koirala government were the landlords and other vested interests whose power was threatened by the proposed policies of land reform, justice and equality for all.

Political opposition to the Congress government continued at all levels; threats to Nepal's sovereignty from China and India were used by the opposition to highlight the ineffectiveness and pro-India nature of Congress policy.⁴⁶

In the ensuing years after the election of the Nepali Congress to government, opposition to policies increased from the landed elite. In 1960 the remaining principalities (rajyas) were abolished. Opposition to the forest nationalisation policy continued and was used as a tool with which to arouse local opposition to national level government.⁴⁷

3.5 THE SHAH MONARCHY AND PANCHAYAT POLITY: 1960-1962

In 1960 the freely elected government was expelled by the King on charges of corruption (see Joshi and Rose, 1966:385). The net effect of this action was the reinstatement of the rule of the Shah monarchy which for

the past century had been reduced to political obscurity. The foray into parliamentary democracy was brief and ineffective; the overthrow of the Rana rule of 1951 and the ensuing years had provided the monarchy with the opportunity to regain their powers. Parliamentary democracy was said to be an inappropriate western response incompatible to the traditions and culture of Nepal.

In 1962 King Mahendra introduced Panchayat democracy as the new constitution for the country, and political parties were banned. Panchayat polity was based on the tradition of village panchayats which were considered to be the 'epitome of democracy' (Borgström, 1980:14). Panchayats were to provide the forum in which the whole village would come together to solve its problems. Villagers would elect their own representatives for the village panchayat, and from this level a representative would be selected for the district panchayat, and so on each level electing its representative up to the highest and fourth tier - the rastriya panchayat (Borgström, 1980:18-19; Blaikie et al, 1980:44,91).

Internal reforms were mirrored by changes in external political arrangements. A review of the trading agreement between India and Nepal in 1959 asserted the sovereignty of Nepal and its self-determination. The previous agreement signed in 1950 had stated that all trade would be conducted through India with the consent of the Indian government, and the Nepali government was not permitted to establish a separate foreign exchange account. These two facets of the agreement were seen to be an affront to Nepal's sovereign status; the Indian government had taken over the position occupied by the British government as controller of Nepal's destiny. The new agreement reached in 1960 established the independent

trading status of Nepal. The government pursued a policy of non-alignment and neutrality towards both India and China. However, as recent events have indicated the independence of Nepal from India can be maintained only as long as internal and external policies meet the approval of Nepal's neighbours: Nepal remains 'as a gourd between two rocks' (Anon, 1989:703; Sinha, 1989)

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

In reconstructing the economy prior to Gorkha conquest and describing the formation of the Nepali state and its effects on the local economy of the agricultural producer, I have illustrated how the agricultural producer became incorporated into the wider production system needed to sustain Nepal's position as a tributary state within a world system dominated by the Imperialism of Britain. The description of social relations between the owners and non-owners of the means of production and the reinforcement of these relationships through the over-arching Hindu caste code shows the mechanisms through which current structures of exploitation and differentiation have emerged.

The second part of the chapter describes the reemergence of the monarchy and new institutions for local government. However, old structures and mechanisms persist:

There used to be dwares and jimmawals, now there are pradhan panchas and upa pradhan panchas. (Kami Dorge:53)

New institutions are formed on existing structures predicated on extraction of surpluses from rural producers. Increased penetration of commodity relations and the incorporation of rural producers into a market economy is leading to further differentiation of the producers between those who control labour and those who must sell their labour power to meet their subsistence needs.

Chapter 4 examines the period of Nepal's development from 1962 to the present day in terms of the emergence of forestry as an institution. The changing legal-juridical base within Nepal remains outside the scope of this thesis except for specific laws which affect local access to resources and also social relationships between individuals. These laws are discussed as they affect the individual and not in their broader national context.

NOTES

1. See Chapter 6 (p.207) for a discussion of caste and commensality.
2. Kathmandu Valley is known as Nepal - and is still referred to as such by the villagers with whom I worked.
3. The British had already become involved in the politics of Nepal (in 1767) when a small expedition under Captain Kinloch was sent to the aid of the Newar king of Kathmandu against the attacks of Prithivi Narayan Shah (Stiller, 1973).
4. The process of military expansion begun by the Gorkhas culminated in the acquisition of territories along a distance of approximately 1300 miles from the Tista river in the east to the Sutlej river in the west. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, Nepal extended into the present-day Indian states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh (Regmi, 1984:4).
5. Some of these territories were subsequently restored to Nepal, first in December 1816 and then in November 1860. The kingdom acquired its present boundaries in the south as a result of these territorial adjustments, while the northern frontier was stabilised after the Nepal-China war of 1791-1792 (Regmi, 1984: 5-6).
6. See Rose (1971:138). Control of the major India-Tibet trading routes were perceived by the British to be the key to control over the large markets in China and became the subject of much of the political activity between Nepal and the Company. Through the capture of Kathmandu by the Gorkhalis came control over the major trading routes which had been maintained by the Newar rajas. These routes continued in the hands of Nepali merchants. It was not until the Younghusband expedition in 1903-4 that the British finally forced a trade route through Sikkim to Tibet and thus cut the trading links between Nepal and Tibet.
7. This period of expansion of the British empire, in the 1850s, also saw the increased threat of Russian invasion. A British stronghold in the Himalaya was considered to be a 'durable, safe and cheap barrier against Russian aggression' which would also have the consequence of reducing Russian trade links with these areas. The colonisers would

defend 'our empire in India' so that it might 'safely defy the world in arms against it' (Hodgson, 1841: 89).

8. For a description of the reasons for the Kot Massacre see Joshi & Rose (1966:28-36).
9. A royal charter promulgated in 1856 ensured that each of Jung Bahadur's brothers should become prime minister in the event of a vacancy. However, internal division within the Rana family subsequently led to the formation of two hostile factions: the Jung faction and the Shumshere faction. The Shumshere's managed to disenfranchise the sons of Jung Bahadur and thus claimed power for themselves, which they retained until 1951.
10. After the Chinese expulsion from Tibet, China invited Nepal to ally itself with China against Britain. However, Chandra Shamsheer replied 'that as Nepal is an ancient Hindu Kingdom, desirous of preserving her independence and her separate existence she cannot entertain an idea of such a union' (Rose, 1971:167).
11. Rama Shah (1606-1633) formalised a social system in Gorkha basing it on shastric principles which were modified to accommodate tribal customs and practices but which formed the basis for a later uniform system of land tenure (Joshi and Rose, 1966:12).
12. This process was first described by Srinivas (1955) and refers to the mechanism through which low caste and non-Hindus try to raise their economic and social position through adoption of aspects of Hindu ideology and culture.
13. There are a section of Newars who practise Buddhism and not Hinduism.
14. 'The adherence of even part of the Newar community to the social philosophy of Tibetan Buddhism would have constituted a departure from the accepted ideology' (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1966:14).
15. From a survey of documents carried out by Stiller (1976:195).
16. Kshatriya refers to the warrior caste of Indian Hindu sanskritic hierarchy (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1966:20).

17. Relations with China and Tibet were the prerogative of the Panday family up until the 1840s.
18. Slaves became known as Ghartis. There are many Gharti families in the Kathmandu Valley, and in villages surrounding the Valley including several households in Tukucha. Ghartis came predominantly from Tamang and Pahari tribes. Ghartis retained their touchable status and thus were ritually superior to even the wealthiest member of an untouchable caste.
19. During the rule of the Rana prime minister Juddha Shamsher (1932-1946), Buddhist monks of Kathmandu valley were expelled; Newars working in the administration could not practice Buddhism and adopted Hinduism to retain their positions of power within the government.
20. The overt practice of caste discrimination is now banned under law. However, the concept of purity is used by individuals to maintain their superior ritual and economic status. This is demonstrated by the interactions between high and low castes observed within the study villages discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.
21. During 1836-1837 kut rents in the central hill region ranged between 20-30 pathis of paddy per ropani. The normal yield per ropani was about 80 pathis. On poor soils the yield would be about 40 pathis, the kut would thus be between 1/2 to 2/3 of the yield.
22. Dwares were government employees, who received a sixth of the total revenue collected in the area of their responsibility in payment for their services (Regmi, 1971:126 Economic History; Bahadur Thapa:70).
23. Local functionaries and military personnel would often extort supplies from the peasants without payment. There are still incidents of this today, where local level government officers expect to be fed by villagers and do not pay them for the food.
24. Laxman Dong:41.
25. Hari Prasad Lamichhane:39.
26. Neema Syangbo Lama:43-45. 7 mohor is equivalent to Rs 3.5.

27. Kami Dorge:22.
28. Gale Buddha:1.
29. The land in the study villages of Banskharka panchayat all came under kipat tenure.
30. Bahadur Thapa:70.
31. Maya Panday:77 and Neema Syangbo Lama:51.
32. Such systems of compulsory labour for the construction of communal facilities are still in evidence. In Banskharka, the pradhan pancha will call on each household to send labour for the construction of canals and trails. Within a village each household is expected to contribute labour for schemes which will be of common benefit, such as the installation of a water system.
33. bethi - forced labour obligation given to the village head by other villagers each year.
34. This is demonstrated by the oral histories of Brahmins and Chetris which state how large areas of land were given to their ancestors by the Gorkha kings. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, p.150,154.
35. Neema Syangbo Lama:44.
36. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:39.
37. The complexity of taxation systems under which the agricultural producer struggled are described in detail by Regmi (1987):
 1. amanat system: a dware was appointed by the government or jagirdar to collect homestead taxes and to administer justice;
 2. thekbandi - settlement with mukhiyas in their individual capacity for the collection of revenue for a specific period;
 3. thekthiti - the settlement was made on a long-term basis with the village community as a whole represented by the mukhiya;
 4. ijara - authority to collect specific taxes, levies, or revenues from a particular source was granted to an individual or ijaradar.

- 38 See Chapter 8 p.294 oral histories from villagers in Tukucha panchayat.
39. It is important to understand this reform in the context of the radical reforms instituted throughout the land administration system. As will be shown in Chapter 8 many of these policies had little effect at the village-level.
40. A large forest in Tukucha was a birta grant belonging to a member of the Rana family (Hira Lal Shrestha:27).
41. Appointment of Land Reform Commission in 1952 (Joshi and Rose, 1966:162).
- 42 See Chapters 6 and 7 for incidences of high interest rates and rents which exceed half the grain production.
43. The specific manifesto of the United Democratic Party was:
 1. Establishment of a genuine monarchical democracy by developing all sections of society and the country.
 2. Abolition of the birta principle and landlord system, and distribution of land among the landless.
 3. Nationalisation of the forests.
 4. Development of the natural resources of the country.
 5.Development of a spirit of harmony and cooperation between all classes and communities of Nepal.
 6. Maintenance of Nepal's nonalignment with power blocs, and establishment of friendly relations with all countries on the basis of mutual benefit and equality (quoted in Joshi and Rose, 1966:259 from Devkota, Grishma Bahadur, Nepal ko Rajnaitik Darpan (Political Mirror of Nepal), 1959).
44. It would appear that nationalisation of forests was of high priority because of the revenue that was not going to the state, as most of the forest was under birta and jagir tenure, and therefore was not open to exploitation by the state for timber or other products.
- 45 'In Nepal, the Nepali Congress is trying to achieve economic equality and freedom on the basis of socialism. The revolution of 1950 put an end to the feudal regime, but the revolution will be successful only after Nepal attains economic freedom' (quoted in Joshi and Rose, 1966:310 from Kalpana December 7 1959).

46. Interference by the Indian government over the Gandak irrigation and electricity generating project were cited as an example of the weakness of the Congress government. For further information about the Gandak project and the allegations of Congress incompetence see Joshi and Rose (1966: 332).
47. Oral histories indicate the degree of local antagonism, in some villages, towards policies of forest nationalisation. Forests that were considered to be privately owned and protected are now said to be the property of the whole village (Ganga Prasad Adhikari:3; Katak Bahadur Khatri:1.)

CHAPTER 4

FORESTS – THEIR HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The theoretical construction of individual social reality developed in Chapter 2 used the ordering concepts of class, gender and caste. In this chapter the development of forest resources as one of the raw materials essential for the production and reproduction of human life is examined. Forests are an intimate part of each mode of production without which individuals could not survive. Forests are also used by the state to support itself. The use and control of forests from local to national level is examined in different stages of the social formation as previously detailed in Chapter 3. Forestry as a notion and an institution at national and international levels is also examined to show how forestry dogma and practice determines the form of forestry projects at village-level.

The theoretical construction of forests may follow separate but articulated routes: biological realism where the nature of forests, their growth and destruction, can be related in physical terms, ie forest 'science'; and social realism where forests and their existence are seen as a necessary part of the social construction of individuals. This chapter follows the route of social reality by describing forests in terms of the human control exercised over them. The first sections of the chapter discuss the incorporation of forests into changing social formations. This is followed by a discussion of the ideological underpinnings of forestry as

an institution and practice. The second section describes the particular formation of forestry as an institution in Nepal using secondary historical material. Chapter 8 draws on oral histories of villagers to construct the social history of particular hill forests.

4.2 FORESTS IN SOCIAL FORMATIONS

Forests as a resource essential to subsistence are used in different ways according to the mode of production and the social formation. In modes of production where land is the subject of labour, as in hunting and gathering societies, forest products - tubers, fruits, nuts and medicinal herbs, are appropriated directly from nature without any human energy being invested in them previously (Meillassoux, 1981:14). In such cases forests are in abundance and use is regulated by the size of population and individual need. As a result, an instant return to labour is achieved as the labour used only involves extracting the fruits of nature's production. Regulation of such resources is not achieved through formalised systems of law. Populations move to where their needs can best be met.¹

In the simplest societies where nature is the base of the means of production, labour directly appropriates products from nature through hunting for meat or gathering for fruits. The product of any given labour process is distributed directly among the group dependent on the degree of access to raw materials. Relationships between individuals can be temporary or semi-permanent - lasting for the duration of the hunt or for the growing season. Kinship relationships generally provide the basis for exchange and redistribution of the product in these primitive communist

societies.

However, as processes of production change and societies move from hunting and gathering towards settled agriculture, the use of resources changes. In Nepal, indigenous hunter-gatherer groups and shifting cultivators were displaced by highly organised Indo-Aryan immigrants in the fourteenth century, who brought with them systems of settled agriculture developed in the plains of India.² Agriculture required an investment of human energy on land, from which a return was achieved only after the crop had matured. Because labour was invested over a period of time, a steady pool of labour needed to be available to work in the production of crops. Kinship or other systems arose to ensure a supply of labour and provide a mechanism to distribute the products of labour. Under this mode of production forests were used as a resource in which labour was expended in the gathering of products - firewood, fodder, timber, food, medicinal herbs, and bedding for animals, but not in the original nurturing of these products.

The demands placed on forests by settled agriculturalists increased as populations increased: 'In the Rana times the population of the villages was not very high, so these forests were not deforested' (Bahadur Thapa:25).³

Exploitative tenancy agreements and government revenue policies forced the expansion of agriculture into forest lands, as has been described in Chapter 3. When subjected to high land taxes and rents agricultural producers had to secure their subsistence production from land which did not attract tax or rent for its use. Agriculture therefore expanded into

forest covered land and was used for shifting cultivation to raise millet seedlings and other crops.⁴ Forest lands became an 'instrument' used in the hands of labour as a means of producing crops.

The agricultural cycle became intimately linked with and dependent on forests, because forest products ensure the maintenance of soil fertility and human sustenance. Individual relationships were deepened and complicated by crop production: the workers were linked through labour expended on the crop and also through the need to remain together in the period before harvest to ensure shares in the crop. Relationships based on kin and marriage were strengthened to ensure the economic stability of household units. Relationships based on the extraction of surplus through the production system linked individuals and controlled their differential access to resources. In Chapters 6 and 7 these relationships in agricultural production are discussed in detail using the essential relationships between individuals of class, gender and ethnic group or caste. Each of these relationships functions to maintain the exchange of surplus production and orders society in a particular way to ensure this end.

Forests under the Gorkha Empire: 1768-1846

As the Gorkha empire expanded there were inevitable conflicts between it and the East India Company. The forests of the terai, the plains bordering India, were maintained as a physical barrier against possible invasion from the south by the East India Company.⁵

The forest resources of Nepal were noted by the British as being of use to

meet the expanding demands of its empire. Many accounts report the central role that the Himalayan forests played in providing raw materials for infrastructural development within India (Hodgson, 1972; Bajracharya, 1983; Tucker, 1983; Dargavel et al, 1985; English, 1985).⁶

Forests in the Middle Hill areas were used by local people to support subsistence rather than being exploited for external trade. However, as the state and bureaucracy began to grow the revenues obtained from exploitation of natural resources – forests and mining of metals – were formalised and regularised.⁷ The state asserted ownership of natural resources and transferred ownership to institutions and individuals as a privilege. These rights were restricted to agricultural and forest lands, and mining rights continued to be held by the state (Regmi, 1984:18).

The tenure structures that formalised these rights over forests discussed in Chapter 3 meant that the state did not receive revenues from forests under birta tenure and had no direct control over the way in which forests that had been assigned to private individuals were used. However, state owned forests were protected for the use of the state and in particular to supply the forest product needs of the ruling families.

The extraction of surplus production through rents and taxation forced agricultural producers to secure their subsistence through cultivation of temporary plots within forests which did not attract taxes or rents. These temporary plots of khoriya cultivation provided millet for the agriculturalist's consumption. Although there are no records of the amount of land used under khoriya cultivation, oral histories from villagers show that until recently such practices were widespread and suggest that this

practice led to the eventual degradation of large areas of forest.⁸

Although rights over timber extraction were assigned to individuals and certain products from the forests were the right of the state, local people had free access to those forests of limited commercial value for firewood, fodder and medicinal herbs. Hamilton, in 1819, notes that 'in Nepal the pasture and forests are in general common, and any person that pleases may use them' (Hamilton, 1971:78). However, in some areas of Nepal where forests had a commercial value taxes were charged to villagers for meeting their requirements of fodder and other subsidiary forest products (Regmi, 1984:87). Many peasants working under rakam obligations were forced to supply forest products to landowners free of charge (see Chapter 3 p.73).

Forests under the Rana Hegemony: 1846-1951

Exploitation of forests was formalised through the legal-judicial process under the rule of Jung Bahadur Rana (1846-1877). A number of rules were drawn up to regulate access to forests and removal of forest products.⁹ The promulgation of these rules coincided with an increased removal of forest products for sale to British India. A forest office was established in Kathmandu to oversee forest use, followed by a forest inspection office (banjanch goswara) with a number of check posts to regulate the sale of forest products and the hunting of game:¹⁰

The government had the right over the forest. There used to be a forest office called the ban goswara, the goswara used to be responsible for the forest. (Bahadur Thapa:25)

British influence continued within Nepal through the appointment of a British forest advisor, J.V. Collier (from 1925-1930). He was employed to advise on the regulation of the Terai forests and also to aid the export of sal, *Shorea robusta*, timber from Nepal to India for the railways. Two forest offices were established: one in the Terai to regulate timber extraction in these areas, and the other in Kathmandu responsible for the hill areas:

Government has recently enlisted for a short term of years the services of a British forest officer, who with some fifteen years of experience of the working of forests in India, may be able to induce the best class of Indian contractor to work in the far richer forests of Nepal. (Collier, 1976:254)

Timber for railway sleepers was granted by the government free of royalty charges to the British in India as part of Nepal's contribution to the First World War effort (Collier, 1976:254). The system of forest exploitation remained centred around the use of Indian contractors. It appears that the Nepalese had little control over the exploitation and that most of the profits flowed into India.

It was not until 1942 that a forest service was created within Nepal after another British adviser, E.A. Smythies, who had spent several years with the Indian Forest Service, was asked to advise on the structure of the new Department. It was formed on the lines of the Indian Forest Service, and its forest officers were trained at the (Indian) Imperial Forestry School at Dehra Dun, according to the procedures established for the regulation of Indian forests. The Department was formed with three regional and 12 divisional forest offices. Forest exploitation was conducted under a series of working plans, following patterns originally established in

British India (Nepal-Australia Forestry Project, 1982:8-9).¹¹ Thus Britain had a large, if indirect, role to play in the shaping of forest policy within Nepal.

Forests under the Shah Monarchy: 1951-1987

A law regulating access to and use of the forests, the *Private Forests Nationalisation Act* 1957, was not enacted until after the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1951 and, as has been described in Chapter 3, was an attempt to regularise the revenue and control of forests in Nepal. The Act needs to be seen in its political context. The Rana era had ended and the 'democratic' era of the Nepali National Congress had commenced. The change in political system led to a call for the end of birta/jagir privileges, and the repeal of the power of the dominant land-owning classes of the Rana rule. Through the nationalisation of erstwhile private forests there would be an increase in revenue to the state. Previously, large areas of forest were under private ownership through birta grants thereby reducing potential income to the state. The major provisions of the new Act were to transfer these privately owned forests held under jagir and birta tenures to the state.

The Act recognised the importance of forests to the national economy, which was used as the rationale for nationalisation:

....forests constitute an important part of the national wealth and to protect national wealth.....management and proper utilisation thereof for the public interest, it is expedient to nationalise private forests. (*Private Forests Nationalisation Act, 1957*)

It defined private forests to bring the tax exempt resource under national

control, though it excluded trees in small groups on cultivated land:

Private forests mean all the forests in all land types including wasteland with wholly or part remission of revenue over which any person has exercising proprietary right. (*Private Forests Nationalisation Act, 1957*)

Although the Act appeared draconian, many owners managed to evade nationalisation of their forests and continued to use them for personal gain. Mahat et al, (1987) provide a detailed discussion of one such area of forest in Sindhu Palchok, and my interviews with individuals whose families owned large tracts of forest indicate that in some cases trees were cut to prevent government gaining control of the land. ¹² Local control over forests remained in places where strong local leadership had excluded government interference. In these areas forests were protected through local action to ensure that local people could continue to meet their forest product needs from the forests. In these cases the Act had little or no effect:

.....everyone in the village shared the right to use the forest as they needed, but no-one was allowed to clear the land. The village, through its elders and elected headmen, attempted to regulate the amount of cutting.....To promote a sustained yield, the headmen of the village assign certain rights to gather firewood in certain areas of each woodlot, and households jealously guard their territories; many territories represent traditional claims that date back several generations...(W)hen a household needs a particularly large tree for a construction project, they must pay a sizeable sum to the village headmen.....(T)he headmen will sometimes declare a moratorium on cutting if a certain plot shows signs of really excessive use that will soon lead to complete exhaustion. (Cronin, 1979:75-76) ¹³

Bajracharya (1983:233) sees the Act as the cause of the large-scale

deforestation that appeared to occur at the time. He argues that local people who owned or controlled local forest resources perceived the state as an aggressor removing their rights of access to the forests, in consequence of which they cut down large areas of trees. However, from my own observations in two hill regions, it would appear that local people were unaffected by decisions taken in Kathmandu and were unaware of nationalisation, except in cases where their own private forests were appropriated by the state. ¹⁴ Forests continued to be used and regulated as they had been before the Act, and the rate of deforestation did not accelerate, according to oral histories from village elders.

Mahat et al (1987) drawing on a study of forests in Thokarpa, Sindhu Palchok District have detailed the actions taken by individual forest owners. They found that forest owners flouted the Act for 26 years until 1983. During this time, the 'owners' continued to exact tribute from the local people using the forest. Thus, although the Act may have accelerated deforestation in some areas as owners cut trees for sale, it is unlikely that widespread degradation of forests can be attributed solely to it. Issues of forest protection and the impacts of legislation, at the local level, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. Chapter 8 discusses the history of forests in local areas as a function of the social and political relationships of individuals.

Forests as a local resource are also part of the global resources, action on which is determined by policy formed at international level. In the following section forestry as an International institution is examined to show how national policies affecting local access to forests resources are shaped by wider political processes.

4.3 FORESTRY IN THE AGE OF AID AND DEVELOPMENT: 1960-1987

The post-war period from the mid 1940s to late 1960s was a time of increasing prosperity, rapid industrialisation and full employment within the core countries of the capitalist western world. The economic climate was strongly reflected in modernisation theories. These held that poor countries could follow the stages of growth experienced by developed countries if industrialisation and modernisation were stimulated by capital investment (Eisenstadt, 1966; Rostow, 1971). The central concerns of modernisation theory were the dichotomy between 'tradition and modernity' and the assumption that the advance from tradition to modernity is a 'simple uni-linear progression' (Higgott, 1978:29).¹⁵ Aid to the Third World was supplied in the form of large infrastructural packages to develop an economic base from which to promote industrialisation and thus economic development in the expectation of diffusion or 'trickle-down' of benefits to the urban and rural poor (Lerner, 1965).¹⁶

Modernisation theories became reflected in forest policy; Westoby in a seminal paper of 1962 advanced the argument that industrial forestry would stimulate development in underdeveloped countries (Westoby, 1962). Forests thus moved out of the realm of a natural resource to be mined and not replenished, to a resource which could supply a steady source of raw material for industry through 'scientific' management. Capital was to be invested in a large forest industries supported by the raw material from plantations and intensively managed natural forests.

Westoby held that forests had important linkages with local and national

economies so that they would diffuse benefits to all levels. The demand for forest products was forecast to rise with increased industrialisation and economic growth. This argument provided the basis for forest policy in developed and underdeveloped countries. It strongly influenced the form of forestry development promoted by the new international aid agencies, such as the World Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), and many others.¹⁷

The boom in capitalist economies ended abruptly with the economic crises of the early 1970s. Inflation, fuelled by the United States' spending on the Vietnam war, soared further when the OPEC cartel of oil-exporting nations secured a four-fold increase in the price of oil. The economic crises led to a realisation that industrialisation did not necessarily lead to the economic or social development of underdeveloped countries (Griffin and Khan, 1978). Rural and urban poverty became the focus of development theory with sustenance of 'basic needs' forming the objective of development policy (Streeten and Bucki, 1978:3; Ghai, et al, 1979:9).

The energy crisis extended to the Third World where many countries were faced by an energy crisis of enormous proportions in terms of access to firewood (Openshaw, 1974; Earl, 1975; Eckholm, 1975). At the same time, Frank (1969a) was influential in revealing the growing gaps between rich and poor. He showed how the inadequacy of modernisation theories and the policies thus developed from theory had contributed to the increasing poverty of underdeveloped countries. He held that the development of capitalism in the developed countries was at the expense of the development of countries in the Third World (Frank, 1969a). The debates

within development theory, fuelled by the work of the dependency theorists,¹⁸ pursued the path of fulfilling basic needs of the poorest, and focussed on securing the economic advancement of rural populations.^{19 20}

The emergence in recent years of gender in theories of development and underdevelopment has led to the emergence of women in project rhetoric as beneficiaries of development. Gender in the sociology of development ranges from Boserup's (1970) valuable but contested work (see Beneria and Sen, 1981) to the work of socialist feminists, such as Mies (1982) in India and Bryceson (1985) in Tanzania. The empirical studies in conjunction with the theoretical work of feminists as described in Chapter 2 moves the theoretical debates of development away from a sole focus on class, to an articulation with gender which allows the full expression of the complex reality of individuals.²¹

Forestry: From Modernisation to Basic Needs

Forestry, as a follower of development strategies evolved in wider fields, straggled behind the changing moods of development policy. The shift away from industrialisation as the vehicle for development slowly percolated through the forestry sectors of aid agencies. The late 1970s saw a spate of conferences and policy statements. These included Westoby's major rescindment of his 1962 seminal paper on the merits of forestry industrialisation. He gave a paper elucidating a new social role for forestry, a form of forestry which became known as 'social forestry' and embraced notions of communality of rural peoples (Westoby, 1978). The new model of forestry to be promoted and followed internationally was stated by FAO to be:

Forestry for Local Community Development is a new people-oriented policy ...the objective of which is to raise the standard of living of the rural dweller, to involve him (sic) in the decision making processes which affect his (sic) very existence and to transform him (sic) into a dynamic citizen capable of contributing to a larger range of activities than he (sic) was used to and of which he (sic) will be the direct beneficiary. Forestry for Local Community Development is therefore about the rural people and for the rural people. (FAO, 1978:foreword)

References to the particular role of women in collection of forests products are made early in 'social forestry' rhetoric, although as has been seen above, the beneficiaries are by explicit statement referred to as male, which confounds the following quotation from the same document:

In most cases women are mainly concerned with the collection of fuelwood and would thus benefit greatly from community forestry. (FAO, 1978:28)

The concern with gender issues has continued to permeate project documents in conjunction with notions of participation.²² Further statements by the FAO followed on the role of forestry in development:

forestry development will be consciously directed towards rural development and the eradication of poverty...Governments of both developed and developing countries should lend support to institutionalising self-reliant mechanisms by which forestry activities will be increasingly based on endogenous decision-making and the full participation of the rural poor. (FAO, 1980:7)

There was some recognition that social forestry initiatives which work through local structures may lead to the appropriation of benefits by the richer and more powerful people:

Though the approach to local development must involve the existing organizational structure of the community, it needs to be recognized that such structures can constitute an important impediment to change. Such organizations are more likely to reflect the interests of the richer and more powerful elements of the community than its poorer members.....Community development of the sort that encourages self-reliance among the poor may therefore be difficult without changes in the organizational structure of the community, or in the attitudes of those wielding power within it. (FAO, 1978:21)

However, this early recognition of the need to direct programmes and policies towards establishing structures to encourage the participation of women and poor was limited and was not reproduced in project practice.

Assumptions of a Social Forestry

'Social forestry' emerged as a new worldwide practice for forestry development, and was promoted by international organisations and sold in programme and project packages to underdeveloped countries. I use the term social forestry to indicate a forestry that places people as its focus, not trees. Social forestry as a practice embraces notions of communal benefit from tree-planting and individual benefit from trees planted on private land. Community forestry is used in the narrower sense of communal action by local people in planting or protecting trees, and was adopted by FAO and the World Bank to describe their village-level forestry activities. In Nepal, however, community forestry is used to denote all activities which embrace trees and people at the village level.²³ Use of the two terms is often conflated, but neither denote a forestry which incorporates an understanding of differential access to forest resources according to class and gender.

Later pronouncements on the role of social forestry speak of 'rural people' and 'basic needs', and ignore the earlier strictures to disaggregate rural people:

...the essentially unique objective of these projects is that which promotes self-reliance of the rural people through their active participation in the project activities. A participatory forestry project therefore aims to satisfy economic and welfare basic needs, based on a high level of involvement and participation of the rural people - consistent with the physical, and socio-economic environment within which the project operates. (FAO, 1985:3)

Rural people were identified as the 'target' groups for participation in social forestry, and were portrayed as a community with a common interest: that of collective action for the forestation of their environment to supply their needs of firewood, fodder and other forest products:

The Community Forestry Project in Nepal was geared towards providing for the basic needs of hill communities for fuelwood, fodder, and other wood and secondary forest products through Panchayat and individual farmer plantations, better management of forest(s) for increased production and protection of the environment and soil.....the active participants and intended beneficiaries of forestry participatory projects comprise farm and rural households... (FAO, 1985:5)

The vision of a village or household united for common action was to dominate the actions taken by projects to promote participation of women and poor in projects that were entitled community forestry projects. Such visions obscured the actuality of individual access to resources, access which, as is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, is determined by the class and gender of the individual.

In summary, the last decade of forestry practice has seen an addition to its agenda of large-scale industrial plantation to include small-scale village and individual based programmes. However, one form of forestry did not eclipse the other: industrial forestry and social forestry are the two faces of the forestry coin. Although the types of forestry intervention diversified, the profession continued to embrace those traditional practices incorporated within a patriarchal world view, which propelled forestry in its doctrines of 'timber primacy and sustained yield' (Glueck, 1986:1).

4.4 INCORPORATION OF RURAL PRODUCERS THROUGH FORESTRY

Individual action and relationships at the village-level are determined by a complexity of local and national factors. The impact of national and regional land use policies is obvious at the level of the individual, and must be considered when examining the determination of individual access and control over the means of production. The incorporation of Nepal into the world system through aid funding has increased in the thirty year period from 1960 to 1990, and the form of aid has followed the changing patterns of development policy. Since the main focus of this thesis is the articulation between individuals and forest resources in Nepal, this section examines the evolution of forestry aid within Nepal. Chapter 8 discusses the perceptions and appearance of such policies and programmes at the village-level.

Forests and Aid: 1960-1987

The reinstatement of the Shah monarchy in 1960 was followed by a series of administrative and land tenure changes which included the introduction of Panchayat polity in 1961, the *Forest Act* of 1961 which came into force from the end of 1962 and the *Land Reform Act* of 1964. The *Forest Act*, in conjunction with the institution of a panchayat system of government, had far-reaching consequences for local control of resources including a provision for handing-over 'protection' of forests to newly-formed panchayats (protection is used to designate control over access to and use of forests). Several categories of forest were delineated:

1. Panchayat Forests:

Any government forest or any part of it, which has been kept barren or contained only stump, may be handed over by HMG (His Majesty's Government) to the village panchayat for plantation for the welfare of village community on the prescribed terms and conditions and such forests shall be called Panchayat forests.

2. Panchayat Protected Forests:

Government forest of any area or any part of it may be handed over to any local panchayat for protection and management purposes and such forests shall be called Panchayat Protected Forests.

3. Religious Forests:

Government forest located in any religious spot or any part of it, may be handed over to any religious institution for protection and management purposes on the prescribed terms and conditions, and such forest shall be called Religious Forests.

4. Contract Forests:

Any government forest area having no trees or sporadic trees may be handed over by HMG in contract to any individual or institution for the production of forest products and their consumption on the prescribed terms and conditions, and such forests shall be called Contract Forests. (*Forest Act*, 1961:19)

Ownership of forest land remained with the government and control could be resumed whenever the government deemed it necessary. The panchayat had some powers to fine those who transgressed against the law. However, management decisions remained with the government forest service. Private forests that were considered to be poorly managed could be taken over by the government for a period of 30 years, and any income from the forest would be given to the owner with a sum deducted for management costs. The *Forest Act* legitimated panchayat control over local forests. As with the previous *Private Forests Nationalisation Act*, it did not have great impact in those areas distant from Kathmandu where local people continued to use forests for their subsistence.

Control over the sale of timber was retained by the government forest service which also had wide powers to regulate use of the forest and to impose restrictions on the movement of timber and other forest products. The rules also prohibited the cutting and sawing of timber and making of charcoal. The regulatory powers of the forest officers were increased to include arrest and search, and they were permitted to use 'necessary force' to ensure that there was not any violation of the rules. The Act emphasised the policing role of the Forest Department. However, there was some provision within the Act to hand over this role to the panchayat officers. In 1961 panchayats were given the right to manage their own

forests for their own use. These rights and their expression are discussed for the two study panchayats in Chapter 8. The panchayat leaders in the two study panachayats availed themselves of this right and considered forests in their locality to be their own to protect and use for local benefit. However, individual and collective rights varied according to the power structures within the villages of both panchayats.

The *Forest Protection (Special Arrangement) Act* 1967 laid down guidelines for protection of forest land, where protection of forest was held to be the 'collective responsibility' of local people. Punitive action for forest offences was severe, ranging from large fines to imprisonment with money paid to informers on a percentage basis at 20-30% of the auction price of articles confiscated (*Forest Protection (Special Arrangement) Act*, 1967:4).²⁴ Forest legislation thus was confined to these three Acts and no new legislation was introduced until the National Forestry Plan of 1976.

Development of the forestry service remained until 1967 under the control of an expatriate Chief Conservator of Forests, R.G.M. Willan. Internal control at a national level was assumed for forests in the late 1960s; western forestry ideology had already formed and determined the structure and function of the forest service in Nepal. The 1960s also marked the beginning of external assistance in the forestry sector with technical advice and support requested for the nascent Forest Department.

Indigenous 'Community Forestry'

Important changes in forest legislation began as a result of the Ninth Forestry Conference held in Kathmandu in 1974. This conference convened forestry officers from all over Nepal and was scheduled to last three days but continued for 23 days.²⁵ A radical group of foresters working in the districts promoted a new form of forestry where local people were involved in management of forest resources, to be known as 'community forestry'. These ideas were based on the experiences of members of the group in their districts, including T.B.S. Mahat.²⁶

The proceedings of this conference, in conjunction with the results of the findings of 'A Task Force on Land Use and Erosion Control' (National Planning Commission, 1974) formed the basis of the 1976 National Forestry Plan which reiterated the 1961 *Forest Act* in allocating categories of forest land to the panchayats. However, wider powers were given to District Forest Officers under the Plan to formalise the transfer of nationalised deforested land to panchayat control. The mechanisms for handing-over land to the panchayats were regularised in 1978 through the Panchayat Forest Rules and Panchayat Protected Forest Rules.^{27 28}

Community forestry as a notion in Nepal therefore arose out of indigenous responses to control over forests at the village-level in conjunction with alarmist, 'eco-doom' reports at the global level (see Hoffpauir, 1978:87). Together these formed the basis for action and coloured the technical approach to be adopted by forestry programmes in the early 1980s.²⁹ One, for example, reported that:

Present forest area in Nepal is estimated at about 4.5 million ha.....and has declined by about 25% during the last 10-15 years....If the present trend continued unchecked, the accessible forests of the Hill areas could disappear within 15 years and those of the Terai within 25 years. (FAO/World Bank, 1978:i)

The need identified by these aid agencies was for more trees, and their programmes concentrated on the establishment of plantations on panchayat land using local labour. Community forestry became identified as plantations which were to provide the perceived 'basic needs' of firewood and fodder for agricultural producers.

In 1982, further legislation through the *Decentralisation Act* formalised the duties and responsibilities of village panchayats and ward committees, and empowered them to form:

people's consumer committees to use any specific forest area for the purpose of forest conservation and, through it, conduct such tasks as afforestation, and forest conservation and management on a sustained basis. (Regmi, 1982:403)

The language of participation was incorporated into legal and project practice and propelled community forestry along the path of participation by the local forest users. This produced the legal infrastructure necessary for the control of forest land to be handed down to the panchayat and to user committees. The Seventh Plan, 1985-1990 was explicit in its support for people's participation. One of its main policies was to:

Mobilise people's participation in massive afforestation and forest conservation programmes in order to ensure supplies of essential forest products to the people. (National Planning Commission, 1985:126)

The community or users were still defined as a group of people with a common interest in securing their needs for firewood and fodder. Recognition of a rural populace differentiated through their access to and control over the means of production did not form part of the rhetoric or action of community forestry projects.

The Nepal-Australia Forestry Project

Griffin (1988), in his recent book tracing the development of the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project, shows the changing role of Australian aid to the forestry sector over a 25 year period, a change which mirrors the transition in forestry practice from resource creation to resource protection involving local people. The initial Australian involvement was on a small-scale technical level providing advice to the Kathmandu Valley Reafforestation Project, with Australian expatriate staff based in Kathmandu from 1966. Australian inputs to this scheme continued over the next 6 years, maintaining the focus on technical aspects of forestation with work concentrated on improving nursery practices.³⁰

It was not until 1976 that the Project assumed its current geographical focus on the two Districts of Sindhupalchok and Kabhre Palanchok which lie to the north-east, and east of Kathmandu. The panchayats where this study was carried out are within the Project area.

In 1978, the Project began the course of action which was to propel it along the community forestry pathway (see Griffin (1988:17-22) for discussion of this period). Actions taken by the Project included establishing nurseries in panchayats and plantations on panchayat land.³¹

The Project adopted the definitions of community forestry promoted by the FAO in 1978, and thus global notions of community were incorporated into action at the local-level in Nepal:

Community forestry....implies any situation which intimately involves local people in a forestry activity exceeding the mere payment of wages for labour, regardless of ownership of the land....It embraces a spectrum of situations ranging from the production of forest products for local needs, the growing of trees at the farm level as a fodder crop, the processing of forest products by the household, artisan or small industry to generate income directly or indirectly, to the activities of forest dwelling communities. It includes activities of forest industry enterprises and public forest services which encourage and assist forestry activities at the community level. (Nepal-Australia Forestry Project, 1985:14)

For the Project Director this definition was to form the basis for action: 'the essence of forestry for local community development....was that the great majority of the benefits, usually products, of the forest should accrue to local users and that these benefits should be those desired by the community' (Griffin, 1988:43).

The Project is the means through which I was introduced to a particular set of villages; and its actions at the village level. The mechanisms governing forest control at the level of appearances became apparent through the actions catalysed by the Project. The processes adopted by the Project to implement community forestry do not form the subject of this thesis, but the actions that they catalysed at the village level do because they were important in determining control that individuals exercised over resources. These actions are discussed in Chapter 8 in the light of the village level empirical studies.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

Forests are socially and historically constructed, and so the use of forests changes with the mode of production and the concomitant changing relations between individuals and their use of raw materials. The move from hunter-gatherer to settled agriculturalist entails the emergence of formalised systems of resource exploitation. Increasing populations led to the change from open-access resources unregulated by local rights to communal resources where rights of access and use of the forest were regulated through rules common to a group of individuals.

Incorporation of local areas into larger systems from the Gorkha empire, to the British empire, to the modern world system and now the age of aid, has widened the relationships which govern use and access to forests. Forests became the subject of law and were regulated through forest protection systems imposed by the state or local people. Onto these complex systems of ownership and rights, new systems were imposed formed from the global perceptions of impending energy crises and ecological devastation of massive proportions.

The social (community) forestry solution offered continued within the established forestry paradigm of the primacy of the tree. It assumes that the aggregate benefit of a project to a village will lead to benefits to people within it. That at least some of the benefits will percolate to the major users of forests - women and poor. The community as a group of individuals differentiated on the basis of class, gender and other cultural factors remains unknown and thus project practice continues to obscure the differences between these individuals' access to forest resources. It

Is shown in subsequent chapters that the communality assumptions of social forestry deny the social reality of individuals.

NOTES

1. This discussion is based on Meillassoux (1981).
2. Forests in the Terai became the last refuge of hunter-gatherer groups such as the Tharu, for further details about these groups see: Rajaure (1981).
3. Oral histories refer back to the early 1900s, the Rana rule extended from 1846 to 1951. Evidence for changing population levels was given by village elders in both Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats.
4. Grain deficit agricultural producers in Banskharka used the forest land for shifting cultivation to raise millet seedlings and other crops. This information is based on interviews with: Katak Bahadur Khatri:9 and Ganga Prasad Adhikari:13-14.
5. Regmi (1984:47) describes how forests were allowed to grow to act as a barrier to invasion:

In Nepal the dhuns (ie the valleys of the inner Tarai region) have been mostly allowed to fall into a state of jungle and are consequently clothed with forests of sal and cotton trees, and are inhabited only by wild beasts. The Nepalese are averse to the 'clearing' of these forests, as they look upon the malarious jungle at the foot of their hills as the safest and surest barrier against the advance of any army of invasion from the plains of Hindustan.
6. The British resident Hodgson (1841:115) detailed the trade of goods between India and Nepal in the period 1830-1831. Timber from the Terai was the largest single revenue earner, Hodgson comments that 'the Nepalese Saul (Sal) forest is an inexhaustible mine of timber. Saul and Sissoo are the most valuable kinds of produce' (my emphasis).
7. See Mahat et al (1986) for a detailed discussion of forests and mining to promote the economic security of Nepal.
8. Evidence from villagers in Banskharka indicates that such systems of shifting cultivation were in operation until 1980-81, and were stopped by order of the pradhan pancha. This information is based on

Interviews with: Katak Bahadur Khatri:10; Ganga Prasad Adhikari:12; Bhim Kumari Khanal:16; Maya Khanal:10; Neema Wangal:29; Annapurna Adhikari:29; Radhika Khatri:20; Dambar Bahadur Khanal:31.

9. Mahat et al. (1986) detail the history of forest rules in this period.
10. See Agrawal (1976) in Bajracharya (1983:232).
11. Details of the emergence of a national forestry service are given in Nepal's National Forestry Plan 1976.
12. Interview with Hari Shrestha (Field notes, 1986).
13. These systems are described by Fürer-Haimendorf (1956;1984); Molnar (1981) and Arnold and Campbell (1986).
14. See Chapter 7 for discussion about protection of erstwhile private forests by the Khanals.
15. See Foster-Carter (1976:172).
16. Bernstein (1979) provides a useful critique of development theories and their role in underdevelopment.
17. All the literature pertaining to the role of forestry in development mirrored the ideas of Westoby. For further reference see: Gregory (1965); Sartorius and Henle (1968); Keay (1971); McGregor (1976); Von Maydell (1977).
18. For example, the important work of Amin (1974) and Wallerstein (1974a & b).
19. Detailed discussion of the history and development of these theories lies outside the scope of this thesis. The debates between dependency theorists and others centred on the notion of the 'development of underdevelopment' (Kay, 1975:103) and dependency (Leys, 1977); the formation of a 'core and periphery' (Palma, 1978), and arising out of the Marxist school - modes of production and their articulation with a capitalist social formation (Godelier, 1974; Rey, 1975). Brenner (1977), Leys (1977) and Phillips (1977) question the usefulness of 'underdevelopment' and 'dependency' theory and its ideological character. Leys argues that adoption by the World Bank in its

'poverty-oriented aid philosophy under MacNamara's presidency, and the corresponding 'reorientation' of bilateral aid doctrines by the USA and other countries' indicates the problems inherent in underdevelopment theories. Both Leys and Phillips argue for analyses based on class formation and class struggle. Roxborough (1979) provides a good review and critique of the theories of underdevelopment.

20. The World Bank and other international organisations restructured their aid activities towards the promotion of rural development, which was defined as a 'strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people - the rural poor' (Harriss, 1982b:15).
21. The impasse identified within the sociology of development by Booth (1985) is answered in part by theory which draws on an articulation between historical materialism and gender, see Sklair (1988) for a discussion of this in answer to Booth's paper.
22. See FAO (1981:27); FAO (1987); Hoskins (1987) and Rocheleau (1987) for statements concerning the role of women in forestry.
23. Bill Burch's definition although amusing has more than an element of truth contained within its distinctions: 'Social Forestry is when the rich get richer and the poor get seedlings, Community Forestry is when both the rich and the poor get poorer and no one gets seedlings, and Traditional Forestry is when the rich get richer and no one worries about the poor or seedlings' (Burch, 1987:45).
24. From an unofficial translation of the *Forest Protection (Special Arrangement) Act*, 1967.
25. From taped interview with T.B.S. Mahat (1986) former Divisional Forest Officer for Chautara.
26. T.B.S. Mahat was a member of this group, he based his views on experience gained as the Divisional Forest Officer in the Chautara Forest Division where he had already supported local initiatives, including establishment of forest nurseries in two panchayats Banskarka and Thokarpa. Chautara was to become the focus of Australian forestry aid activities. The same group of foresters were also involved in the 1978 FAO/World Bank mission to identify a

community forestry project in the Middle Hills. These foresters were sent to FAO in Rome to write up part of the project preparation mission's report. Arising out of this mission was the Community Forestry Development Programme which operates in the hill districts of Nepal. From an interview with T.B.S. Mahat (1986:15).

27. For details on the rulings see Manandhar (1981).
28. The first externally-funded community forestry project began in the late 1960s in the Trisuli Forest Division, under the Trisuli Integrated Watershed Development Project. However, the Project was terminated in 1970 and the community forestry component discontinued (Manandhar 1981:11).
29. A massive increase in funding to the forestry sector led to a mushrooming of community forestry projects. In 1978 there were some 10 projects involved in forestry representing both bilateral and multilateral agencies (Manandhar, 1981:11).
30. In 1972 the Department of Forestry, Australian National University assumed responsibility for 'advice on all scientific, technical and professional aspects of the Project' (Griffin, 1988:15).
31. By 1985 the Project worked in 100 panchayats; 92 nurseries had been established which produced over 2 million seedlings; 1347 ha of plantation had been planted and over 5000 ha of panchayat, panchayat protected and government forest had been established (Griffin, 1988:63).

CHAPTER 5

THE EMPIRICAL ORDERING OF SOCIAL REALITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter describes the framework used in Chapters 6 and 7 to order the relationships between individuals in the two study panchayats. Before villagers' lives can be understood in terms of their own social reality it is necessary to understand the types of linkages between individuals. Chapter 2 described the relationships of class and gender which form the basis for the appearance of individual behaviours. This framework is now developed to provide a typology for individual relationships to indicate the working of class, gender and caste or ethnic group within two panchayats in Nepal.

The organisation of Chapters 6 and 7 reflects the different social and cultural histories of the areas in which I worked: Tukucha, a predominantly Hindu panchayat and Banskharka a primarily Buddhist panchayat. The cultural and social composition of individual relationships is mediated through the different expression of a caste society and a non-caste society. This actual difference is not reflected at the legal-juridical level where caste and ethnic group are not recognised as separate entities; indigenous groups and non-members of the Hindu caste system are assigned positions within the caste hierarchy under the Muluki Ain of 1854 previously referred to in Chapter 3.¹ However, because I am discussing the appearance of reality through individuals' perceptions and experiences

of social relations, the division between caste and ethnic group is real and has formed the different social and historical circumstances of the two panchayats. For this reason I have detailed the living histories of individuals in each of these two panchayats in separate chapters. Chapter 6 examines the individual social relationships in Tukucha and Chapter 7 is devoted to an examination of the social relationships of individuals in Banskharka.

5.2 DIFFERENTIATION AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS IN NEPAL

For the purposes of this study, discussion in this chapter is restricted to the relationships between rural producers under a pre-capitalist system partially incorporated into a capitalist social formation. The wider implications of partial incorporation include the greater penetration of commodity relations and their displacement of relations based on the production and exchange of use-values by rural producers. The transformed pre-capitalist economy no longer constitutes a separate mode of production in itself, as it contains elements of both feudal and capitalist relations, and it can no longer be reproduced independently from the capitalist mode of production (Bernstein, 1977 and Friedmann, 1980).

'Peasant', 'household', 'family' have all been used to denote modes of production defined by the relationships between rural producers (Chayanov, 1966; Sahlins, 1974; Friedmann, 1980; Meillassoux, 1981).² However, such categories cannot form separate modes of production because the relationships they describe are those internal to the household and do not relate individuals to the wider economy.

'Peasantry' has been used as a term by many to denote an homogenous group of people who secure their subsistence through the tillage of land and the use of family labour. However, it is an untheoretical and ahistorical category that only provides a loose description of rural people. It cannot account for the varying relationships which are entered into by agricultural producers historically, and thus cannot be used in studies which are based on an analysis of modes of production and social relations (Ennew et al, 1977:310).³ It gives no indication of an individual's social relationships and is thus useless when the dynamics of production and reproduction are discussed.

I reject the notion that peasantry forms a separate class and show that individuals enter into very different relationships with each other according to their control over labour and their access to the means of production: both of which are aspects of the production and reproduction process and are therefore determined by the interactions between gender and class. This differential access to the means of production differentiates the peasantry and incorporates individuals into the production process at different points.

Households

The logic of production and reproduction of Nepal's pre-capitalist economies is the unit of the household. The household supports and reproduces itself through the labour of its individual members in subsistence agriculture; with the development of simple commodity relations for those products which are no longer available through the natural economy, but are necessary to ensure the continued reproduction of

the household, for example, kerosene, clothing, salt, spices and cooking oil.

The reproduction of the conditions necessary for the continuation of the mode of production is obtained through the renewal of the social and technical elements of production, ie the renewal of raw materials, means of work - tools, seeds, fertilizers, trees, animals and others, and household labour power. This is achieved through the relations of production which determine access to and control over the means of production. Reproduction has three separate but articulated forms: economic reproduction which ensures the daily maintenance of the household and its ability to work, ie food and shelter through renewal of the means of production; reproduction of the relations of production; and reproduction of the labour force - human reproduction which ensures the generational replacement of labour through sexual relationships between men and women and 'also the socialization of individuals into their productive roles' (O'Laughlin, 1974:311).⁴

In pre-capitalist societies household labour produces products which are either retained by households for their own use - use-values, or enter the process of circulation as commodities where they are sold. Reproduction of the means of production - tools, seeds, and livestock for example, is achieved through the production process. Maintenance and expansion of the means of production is dependent on an accumulation of surplus through production beyond what is required for subsistence. Relations of production determine the level of product available for distribution in the household, but relations of distribution determine how the product is distributed amongst individual household members. Distribution is determined by ownership and control over the product and as is shown

later is dependent on the gender of the individual (Acker, 1988).

Differentiation and Class

Differentiation between agricultural producers in terms of the degree of accumulation of surpluses occurs through the relations of production based on the extraction of surplus labour by one group of producers from another group of direct producers or in certain cases non-producers. Other forms of surplus extraction also operate within these pre-capitalist societies including those relations based on usury, share-cropping, rents in cash and kind, and state taxation.

Differentiation leads to the formation of three broad separate classes: those who accumulate surplus and hire-in labour; those who are independent producers, who neither accumulate surplus nor hire-in labour; and those who are in deficit production and must sell their labour-power to ensure their reproduction (Patnaik 1971:A-191). Labour is of course ultimately the only source of surplus value - value that is surplus once the needs for reproduction have been met. The employer of labour relies on the labourer and his or her household having access to other means of support. In the study areas, migrant labourers left wives behind to farm small areas of land. This helped to secure the household's subsistence with income obtained by the wage labourer.

These three major classes delineated on the basis of accumulation of surplus and control over labour can be further amplified by reference to other relationships of surplus extraction through indebtedness, landlessness and tenancy ie the appearance of mechanisms of extraction of

surplus. The following list indicates other ways in which surpluses are extracted through relations of production:

1. rent in labour services - corvée
2. rent in kind - sharecropping
3. extraction of surplus value
4. extraction via terms of trade
5. usury
6. rent in cash
7. taxes⁵

The operation of these relationships is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7 where empirical detail is used to augment the following three categories:

Rich households: those which accumulate sufficiently to invest in production through the purchase of superior means of production. They hire in outside labour. They have tenant farmers; and enter into money-lending relations.

Middle households: reproduce themselves mainly through household labour, but will engage waged labour on specific occasions. Generally if additional labour is required it is obtained through the exchange of labour with other households, which is not necessarily affinal. They do not accumulate sufficiently to be able to improve and expand their means of production. Sharecropping relations are entered into under conditions which benefit the sharecropper and not necessarily the landlord.

Poor households: unable to reproduce themselves through household or subsistence production, and so the household must migrate for waged labour outside the village. Such households reproduce themselves through the sale of their labour power. The presence of small amounts of land contribute to the household's subsistence, and leads to a reduction in the real wages that employers pay to their workers.

The mechanisms of surplus extraction and other relations of production together with relations of gender form the basis for the collection of empirical material to describe individual social reality. The particular form that these mechanisms take were described in their historical context in Chapter 3 and are described again in the formation of current social reality in Chapters 6 and 7. The three categories of households described form the basis for an initial division between individuals in rural Nepalese society, but they have not yet described the relationships between individuals based on gender.

Differentiation and Gender

Analyses based on ideologies formed through the patriarchal nature of western society and the construction of western knowledge, lead to an explicit avoidance of the gender relation and thus ignore a major determinant of social relationships.⁶ In such studies women are assigned to a class on the basis of their husbands' relations to the means of production, and thus women are not viewed as autonomous beings, whose individual relationships and access to the means of production are determined by their gender as well as their class. It is therefore a necessary and essential part of this study to describe relationships between individuals in terms of both class and gender.

The superimposition of relations of gender on those of labour and ownership of means of production expands the categories detailed previously by adding the following determinations:

Rich households: women as objects of reproduction within the male patriarchy. Source of labour in the domestic sphere. Limited or no agricultural work.

Middle households: women as objects of reproduction within the male patriarchy. Source of labour in the domestic sphere. Main responsibility for all agricultural work.

Poor households: women as objects of reproduction within the male patriarchy. Source of labour in the domestic sphere. Main responsibility for agricultural work and are also required to migrate to seek paid employment.

Women are not an unproblematic category. Women are divided amongst themselves on the basis of class; within classes they are divided by ideological and cultural barriers, by generational differences, and in their relationships to men (Caplan and Bujra, 1978). Women are oppressed by men, through their relationships at the level of households and in the wider economy, as subsistence producers and as part of the Third World rural production system (Vuorela, 1987:2).

In the following sections new categories have been drawn up on the basis of an individual's productive and reproductive relationships: using gender, the control of labour, and access to the means of production as the major determinants of an individual's social reality as it is expressed at the level of appearances.

5.3 CLASS AND GENDER AS MECHANISMS OF DIFFERENTIATION OF RURAL PRODUCERS: TUKUCHA AND BANSKHARKA PANCHAYATS

The three broad categories derived from theoretical constructs discussed in Section 5.2 are amplified according to empirical experience of the relations of production and relations of patriarchy. The following sections describe the complexity of relationships that individuals enter into depending on their class, gender, and caste or ethnic group.

Caste as a mechanism of differentiation

Multiple relationships are a feature of the contradictions inherent in a system in transition, where elements of a precapitalist and capitalist society interact (Frank, 1969:272). Contradictions exist between living in a caste-construed reality, and a reality which is underlaid by class relationships. The caste system confers a hierarchy on individuals but power and control over the means of production are vested in their class position. For example, an individual can be a woman, a mother, a share-cropper, a migrant worker and a member of an untouchable caste. She may change her caste position through moving to an area where people do not know her caste, but she cannot change her gender or the relationships she enters into because of her gender and class. The particular form relationships take varies over the lifetime of an individual, while financial and natural disasters can change an individual's access to the means of production.

Division of Households

The case studies examined describe the interaction of social class and gender of individuals within their households, and in the wider economy. An analysis of individuals is based on the specification of relations of production and reproduction, and therefore I focus on the mechanisms of surplus extraction which describe the relations between direct producers and appropriators, and on the relations of human reproduction; those which determine the generational cycle of birth-mating-conception-birth.

Households and the individuals who comprise them form the basis of analysis. Both joint and nuclear households are included in the case-studies from the two panchayats. A joint household is taken to mean two or more married males living with their wives under the same roof and farming the joint household's land. In the case of nuclear households, only one married couple lives in the house and farms land which may have been separated from land belonging to a larger family grouping.

Land as the Major Means of Production

Wealth is defined by the villagers in terms of ownership and productivity of land by reference to grain production; those households with large grain surpluses are considered to be wealthy, and not by reference to cash income. Income was not used as the basis from which to determine wealth, as households were unwilling to give detailed information on the actual amount of cash income available. In most cases, cash income from external sources, or sale of crops was minimal and would not have altered

the category to which the household was allocated.⁷ Other systems of land evaluation, such as local revenue records can be misleading as they are often an incomplete or inaccurate statement of actual land area owned and they give no indication of the quality of land. The amount of surplus grain produced by each household provides a realistic determinant to categorise households.

The case-studies were selected from interviews and observation in the two panchayats of Tukucha and Banskharka from a broad range of individuals of different class, caste and gender. An individual from each of the 39 case-study households was asked about the productivity of their land for all the major crops that they produced - maize, millet and rice, and how much grain is required for the sustenance of one adult for one year. Answers from the villagers varied between 3 to 5 muris. As would be expected poorer households suggested that they required smaller amounts of grain per year.⁸ However, from my own questioning and from studies carried out in other areas of Nepal, a reasonable average consumption rate for an adult is 4 muris of grain per year (see Caplan, 1972:21-23; English 1982:106, 139). Surplus grain production for each household was calculated on the basis of this figure and the number of household members to be fed from the land, and an adjustment was made for children.⁹ Those households who produced a surplus greater than 20 muris were considered to be in grain surplus, in general these households produced more than twice their consumption requirements. Those with a surplus of one to 20 muris were allocated to the grain adequate category. In general their production is just sufficient to meet their consumption requirements, but they are unable to meet increases in consumption such as the maturing of a child. Those households with a deficit of grain ie

those whose grain production falls below their consumption requirements were placed into the category of grain deficit. These categories are then further defined using the previous categories derived from theoretical constructs described in Chapter 2.

Relations of Production and Gender

Based on the social relations of production and also relations of gender, three distinct groups can be identified within both Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats in which this work was carried out: ¹⁰

Grain surplus households: surplus grain is transformed into commodities via the exchange process. Cash obtained through this process is used to buy products and services which cannot be produced locally. Grain rich households are able to accumulate sufficiently to invest in production through the purchase of means of production: land, chemical fertilizers, improved seeds and livestock. The hiring of outside labour reduces the agricultural workload of the male but not necessarily the female's domestic workloads. These households have tenant farmers and enter into money-lending relations. Women work only on their own land and do not exchange labour with other households. Women are an object of reproduction within the male patriarchy. (Figure 5.2)

Grain adequate households: reproduce themselves mainly through household labour, in particular the labour of women, but will also engage waged labour on specific occasions. Women are an object of reproduction within the male patriarchy. Generally, if additional labour is required it is obtained through the exchange of labour with other households, not necessarily affinal. They do not accumulate sufficiently to be able to expand their ownership of improved means of production. Share-cropping relations are entered into under conditions which benefit the share-cropper and not necessarily the landlord. Loans are taken with money-lenders. These households are vulnerable to periodic disaster. (Figure 5.3)

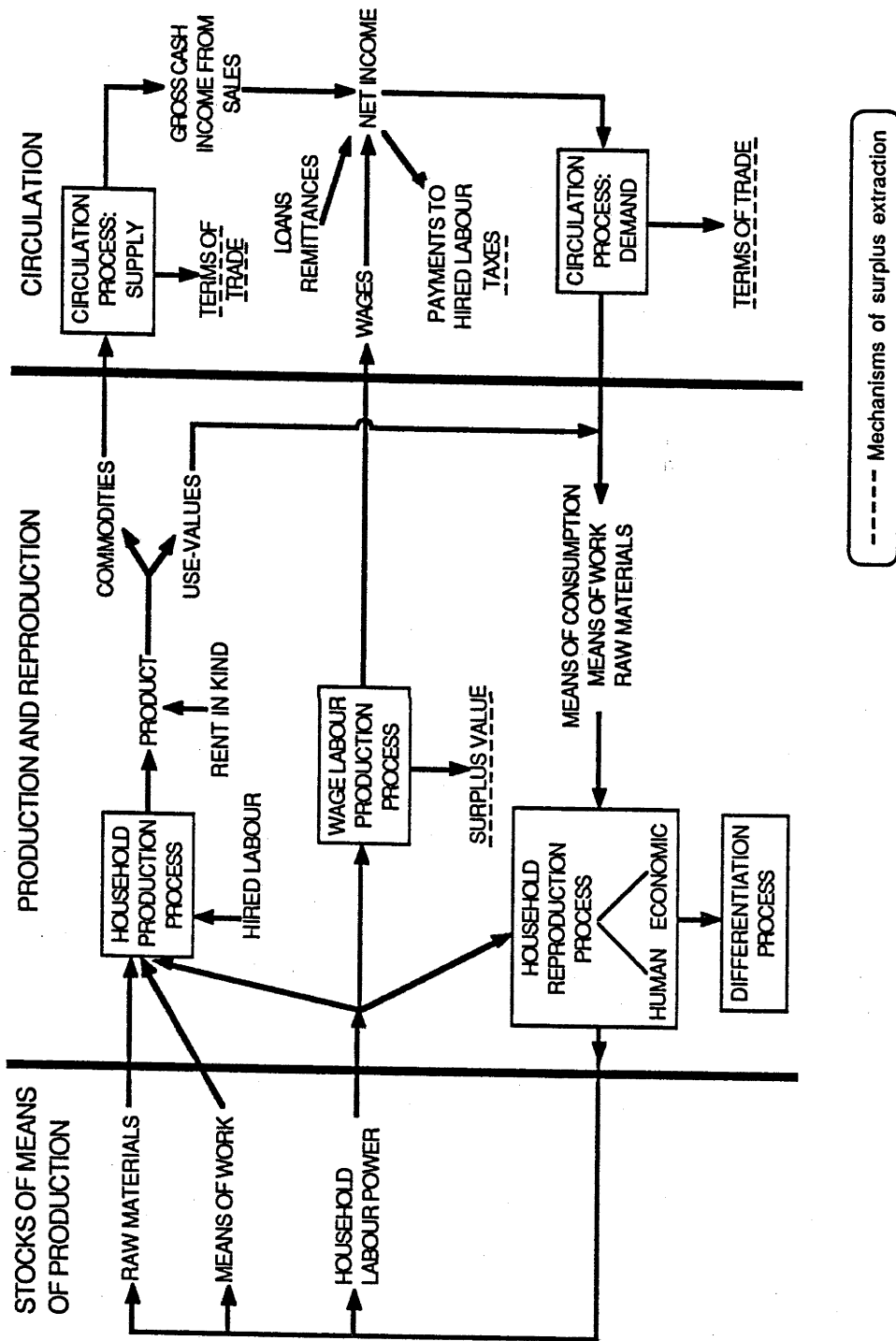


FIGURE 5.2: Relationships of Production and Reproduction: Grain Surplus Household

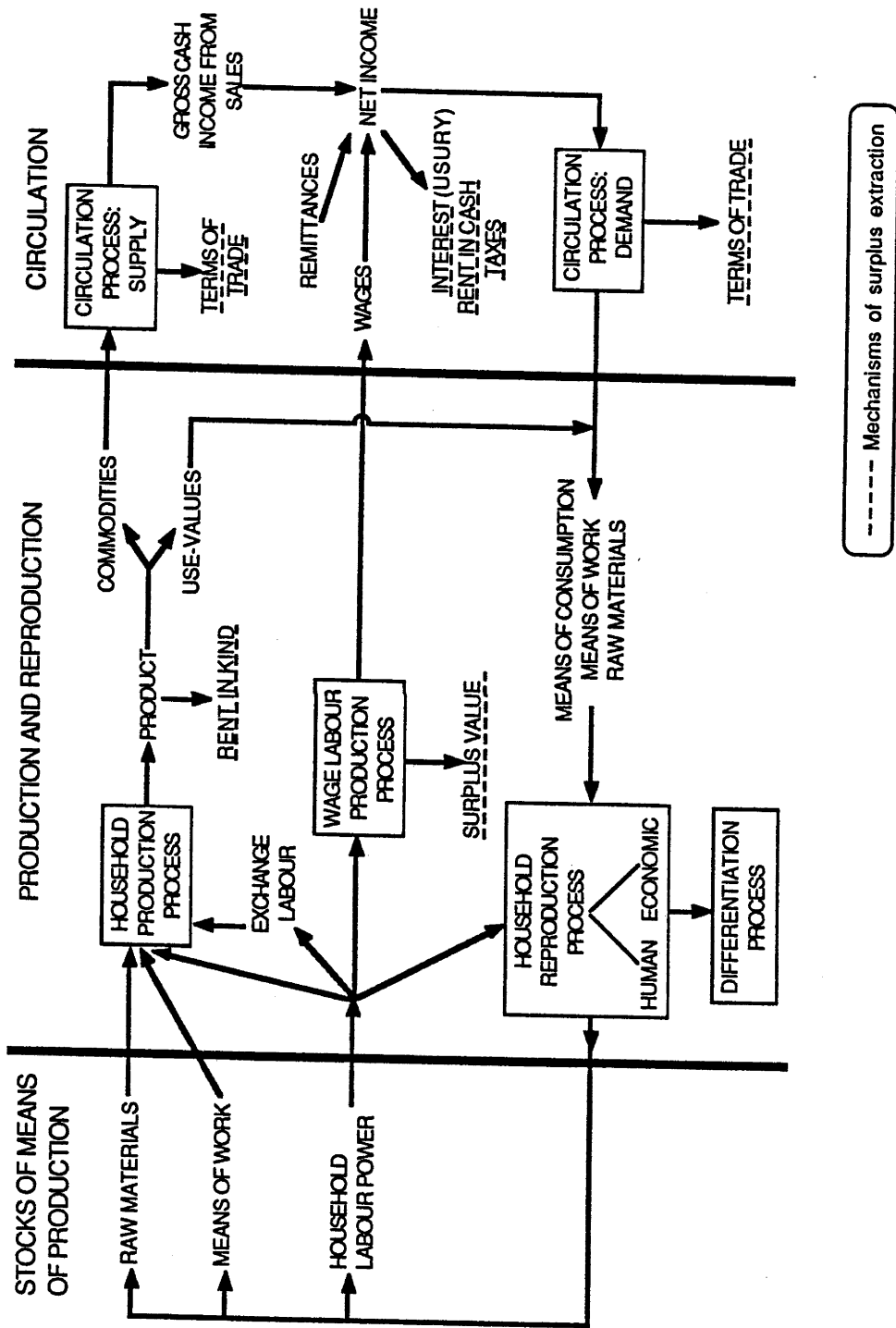


FIGURE 5.3: Relationships of Production and Reproduction: Grain Adequate Household

Grain deficit households: are unable to reproduce themselves through household or subsistence production, and both males and females must migrate for waged labour outside the village. Women have the main responsibility for agricultural work and are an object of reproduction within the male patriarchy. Such households reproduce themselves through the sale of their labour power. They have low levels of ownership of means of production, land and animals. Wage levels are below subsistence needs, and therefore these households are reliant on household land for subsistence. Grain deficit households enter into tenancy relations which benefit the landlord. Relationships of indebtedness are common. (Figure 5.4)

The levels of penetration of monetised relations vary according to the class of the individual. However, for all levels income is reinvested in the means of consumption, such as cooking oil, clothes, and kerosene for lighting, to reproduce the conditions for existence. Surplus income is restricted to the wealthy households where cash is transferred into savings - gold, land and livestock. Livestock are another important source of income both directly through sale of products and indirectly through improved crop yields from manure. The point at which individuals enter the cycles of production and reproduction varies according to gender and class and also to the generational structure of their households. This temporal variation must be considered when examining class and gender relations

Individuals within grain surplus households enter into relations of surplus extraction with other households through usury, tenancy agreements, and through hiring in of agricultural wage labour at rates below the level of subsistence reproduction. Other relationships involving tending of animals are also entered into between grain surplus and deficit households. These relationships are examined in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

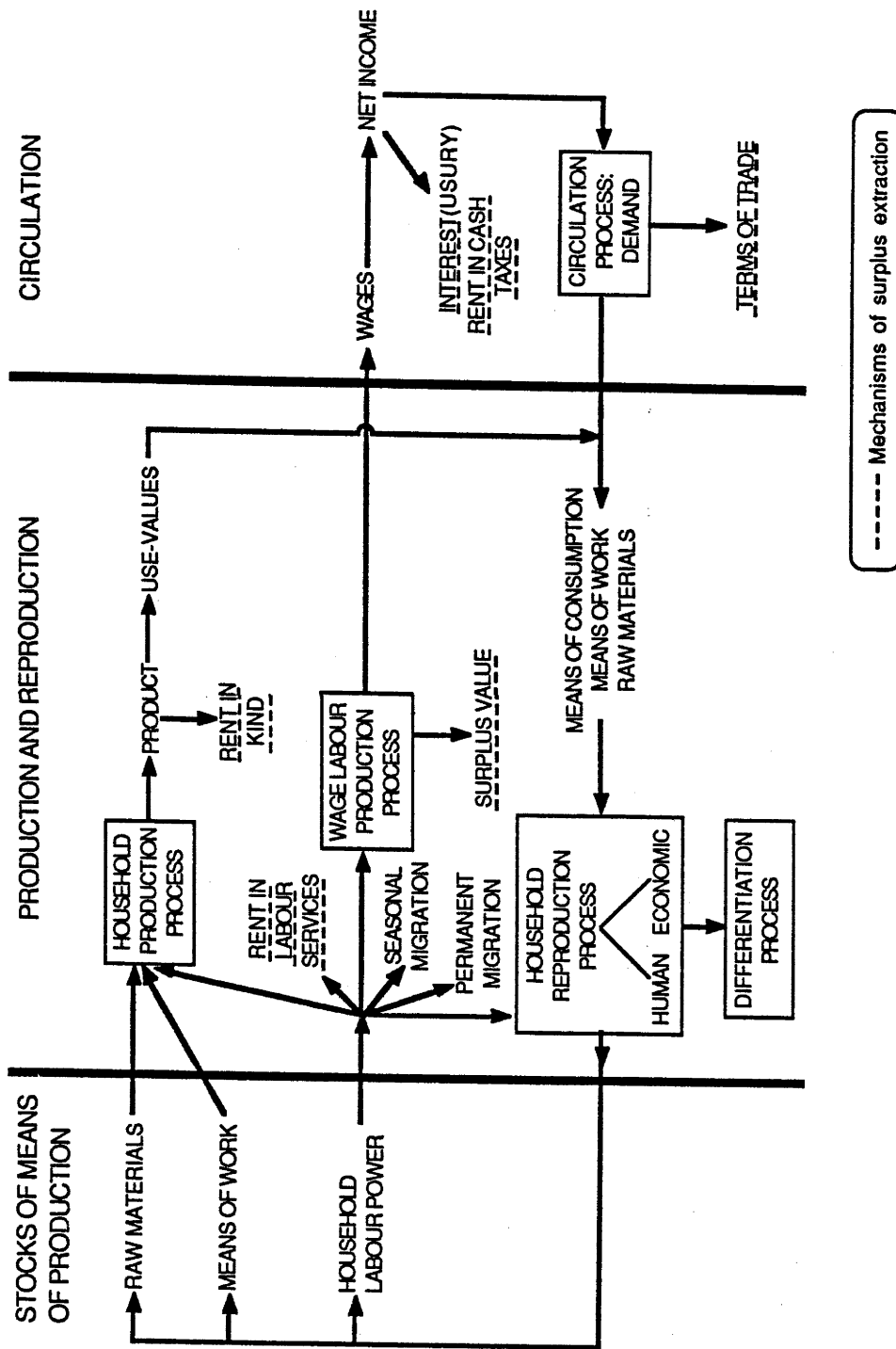


FIGURE 5.4: Relationships of Production and Reproduction: Grain Deficit Household

5.4 THE PANCHAYATS: TUKUCHA AND BANSKHARKA

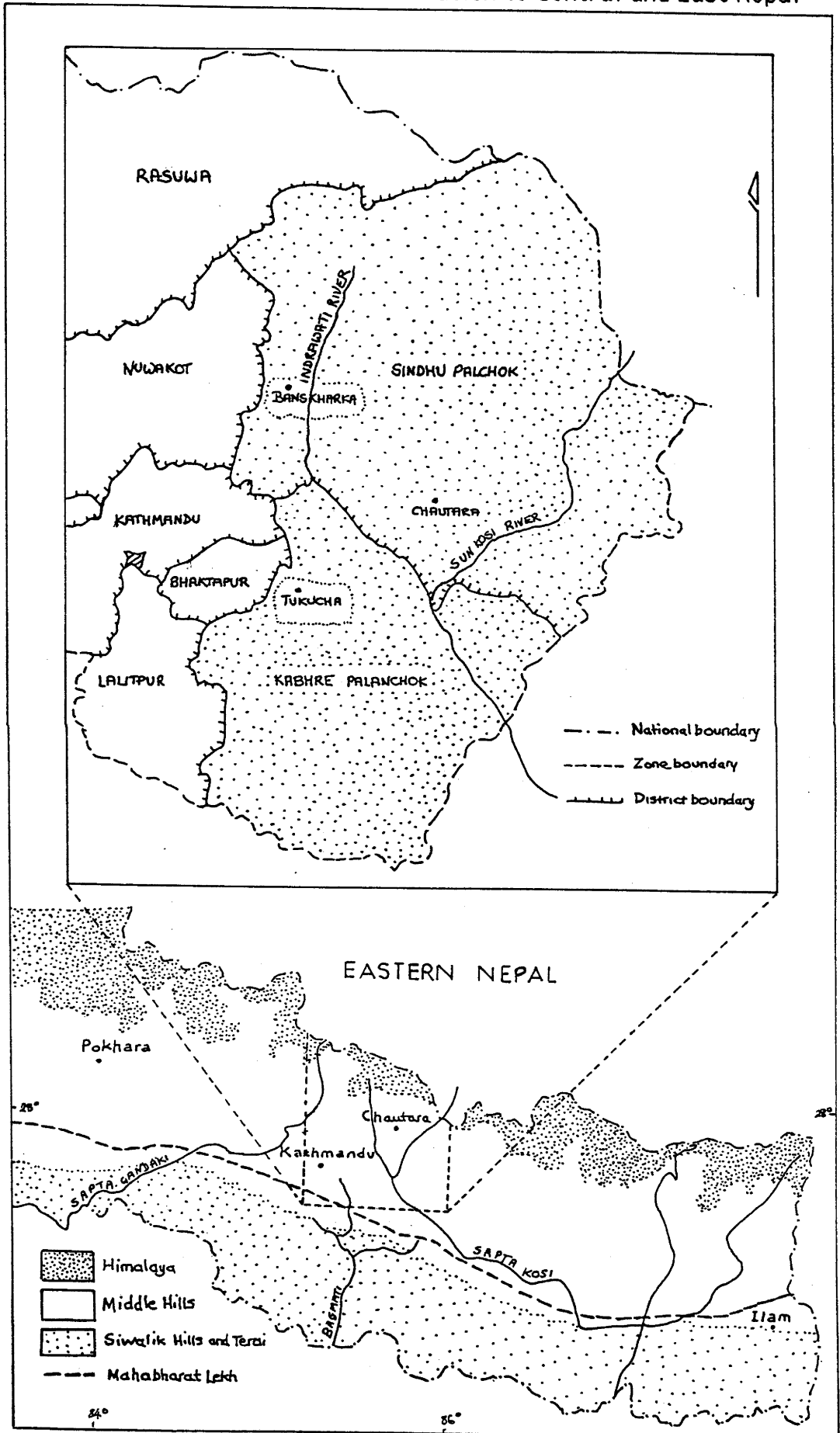
Figure 5.5 shows the positions of Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats within the Middle Hills of Nepal. The relative proximity of Tukucha to Kathmandu Valley has led to the orientation of Tukucha's agricultural economy to the lucrative urban markets. The agricultural economy of Banskharka, however, is directed towards local markets and exchange and sale within the area. Closer connections are being forged between Banskharka and Kathmandu through the export of large numbers of carpets to this rapidly expanding market.

I adopted the panchayat as the initial point of entry into an area because it was an easily identifiable entity and gave me a hierarchy of local people through which to make my initial contacts. The initial entry was made through the *pradhan pancha*, leader of the panchayat, from whom permission was obtained to work in his area.

The panchayat is an overarching administrative structure through which development initiatives and local financing are channelled. The *pradhan pancha* who is elected by adult suffrage is responsible for a budget for his panchayat which must pay for all infrastructural and other development work. He also represents the 'interests of the panchayat at district level to the district assembly' (Laxman Dong:3).

Each of the two study panchayats is divided into nine wards which are the lowest administrative division. Each ward has a ward leader, *adachya*, and five ward members, *sadasyas*, who represent the needs of the ward at the panchayat level. Decisions taken by panchayat officials are then

FIGURE 5.5: Map of Sindhu Palchok and Kabhre Palanchok Districts in Relation to Central and East Nepal



chanelled through the ward members to the local people. Relationships of gender and class are expressed through the working of the panchayat system as is seen for forestry decision-making in Chapter 8.

Although these administrative divisions exist people are aggregated into settlements which predate the introduction of the panchayat system in 1961. Thus agricultural land and forests used by each settlement will often cross ward and in some cases panchayat boundaries, and decisions made about allocation of forests to particular wards or panchayats has led to conflicts over rights of access in both Tukucha and Banskharka.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter sets out the framework used in Chapters 6 and 7 to describe the relationships between individuals and to explain how resources are controlled within the villages. It demonstrates the importance of a framework which allows for the description of both class and gender relations. It is a framework based on theoretical categories and modified by empirical experience in order to reflect individuals' own perceptions of their relationships with others.

The initial empirical division between individuals was determined through reference to the household's annual grain production. Grain production reflects access to and ownership of the major means of production - land, and as such is the primary determinant of wealth within the study panchayats. The three categories of households derived from theory were

modified by reference to the amount of grain produced by each study household: grain surplus, grain adequate, and grain deficit.

The panchayat as an over-arching administrative structure has been described to posit individuals within their local political framework. This is the framework which is used as the initial point of contact by all external interventions. The importance of the panchayat as an entity used by external projects as the framework through which they work is described in Chapter 8.

NOTES

1. Detailed description of the functioning of this code is provided by Höfer (1979).
2. For a detailed critique of these categories see Friedmann (1980). Moore (1988:55-56) reviews the major debates within anthropology concerning the nature of the household and the essential relationships between individuals.
3. See Friedmann (1980:160) and Bernstein (1979:421) for a discussion about the peasantry as a separate economic category.
4. See also work by Mackintosh (1977); Edholm et al (1977); Bujra (1978); Harris and Young (1981).
5. After Deere and de Janvry (1979).
6. For example, see Patnaik (1971) and English (1982) whose works do not disaggregate rural producers in terms of their gender, as opposed to studies by Vuorela (1987) and Chen (1983) which focus specifically on relations of gender.
7. When I first started work in a village I would ask different informants who they considered to be wealthy and why, from the answers to these questions it became obvious that ownership of land and its productivity was considered to be a major determinant of wealth.
8. One muri is equivalent to 73 kg.
9. It was estimated that a child under 14 years would require 2 muris of grain per year.
10. These categories are derived from empirical work in both Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF A PANCHAYAT: TUKUCHA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The information presented in this Chapter and in Chapter 7 relies on evidence drawn from: oral histories of individuals, my own observations and the interpretation of information presented to me by villagers. The three categories of the framework discussed in Chapter 5, grain surplus, grain adequate and grain deficit are used to order and describe relationships between individuals. Relationships which are based on class and gender.

6.2 TUKUCHA - ITS PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

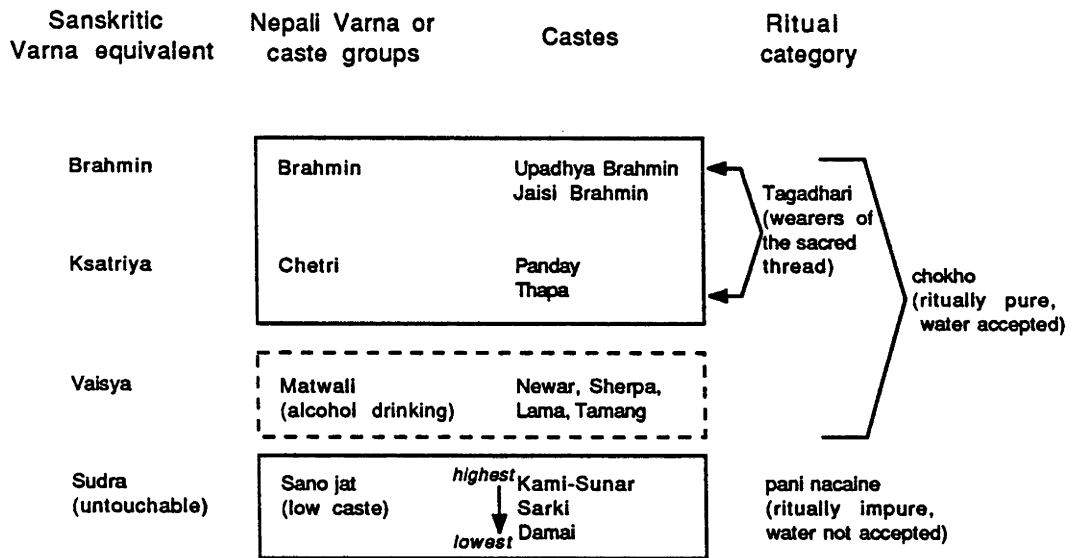
The panchayat of Tukucha lies to the north-east of Kathmandu Valley, at an altitude of 1500m. ¹ It is divided into nine wards - the smallest political administrative unit, of which two were chosen for this study. Land adjudication in this area took place during the Rana regime in 1896 and again in 1973 and thus the boundaries between agricultural, grazing and forest land are known by the villagers and generally uncontested. ² The imposition of panchayat and ward boundaries in 1961 led to the division of forest lands between the various units; village controlled resources became ward and panchayat resources leading to conflicts over rights of ownership and access to forests:


Ever since the panchayat system came into effect villages have their own forests. So people of one village are not allowed to go to the forest of another village these days. (Bahadur Thapa:8)


Households are aggregated into settlements on the basis of caste and clan, and linked through kinship and economic relationships.

The two gauns chosen for the empirical study, Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun comprise, in the main, two different castes: Jaisi Brahmin and Chetri. However, other castes are represented including Newars, and the artisan castes, untouchables, or as I shall refer to them - the sano jat, Damais, Sarkis and Kamis. The ritual status conferred on individuals according to their caste, and following the Muluki Ain of 1854, is determinate.³ Figure 6.6 shows the functioning of the caste hierarchy within Tukucha. The caste hierarchy is used by individuals to legitimate their power through rules which ensure the maintenance of ritual purity (Dumont, 1970; Bennett, 1983; Harriss, 1982a).

Villages were selected on the basis of their having existing systems of local forest protection, since one of the central interests of this study is to examine the construction of social relationships which determine the use and control of forests. The historical construction of these forests is described in Chapter 8.



 Parbatiya Hindus of Indo-Aryan stock who migrated into Himalayan region over last 1000 years.

 Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups

Source: adapted from Bennett (1983:9)

FIGURE 6.6: Caste Hierarchy in Tukucha & Banskharka Panchayats

Lamichhanegaun and its Construction

Historical Formation

The area was originally settled by Sarbeswar Lamichhane in the late 1700s, he accompanied Prithvi Narayan Shah from Gorkha as a member of the royal household:

He was a royal astronomer, I heard that rivers and even cunning tigers would not rise against him. If he had a club in his hand the river would part to let him cross. (Gunaraj Lamichhane:55)

The land was granted to him as a birta grant by the King for his services to the House of Gorkha. ⁴ Ancestors of the Shrestha households living in Lamichhanegaun were granted land in the village on the understanding that they would carry grain from the Lamichhane land to Kathmandu where Sarbeswar was living. Such ties of service between existing Lamichhane and Shrestha households no longer exist, relationships between the two groups are now of an economic nature, including those of usury and exchange of labour. ⁵

Lamichhanegaun has grown in size from 7 houses in the early 1900s to its current size of 39 households comprising 31 Lamichhane households and 8 Shrestha households. ⁶ Over this period agricultural practices have changed little, though, in recent years the introduction of chemical fertilizers and improved seeds have increased crop production:

We used to produce 5-6 muris of wheat and 15-16 muris of rice. These days the rice yield is 30-40 even 50 muris....the increase is due to chemical fertilizer. (Gunaraj Lamichhane:132) ⁷

There has been a rapid expansion in the area of land under agriculture with some encroachment of forest areas, as is discussed in Chapter 8.⁸ The penetration of commodity relations has led to increased monetisation of the subsistence economy and to a greater production of agricultural products for sale in local markets. The varying degrees to which households are involved in production for the market is examined in the case studies.

Current Formation⁹ (Plate 6.1)

Figure 6.7 illustrates the distribution of houses by caste through the gaun. Lamichhanegaun is the political centre of the panchayat, it is here that the pradhan pancha lives, and the local primary school was built. The settlement extends down a terraced hillside with the extreme edges of the gaun inhabited by poorer households.¹⁰ Each house is surrounded by a small area of kitchen garden and unirrigated land, bari, where millet, maize and potatoes are the main crops. House construction varies from large three-storey brick-built houses with tiled or corrugated tin roofs to small one or two-storey rice-straw thatched-roof houses. House size and the nature of the roofing material are often referred to by villagers as indicators of wealth.¹¹

Irrigated land, khet, lies in the valley bottom on either side of a small river, which supplies the irrigation water, the main crops grown on this land are rice, wheat and potatoes. Forests cover the hilltops and gulleys, and access to forests both natural and plantation is regulated by local tradition. Most households have sufficient trees on their private land to

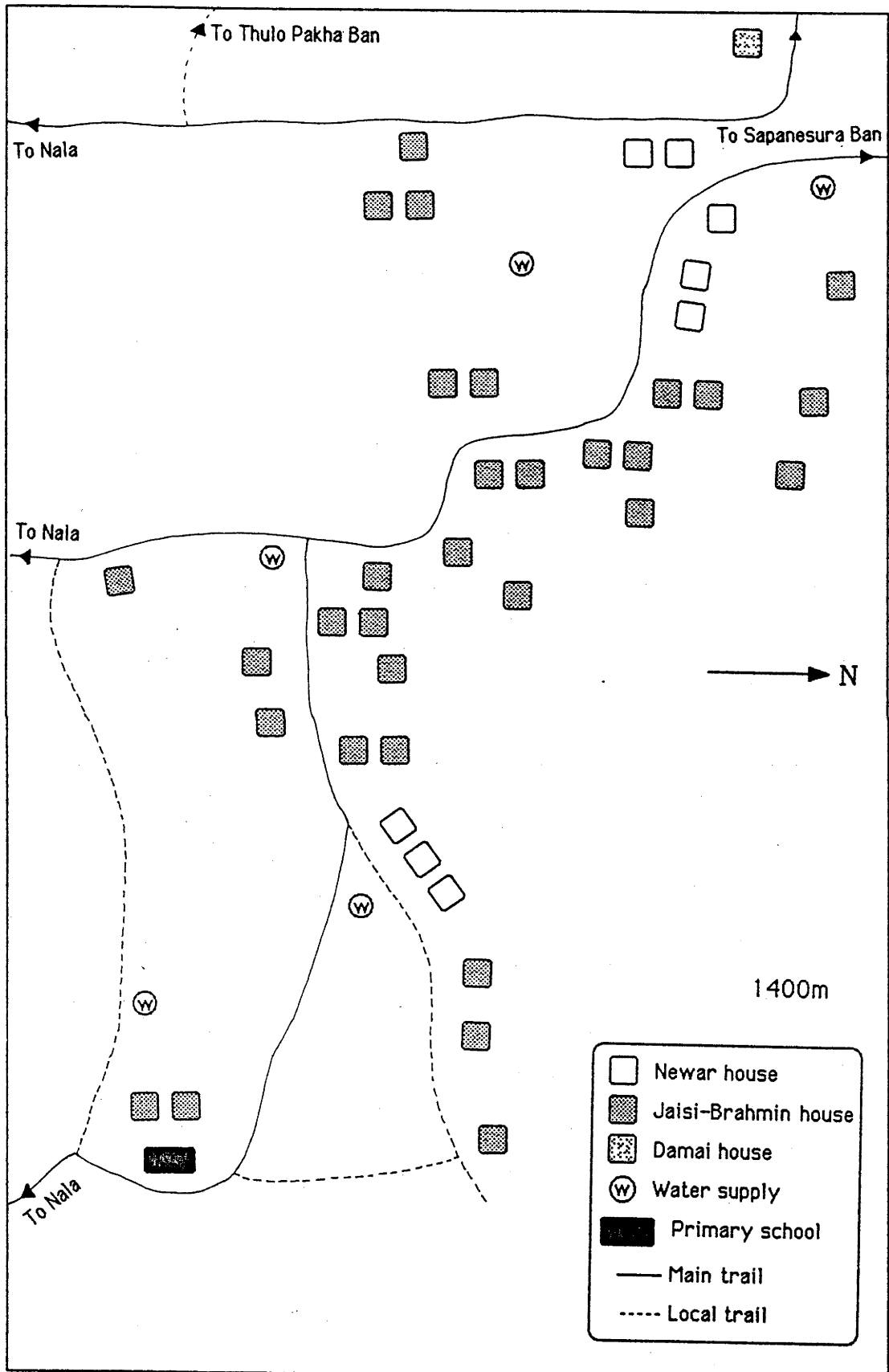


PLATE 6.1: Lamichhanegaun (note different roof types)



PLATE 6.2: Pandaygaun in the foreground and Nala, the local market town, in the centre ground

FIGURE 6.7: Map of Lamichhanegaun



supply their timber needs, and state and panchayat forests are used to supply needs of firewood and grazing. Table A.5 indicates the seasonal use of forests.

This primarily subsistence economy produces some surplus for sale at the local markets. Tukucha panchayat is close to several important trading centres, including Nala and Banepa, thus ready markets are available for any surplus production. Production of buffalo milk is one of the major commercial activities of the area, and rice, maize and millet are the principal crops cultivated, with additional croppings of potatoes and wheat in the winter months. Table A.1 presents the major cropping patterns throughout the agricultural year.

Pandaygaun and Its Construction

Historical Formation

The origins of Pandaygaun are similar to those of Lamichhanegaun, both gauns were formed as a result of land grants given in recognition of services provided to the Gorkha monarchy. In Pandaygaun a stone in the village temple is inscribed with the name of the first settler of the village - Hari Panday. He arrived from Gorkha in the service of Prithvi Narayan Shah, as with Lamichhanegaun there are many myths surrounding the foundation of Pandaygaun and the exploits of Hari Panday:

There was a strong man called Hari Panday. His enemies wanted to test his strength, so they made a plan to kill him in a bull fight. They asked him to stay inside the bull ring for a whole night, but Hari Panday was able to control ghosts and evil spirits with vedic verses, and thus he controlled the bulls. The

next morning people came to cremate him thinking that he would be dead, but they found him sitting next to the bulls. For his bravery he was awarded birta land where Pandaygaun now is: 444 ropanis of khet and 360 ropanis of other land which included the forest which therefore belongs to the Pandays. (Satibama Panday and Shyamsangari Panday:61)

Current Formation (Plate 6.2)

Figure 6.8 indicates the distribution of houses by caste in relation to water supplies. Agricultural practices in Pandaygaun follow a similar pattern to Lamichhanegaun, surplus production is sold in a neighbouring bazaar town, Nala, and forest products are obtained either from private land or from the surrounding government natural forest. Plate 6.3 shows a 'grain surplus' house with a tiled roof.

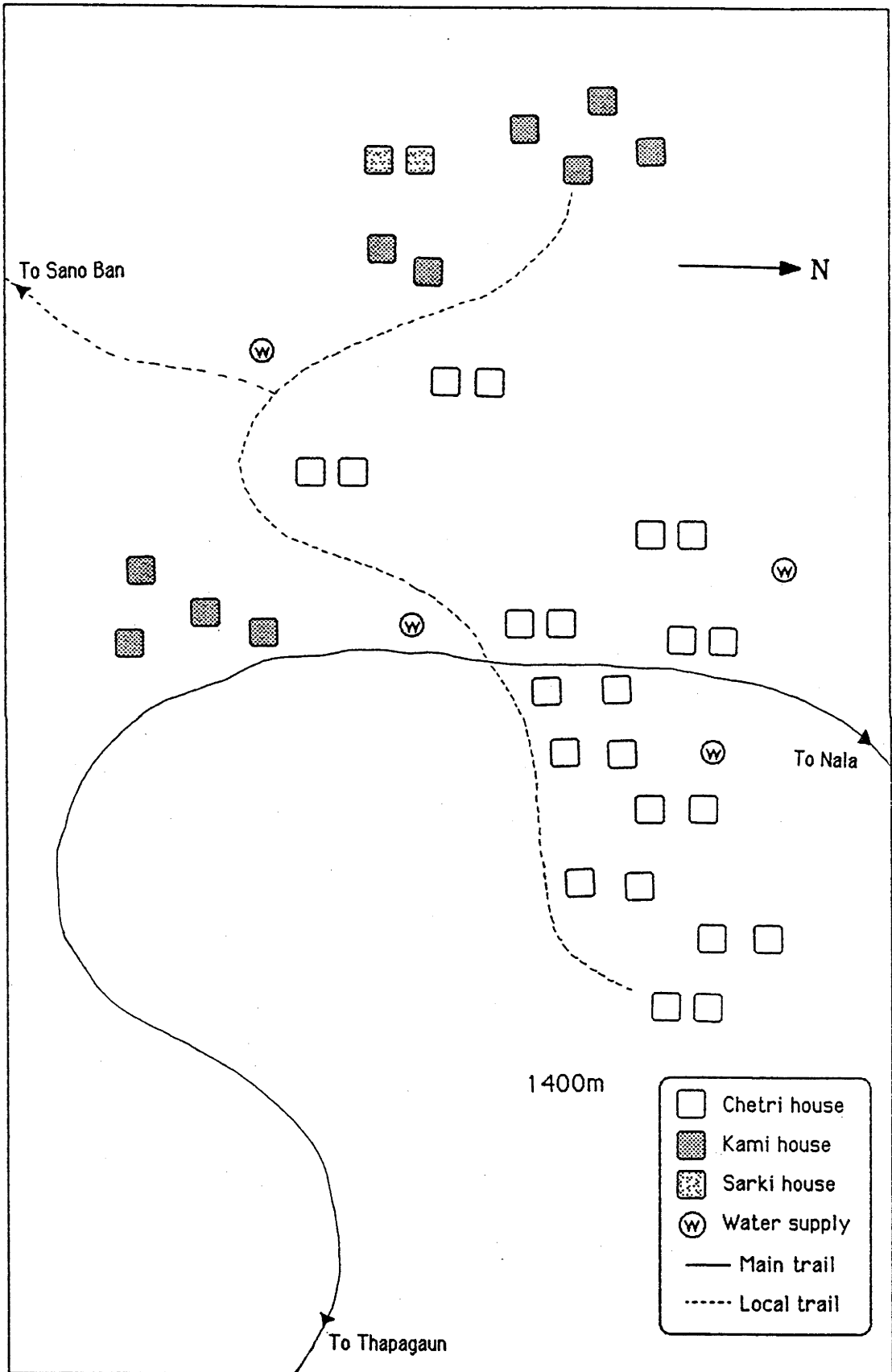
Interaction between Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun

Although both these gauns form part of Tukucha panchayat there are few ties between the inhabitants: caste and physical location militate against the formation of either social or economic relationships. Inhabitants of each settlement show limited awareness of events happening outside their own locality.¹² Thus when describing the relationships between individuals, the panchayat has little impact on the daily experiences of individuals whose relationships and access to resources are not determined through the panchayat structure.



PLATE 6.3: Pandaygaun: an example of a 'grain surplus' house

FIGURE 6.8: Map of Pandaygaun



6.3 GENDER AND THE RELATIONS OF HUMAN REPRODUCTION AND PRODUCTION

Relations of Human Reproduction

The determining features of intra-household relationships lie in the expression of patriarchal relationships. The individual experience of these relationships is dependent on the age and gender of the individual. As my interest lies with women of the households this discussion is focussed on women's experiences of these relationships.¹³ The particular relations of human reproduction to be discussed here transcend the three productive categories used to divide households. In the sphere of human reproduction all women in these villages experienced similar relationships with men. However, the degree to which women are incorporated into the wider economy is dependent on the economic category into which the household falls. For example women in grain surplus households do not need to leave their homes to migrate for waged employment. They are generally confined to the domestic sphere and contribute through their labour to the production and reproduction of the household economic unit.

Purity as a Construct of Patriarchy

A woman's role within a Hindu household is defined by the need to maintain and enhance ritual purity. Bennett (1983:129) in a discussion of purity and sexuality demonstrates how women are treated as a threat to male purity and considered as a threat to male solidarity. There is a juxtaposition between woman as a sister or daughter and woman as wife or daughter-in-law, where the former are ritually pure in relation to their

consanguineal male kin and the latter are ritually impure in relation to their affinal male relatives. Thus, the position of a woman within a household depends on whether it is her natal or marital home, a joint or nuclear household.¹⁴ This position permeates all her relationships within the household and also determines the way in which her labour is expended.

Arranged child marriages in the high caste grain surplus households are common, several girls had been married by the age of 10 but continued to live with their parents until they reached the age of 15 or 16. These child marriages ensure that the girl is pure when she marries. Dolma Kumari Lamichhane who is now 49 years old was married at the age of 7: 'I have been giving birth to children since I was 15 years old. Now we think girls of 15 are still children' (Dolma Kumari Lamichhane:36).

There is a hierarchy within households dependent on the age and gender of the individual, which maintains the division between men and women and also the division between women. Women have many roles and relationships within a household that change over time: from woman as daughter to woman as wife to the head of household. These relationships are more highly developed within joint households where there is greater conflict between married couples and unmarried daughters of the house competing for the same resources. This was clearly demonstrated to me by Lala Panday who told of her difficult relationships both with her mother-in-law and her sister-in-law:

I was not allowed to cook a snack for my husband when he returned home from school where he teaches, because my mother-in-law was not at home. I have no rights in this household, all I can do is sit in my room and wait for my husband to return. (Field Notes, 1987)¹⁵

A woman as wife to the head of a joint household has considerable control over the allocation of work amongst junior wives who are married to her sons, she will delegate household tasks, and will make many of the internal household decisions. A woman, as daughter of the house holds a favoured position within the household, often having considerable freedom of action, she is not obliged to carry out dirty or defiling tasks, such tasks are allotted to the most junior wife who will be expected to wash the plates after the meal and remove any night soil. ¹⁶

A woman as wife also has a particular relationship to her husband which conditions the way in which she responds to other men. She is expected to wash her husband's feet before each rice meal and then to drink the dirty water. She must serve her husband and wait until he has finished eating before she may eat. The woman also eats her food from her husband's dirty plate often eating his leftover food. ¹⁷ Both the plate and the leftover food are jutho or polluted, as is the water from washing the feet, an impure part of the body which is considered defiled (Bennett, 1983:174). The woman through her actions is placing herself in a ritually inferior position to her husband. The deference which the wife must present to her husband continues through all aspects of her life and, of particular interest to this study, is expressed in the public arena of meetings and village decision-making (see Chapter 8).

Bennett (1983:251) draws an important parallel between the male political and economic power within their patriline and the women's ritual superiority over consanguineal men. Within the hierarchy in a household, a woman who becomes a mother has high status in the patrifocal system,

'the mother is as powerful, if not more powerful, than the sister or the daughter as a representation of female purity' (Bennett, 1983:254).

Purity and Menses

The conjunction between Hindu belief and patriarchal society is most clearly developed with respect to attitudes towards menstrual blood - the outward sign of a woman's sexuality. There is deep mistrust and suspicion of women's sexuality and the power of the woman to break the agnatic solidarity. For example, as happens in many joint households, a young wife forces her husband to leave the joint household and establish his own home, where she has control over the day-to-day running of the household and is not answerable to her mother-in-law. ¹⁸

Women are a source of pollution through menstrual blood to high caste tagadhari men who have received their sacred thread, janai. ¹⁹ During menses a woman's relationships with other men and in some circumstances other women, is heavily circumscribed: a woman is not allowed to prepare or touch food and water, she may not enter the kitchen area and must eat separately from the rest of the household. She is not permitted to worship the gods and in the cases I observed she had to sleep in a separate house with the animals. It is worth detailing here the strict avoidance of ritual pollution which is followed by one family during the menses of a favoured daughter of the house:

During Satibama's menstruation she could not touch or be touched by other people. She remained outside the house until nightfall and then came indoors but had to sit apart from us, she was not allowed to sit on the same mat as us or anywhere near either the cooking or warming fires. This is the second

fire which is lit in the evening to keep people warm, everyone sits around this fire except for the daughter-in-law who had just washed the dishes and was sitting by the cooking stove. The warming fire is open with three large flat stones forming a circle, it is fed with small twigs and branches and is outside the ritually pure area of the cooking fire. Satibama was not permitted to go upstairs to her bedroom but went to sleep with the animals at her aunt's house. The next morning she returned to the house after her pre-sunrise wash, but was not allowed indoors, she remained outside and kept her distance from us. She could not eat with us nor be served by other people, she ate after we had finished and washed her own dishes. Her menstruation was a source of shame and embarrassment to herself, a shame that was public knowledge and was acted out through all her interactions with other people. (Field Notes, 1986)²⁰

This segregation is strictly observed and women refer to this period of the month as na chune ie not touching.²¹

The position of a woman during her period of menses, irrespective of her caste status, is akin to the relationships between the clean and unclean castes; the woman is made to feel like a pariah - she is capable of causing defilement to high caste males who carry the sacred thread. The time of a girl's first menstruation is remembered as a period of fear; she is banished from the house and sent to live with an unrelated family, often in another village where she is expected to remain for up to 22 days. During menarche the girl is not permitted to see the sun and is kept in strict seclusion. A step outside the darkened room would be equivalent to the sin of killing a cow. Such seclusion from the sun is still enforced for older girls who must sit in darkened rooms, and wash before sunrise.^{22 23}

Control over Sexuality

Women use their power of sexuality to intimidate and weaken the male position. A male forest guard had prevented some women from collecting wood:

The forest guard was very weak. The women tied him to the trunk of a tree and pissed over him. They used to beat him badly. (Balabhadra Dulal:46)

These women were contravening two major taboos within this society: women were and are prohibited from climbing trees; and physical contact with urine is considered to be defiling, such that only women will empty night soil. The combination of these two taboos was an indication of the depth of contempt in which the women held the forest guard. ²⁴

Some control over sexuality is retained by women, and the complete withdrawal of reproductive ability through hysterectomy was used by one young woman to ensure that she would never have to return to her husband.²⁵ She had left her husband without his permission because he had been physically abusing her and returned to her natal home. She was accepted back by her parents although her return caused the partial collapse of the joint family. There was a large degree of antagonism between the returning daughter and the eldest daughter-in-law which led to the daughter-in-law forcing the separation of her husband from his family, with the result that he migrated to India for work and she moved to a nearby house.

Polygyny as a Construct of Patriarchy

Polygyny is another area in which the patriarchal system asserts the dominant position of men over women. Although laws have been passed prohibiting polygyny except in particular circumstances, such laws have had little effect in the villages. Women who have not produced a male child within the first few years of marriage are often rejected by the husband and a new wife taken. A woman's inability to reproduce the labour required by the household is punished by her husband through his taking of another wife. Co-wives continue to be a threat to the first wife's position within the household and if the co-wife produces a male heir before the first wife, the first wife's status is not secure. This often leads to the situation where the elder wife is forced out of her husband's home and must return to her natal home.²⁶

Relations of Production

Ownership of the Means of Production

Land

Land is inherited through the male patriline and generally is owned and controlled by men. Women have no right to landed property and must gain access to land and property through marriage and their male offspring. However, divorced or childless women have no recognised rights of inheritance in either their affinal or natal homes; while widows have usufruct rights to their husband's land during their lifetime, divorced

women do not even have this right. Gunga Lamichhane who has been dismissed from her husband's household because of her epilepsy has been forced to beg for support from her husband's kin and to assert usufruct rights over some of her husband's land and farm a small area of school guthi land. Her husband has continued to reject her and would not provide her with the means of subsistence. Eventually she was loaned a small house by her husband's brother (pradhan pancha), and she opened a teashop to provide some cash income:

I have no idea how much money I make from the teashop each month, but it is very little. Now no-one comes to my shop except for Netra, they all go to the teashop at the bottom of the village because it is slightly cheaper. I have got Rs 400 from selling potatoes and goats that I have tended, but I have to pay back a loan of Rs 900 from the shop where I buy all my supplies...I am dependent on the goats I tend for others and on the forest for grazing them in, because I do not have enough land to provide me with food for myself or fodder for the goats. (Gunga Lamichhane:94-95)

She is also reliant on the occasional labour of her daughter, but this causes difficulties between her daughter and her mother-in-law who says that she is neglecting her duties in her marital home. ²⁷

The lack of women's rights over their husbands' possessions and also their lack of access to the legal process is demonstrated by a case cited in Tukucha by Gunga Lamichhane where land which had been left to her daughter was taken by her grandfather-in-law and registered in his own name:

Later he sold the land for Rs 80-85,000, but on paper he gave the price of the land as Rs 2,000, and he kept the money for himself. The case went to court...(but) he won the case in the

district and high courts. We have no people in high places to help us.....He burnt his humanity in the fire. He has made my daughter homeless. No-body in the village speaks against this, the pradhan pancha is counting the days until he dies, he cannot speak. Others speak in his favour....Moreover the old man bribes them, he also bribed the court people when the judgement was made. He thus wins the case. (Gunga Lamichhane:74-76)

There are exceptions to this situation which arise out of the particular circumstance of the woman. A well-educated woman was widowed and deprived of her husband's land by his family:

I quarrelled with my husband's brothers. They wanted to have my property. They said that they were unable to feed me, maybe they thought that I would find another man....This land where I live now belonged to my father, it's not registered in my name because if it was it would have gone to my husband's brothers.....I had a dispute with my husband's brothers for my share of my husband's land....At the time of the land survey in 2029 BS (1973 AD) my brothers-in-law registered my land in their names. Later I filed a case in court, claiming for my share....Finally I won the case and according to the judgement my share of the property over the 12 years that my brothers-in-law had used it was fixed at Rs 50,000, but I only got Rs 19,000 in cash. I took that money I did not claim the land, I gave the land to them. I owed Rs 5,000 until that time so I paid back the loan, and had Rs 14,000 left. The pradhan pancha told me that he would invest it for me....I lend the money on interest to my kin. I have to charge them interest because I have to eat. I should not spend the principal, because I will be in trouble again. (Maya Shrestha:5-16)

Maya Shrestha was forced to return to her natal home to live with her brothers. However, the cash judgement has enabled her to build a house and use the interest from her money lending activities to buy food, as she has no land on which to raise crops.²⁸ As a single woman with wealth and no need to cultivate land to secure her subsistence, she has turned her

sexuality to profit and power and become a prostitute. She is seen as a threat by other women to their positions and is derided as a thief and a liar. ²⁹ However, through her clients and the influence that she has gained from them, she has been able to represent the cases of women from the village at higher levels of government and administration. ³⁰

Livestock

Ownership of livestock follows the division of labour associated with the different types of animals. Women own goats and will dispose of their offspring as they choose. However, sale of goats in the market is the responsibility of men. Buffalo and cows are bought and owned by men, all decisions relating to their sale and the sale of dairy products are performed by men. However, in the case of one female household, women sell the dairy products to the local government dairy. ³¹

Trees

As has been discussed trees are planted by men and are considered to be male property. Fruit trees are also planted and owned by men, even those close to the house. The produce of these trees is used for sale and occasionally for own consumption. Since local markets for fruit are good, men suggested that they would plant more fruit trees on their land to provide an additional source of cash income.

Division of Labour

Household composition and the stock of means of production at a particular point in time interact to determine the division of labour and also the type and number of activities engaged in by the household. In this section I discuss general patterns observable across all three categories of household. In later sections dealing specifically with grain surplus, grain adequate and grain deficit households, I discuss aspects of the division of labour particular to each category of household.

Figures 6.9 and 6.10 indicate the division of labour within households in Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun for agricultural, animal husbandry and domestic tasks. The information on which these tables are based is derived from observation and interviews with villagers in both Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun. Although there is some variation between households as to allocation of tasks dependent on the means of production available to them, in general the major differences are not those between households rather those between men and women.

For all three categories of household, grain surplus, grain adequate and grain deficit, there is a generalised division between production for own use, use-values, and production for the market, commodities. Tasks associated with the daily reproduction of the household are generally performed by women. Women produce use values, men realise exchange value by selling any surplus agricultural products.

	Almost always done by men	Usually done by men	Done by either men or women	Usually done by women	Almost always done by women
Ploughing (khet)		X			
Digging (khet)		X			
Digging (bari)			X		
Mound digging (bari)				X	
Mound digging (khet)		X			
Rice sown			X		
Rice planted					X
Rice weeded			X		
Rice cut				X	
Rice threshed		X			
Rice stalks bound				X	
Rice stalks carried					X
Maize sown			X		
Maize weeded			X		
Maize thinned			X		
Maize cobs harvested					X
Maize cobs carried					X
Maize stalks cut					X
Maize stalks carried					X
Wheat sown			X		
Wheat cut			X		
Wheat carried			X		
Millet seed sown		X			
Millet planted					X
Millet weeded					X
Millet heads gathered					X
Millet stems cut					X
Millet stems carried					X
Potatoes planted					X
Potatoes weeded					X
Potatoes dug					X
Potatoes carried				X	
Manure carried					X
Fodder grass cut					X
Tree seedlings planted		X			

FIGURE 6.9: Division of Labour in Agriculture (Crops): Lamichhanegaun & Pandaygaun (1400m)

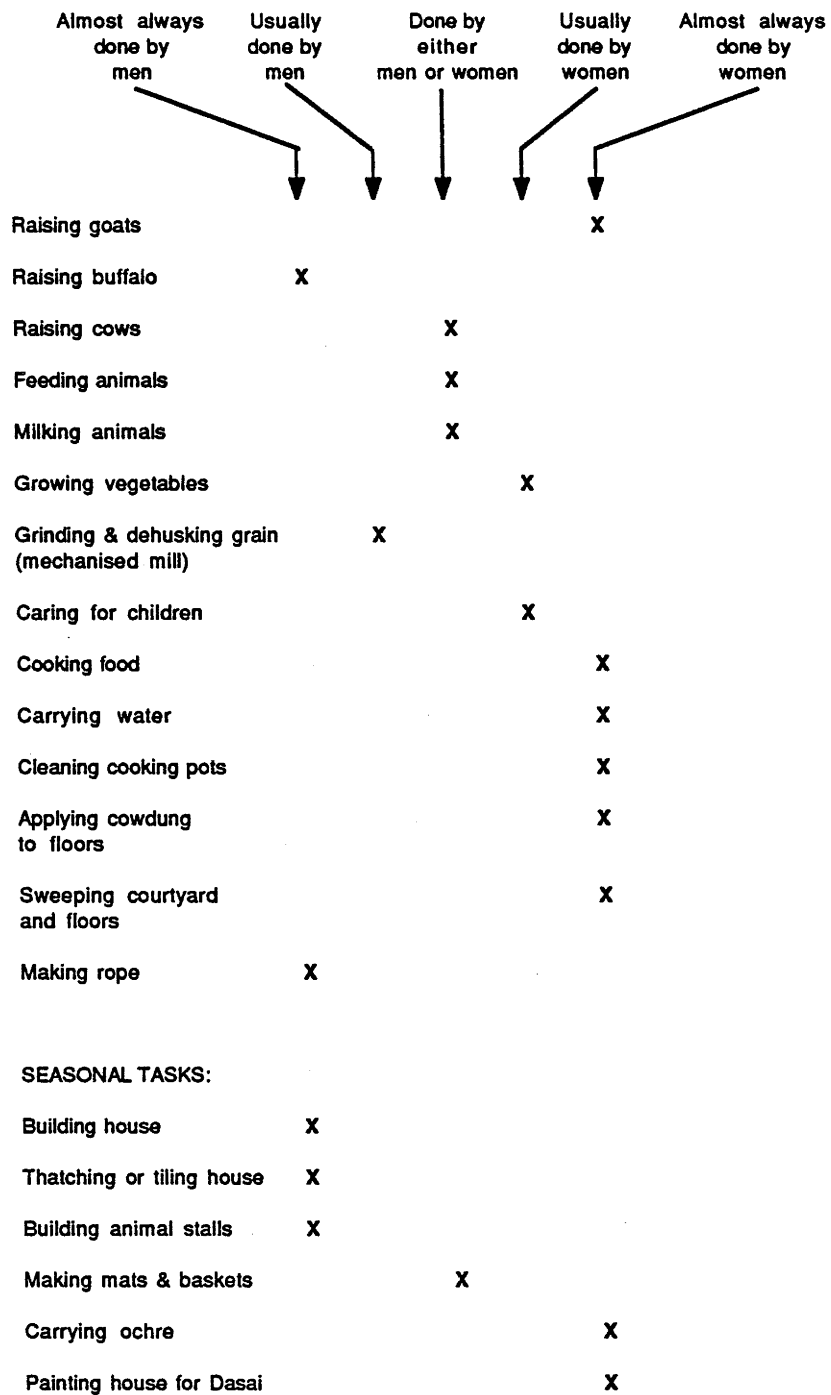


FIGURE 6.10: Division of Labour in Animal Husbandry and Domestic Tasks: Lamichhanegaun & Pandaygaun

Women are responsible for the majority of tasks associated with the production of crops on unirrigated land. Ploughing and digging of khet, irrigated land, remains the responsibility of men.

Women are responsible for low-value animals such as goats. Buffalo are raised by men, but milking of dairy livestock is shared by men and women. The daily collection of fodder for the livestock is usually carried out by women. Tasks associated with maintenance of the household for example, cooking, washing, cleaning, and collection of water are all carried out by women.

Post-harvest processing of crops, for example drying and sorting beans, removing maize kernels from the cobs and winnowing are women's tasks. Men are responsible for grinding grain at the mechanised mill in the nearby town.

Planting of permanent resources such as trees is considered to be a man's job, women say that they are unable to plant trees, because in the words of one woman: 'men have penises, women don't', the penis being used here to symbolise male power and authority.³² Collection of forest products, firewood and leaf litter is considered to be women's work, but cutting of firewood for seasonal use, such as for the monsoon, is considered to be men's work, as indicated in Figure 6.11.

Leaf litter from the forest is used with manure to produce a fertilizer. The tasks of collecting leaf litter, carrying it from forest to house, spreading it in the animal sheds for bedding, gathering up the resultant manure/litter mix, carrying the compost to the fields and spreading

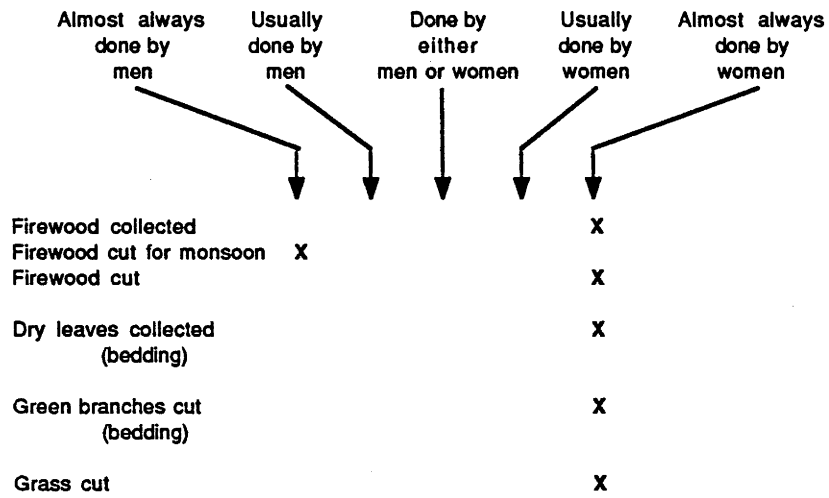


FIGURE 6.11: Division of Labour in Forests:
Lamichhanegaun & Pandaygaun (1400m)

compost in the fields are all performed by women. This connection between forest and field is fundamental to the maintenance of the subsistence system, and is dependent on the expenditure of female labour.

In summary, all women are subordinated to men through relations of gender which are enforced through the patriarchal system. These relationships penetrate both relations of production and human reproduction between men and women, and are reinforced by the practices of the caste system. The relationships of gender form part of the social reality of individuals the other determining feature is the class nature of individuals which is discussed in the next sections.

6.4 CLASS AND THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND ECONOMIC REPRODUCTION

Grain Surplus Households (Figure 5.2)

Ownership of the Means of Production

The typology of households based on land ownership and grain production is of limited use alone; it must be used in conjunction with the complexity of relations of reproduction and production into which individuals enter before an understanding of individual social reality can be obtained. This discussion follows Figure 5.2 of relationships in grain surplus households shown in Chapter 5.

Caste, as it has previously been noted, has a mediating role in these

categories; it can be seen that there are no low caste, sano jat, households represented in the grain surplus categories. The distribution of resources favours those of high caste as opposed to those of low caste. These resources include land and livestock and also include access to political power at the local and national level.

Land

Table 6.1 shows the extent of ownership of the means of production within grain surplus households. Out of the 18 case-studies seven households produce a grain surplus of over 20 muris, all of which is sold in local markets. These seven households are considered by other villagers to be wealthy.³³

The gift of land, as has been seen in Chapter 3, was used extensively by ruling parties to ensure loyalty of followers and to secure strong local power bases. Those households descended from the original birta holders in both Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun have remained wealthy, with large land-holdings, and surplus grain production. Control of the local political process lies in the hands of the same households: the pradhan pancha and adachaya, ward leader, are related and are both members of grain surplus households.³⁴

Large irrigated land-holdings are also characteristic of this group; houses are of three-storey tile and brick construction, with separate rooms for sleeping for different members of the household. Tiled roof houses are considered by villagers to be an indication of wealth: 'These landlords have become rich through buying land. They've built big houses with tiled roofs'

Household Name	Caste	No. of consumers per household		Consumption needs per household (muri)	Actual production (muri)			Total production (muri)	Surplus production (muri)
		Adults	Children		Rice	Maize	Millet		
GRAIN SURPLUS:									
Ram Bahadur Panday	Chetri	5	2	24	50	7.5	15	72.5	48.5
Kaji Ram Panday	Chetri	5	3	26	27.5	16.5	18	62	36
Hira Lal Shrestha	Newar	5	3	26	21	15	22	58	32
Dolma Kumari Lamichhane	Jaisi	7	2	32	30	16.5	18	64.5	32.5
Gunarej Lamichhane	Jaisi	6	4	32	30	15	16	61	29
Shyamsangari Panday	Chetri	6	1	26	35.5	12	10	57.5	31.5
Hari Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	22	10	108	76	30	30	136	28
GRAIN ADEQUATE:									
Netra Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	5	1	22	12.5	12	10	34.5	12.5
Ram Narayan Lamichhane	Jaisi	6	2	28	20	12	8	40	12
Firha Raj Lamichhane	Jaisi	5	0	20	12.5	11.25	8	31.75	11.75
Bil Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	2	4	16	5.5	9	6	20.5	4.5
Tanka Nanth Lamichhane	Jaisi	2	4	16	4.5	6.75	9	20.25	4.25
GRAIN DEFICIT:									
Gunga Lamichhane	Jaisi	1	0	4	0	2	0	2	-2
Kale Biswa Karma	Kami	4	1	18	0	4	3	7	-11
Thulo Kancha Sunaar	Sunaar	2	2	12	0	0	0.5	0.5	-11.5
Thakur Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	4	4	24	7.5	3	1	11.5	-12.5
Bil Bahadur Nepali	Damal	3	3	18	0	2	2	4	-14
Maya Sarki	Sarki	2	4	16	1.5	0.075	0	1.575	-14.425

TABLE 6.1: Annual Consumable Grain Production of Case Study Households: Tukucha Panchayat

(Gunga Lamichhane:69) ³⁵ Different roof types in Lamichhanegaun are indicated in Plate 6.1 which shows the three main types: thatch, tiles and corrugated iron.

Unequal access to land is also reflected in the distribution of other resources.

Livestock

Table 6.2 indicates the spread of livestock in numbers and types across the three categories of households in Tukucha panchayat. The types of animals kept by households are dependent on a number of factors including caste and economic position. Buffalo are kept by wealthier households to produce dairy products for sale in the nearby urban markets. The costs of maintaining buffalo are high and for the low castes there are no incentives to keep dairy livestock because they are prohibited by their ritual impurity from selling dairy produce to higher castes (Caplan, 1972:27). ³⁶ Cash from the sale of dairy products is one of the major sources of income for the grain surplus households.

Goats are kept by households in all three categories but grazing patterns vary according to the amount of land owned by the household. Those households with extensive land-holdings, in particular irrigated land, have good supplies of fodder and are able to maintain buffalo, cows and goats in stalls. However, those with small land-holdings, and little or no irrigated land are reliant on communally-owned land, usually forests, to graze their animals. Availability of labour is also a limiting factor and affects the pattern of livestock feeding; joint households with a large pool of

Household Name	Caste	Buffalo	Cows	Goats	Pigs
GRAIN SURPLUS:					
Ram Bahadur Panday	Chetri	1	2	3	0
Kaji Ram Panday	Chetri	1	4	2	0
Hira Lal Shrestha	Newar	3	2	2	0
Dolma Kumari Lamichhane	Jaisi	1	1	5	0
Gunaraj Lamichhane	Jaisi	4	2	5	0
Shyamsangari Panday	Chetri	0	3	2	0
Hari Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	5	7	9	0
GRAIN ADEQUATE:					
Netra Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	1	2	0	0
Ram Narayan Lamichhane	Jaisi	2	1	5	0
Firtha Raj Lamichhane	Jaisi	1	5	8	0
Bil Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	1	1	2	0
Tanka Nanth Lamichhane	Jaisi	0	3	0	0
GRAIN DEFICIT:					
Gunga Lamichhane	Jaisi	0	1*	2	0
Kale Biswa Karma	Kami	1*	0	1*	0
Thulo Kancha Sunaar	Sunaar	1*	0	0	0
Thakur Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	1	1	5	0
Bil Bahadur Nepali	Damai	0	1*	1*	0*
Maya Sarki	Sarki	0	2*	0	1*

* Tended

TABLE 6.2: Livestock Ownership by Grain Production Category of Case Study Households: Tukucha Panchayat

available labour are able to collect sufficient fodder for their stall-fed animals. Households with limited supplies of labour are reliant on children taking the animals to graze in the forest during school holidays, or reaching an agreement with another villager who will take animals from several households to graze in the forest.

Trees

Access to other productive resources is also more freely available to grain surplus households. The forest resources of this area are locally protected and access to them is restricted. Households are permitted to collect dry leaves and firewood for their own consumption but may not cut green firewood to store for the monsoon period. Those households with adequate amounts of land for their subsistence are able to leave areas of land fallow where trees are allowed to regenerate and are planted.³⁷ The trees are then used by the household to supply their needs of firewood and timber and in some circumstances are kept for sale when there is a large household expenditure such as a wedding.³⁸ Improved means of production such as chemical fertilizers and improved seeds have meant that those households with surplus income to spend on such commodities can raise their crop production and plant their less productive land with trees.³⁹ All the grain surplus households have adequate supplies of firewood from their own land but continue to use the forest for leaf litter for animal bedding.

Relations of Production and Reproduction within Households

In this section relationships of production and economic reproduction within the household are discussed. The description of tasks follows the generalised division of labour in agriculture, forests and domestic tasks as has been shown in Figures 6.9 - 6.11.

Division of Labour

Land

Women hold the major responsibility for work on unirrigated land with the lower value crops, whereas men carry out tasks related to the irrigated land and are solely responsible for ploughing. Responsibility for domestic tasks such as child care, cooking and washing of clothes remain in the female domain. As grain surplus households get richer and own more land, their women's labour tends to be withdrawn from direct work on the land into the house. In the study gauns, only one household had reached this stage where agricultural tasks normally performed by women were carried out by paid female labour.⁴⁰

Livestock

Grain surplus households have a number of tasks arising from their ownership of buffalo, cows and large areas of land which require labour inputs from each member of the household to ensure the continued economic reproduction of the household. Tasks associated with the production of dairy products and the care of high value animals such as buffalo are the province of the male members of the household. Low value animals such as goats are maintained by women and children. The daily

maintenance of all livestock through the provision of fodder and leaf litter for bedding are the work of younger women and children. Removal of soiled animal bedding is in general the task of daughter-in-laws.⁴¹

Forests

All forest products are collected by women; including leaf litter, dry firewood and grass:

Men are fully dependent on women for collecting grass and dry leaves. Women have more knowledge about forests than men. (Group discussion with women in Thapagaun:11-12)⁴²

Forest related tasks are shared equally amongst the women of a household, although older women, due to physical constraints, do not travel long distances to collect firewood or leaf litter.

Grain surplus households are able to supply much of their wood needs from their own land, and use the forests for a casual source of firewood, and for leaf litter. Men will cut down trees for firewood as women may not use an axe to cut wood. It was a source of embarrassment to one elderly woman when she was found cutting branches from a tree with an axe, she excused her 'unwoman-like' actions because she lived on her own and had no male kin to do this work for her.⁴³

Markets

Grain surplus households are involved to a greater extent in markets for products than are the other two categories of households. Surplus grain and other agricultural products are sold in local markets by the men and the income from the sale reinvested to a greater extent in the agricultural

production process, through the purchase of improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and other tools and technologies. Post-harvest processing of grains at the mechanised mill in the nearby town is also part of the male work pattern. ⁴⁴

Relations of Production and Reproduction with other Households

Labour Relationships

The striking difference between the three categories of households lies in the variation in their participation in the labour market. For the grain surplus households labour is hired-in on a regular basis throughout the agricultural year. Table 6.3 indicates the types of labour relationships entered into. Labour is hired mainly from the grain deficit households, although some male members of the grain adequate households will work for wages during the monsoon period. All the grain surplus households reported differential rates of pay for men and women, with men earning between Rs 5-20 per day more than women. During the monsoon men are paid Rs 30 per day and women Rs 10 per day. In the winter men's wages are Rs 15 and women's wages are Rs 10. Grain surplus households do not sell their labour on the local agricultural labour market, their employment in the external economy is in government service or in entrepreneurial occupations. ⁴⁵

Waged labour

Involvement in paid professional employment is also a characteristic of grain surplus households - one household numbers a pradhan pancha, a doctor, a headmaster, a dairy owner, a forest guard and a mill owner. This

HOUSEHOLD NAME	Household	Exchange	Hire-in	Hire-out	Tenant	Landlord
GRAIN SURPLUS:						
Ram Bahadur Panday	●		●			
Kaji Ram Panday	●	●				
Hira Lal Shrestha	●	●	●			
Dolma Kumari Lamichhane	●	●				
Gunaraj Lamichhane	●	●	●			
Shyamsangari Panday	●	●	●			
Hari Prasad Lamichhane	●	●	●	●		
GRAIN ADEQUATE:						
Netra Prasad Lamichhane	●	●				
Ram Narayan Lamichhane	●	●				
Firtha Raj Lamichhane	●	●		●	●	
Bil Prasad Lamichhane	●		●			
Tanka Nanth Lamichhane	●		●	●		
GRAIN DEFICIT:						
Gunga Lamichhane	●					
Kale Biswa Karma	●			●		
Thulo Kancha Sunaar	●			●		
Thakur Prasad Lamichhane	●	●		●		
Bil Bahadur Nepali	●			●	●	
Maya Sarki	●	●		●		

- Labour involved in agriculture
- Labour involved in agriculture and artisan work
- Labour involved in externally paid work (e.g. school)

TABLE 6.3: Labour Use by Grain Production Category of Case Study Households: Tukucha Panchayat

household also owns the local water mill, ghatta, which is used by those households which have insufficient male adult labour available to take their produce to the local town to be milled.⁴⁶ Charges for use of this mill are paid in rice: for one muri of flour the payment is 6 manas of rice.⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ The positions held by this household confer many advantages, they have greater access to cash income and government services and are the first household to be consulted when a development project enters the area.⁴⁹

Usurious Relationships

The extraction of surplus through usurious relationships with other villagers is a characteristic of the grain surplus households. Relations of usury are entered into by three of these households who charge interest rates on the money they loan to other villagers, for a loan of Rs 100 interest of Rs 24 a year will be charged. Loans are usually secured by the debtor's land, and in cases of loan defaulting the money-lender will take the land. Reforms introduced by the government in the 1960s, following the *Land Tenancy Act* of 1957, aimed to reduce these rates of interest to 10%. However, it has had little impact in the villages, where it is easier to obtain credit with local moneylenders than it is to take a loan with the Agricultural Development Bank.⁵⁰

Political Relationships

Formal relationships between households are regulated through the panchayat. Each ward elects five ward members and a ward leader to represent ward interests to the panchayat, decisions made at this level

affect allocation of resources between wards and between individual households. The dominance of grain surplus and high caste male individuals at the panchayat level is total, and political leadership is controlled by the grain surplus households.⁵¹ The major decision-making positions are occupied by members of related households. In Lamichhanegaun, the ward leader, the pradhan pancha, and the headmaster are all agnatic kin.⁵² In Pandaygaun, two agnatically related households hold the two key political positions of ward leader and leader of the newly constituted forest committee.

Caste Relationships

Caste is the relationship which dominates exchanges between households, it affects all aspects of an individual's interactions from the exchange of food to the exchange of women in marriage. The Jaisis and the Chetris are members of the 'twice-born' or tagadari group who wear the sacred thread. Their high caste status confers on them certain obligations to maintain their ritual purity, which determines their interactions with women and other caste and non-caste groups.

The Jaisis of Lamichhanegaun are the offspring of an Upadhya Brahmin and a Brahmin widow or divorcee, they do not have such high status as the Upadhayas and cannot act as priests. However, they consider themselves to be of higher ritual status than Chetris and will not accept food cooked by Chetris but this is also true in the converse situation (Bennett, 1983: 11; Fürer-Haimendorf 1966:19).

Clan groupings also determine relationships between households. In the

panchayat of Tukucha, settlements are formed of groups of clan members. For example in Lamichhanegaun, the Jaisi Lamichhane's all trace their ancestry to the same founding father - Sarbeswar Lamichhane. In Pandaygaun, the Pandays trace their ancestry to one man - Hari Panday. These clans - the Jaisis and the Pandays are patrilineal and exogamous, and therefore must form marriage relations with members of other clans, usually outside the local area. The sphere of local influence of these high caste groups spreads beyond their immediate area through connections of marriage.

In summary, the grain surplus households have the greatest access to and control over the means of production. Surplus grain production is sold on the market, where money from the sale is used to purchase superior means of production and commodities that cannot be produced within the household. This income is also used to pay hired labour, either to release women from work on the household land, or in cases of large land-holdings and inadequate household labour to ensure that the land is brought under full production. 'Those who have much land hire labourers on wages during the monsoon. Those who have little land exchange labour' (Gunaraj Lamichhane:141). Interest payments from loans also form an additional source of income.

Women within grain surplus households are restricted to the household land and local forests, where their labour contributes to the daily reproduction of the household and also to the production of grain surplus for sale by the men in local markets. Age also affects the participation of individuals in the labour process. Older men and women tend to stay within the house and care for children and the kitchen garden.⁵³

Grain Adequate Households (Figure 5.3)

Ownership of the Means of Production

The extent of ownership of means of production is limited in this group; irrigated land holdings are small in area and surplus grain production is insufficient to ensure the continued accumulation of land, livestock and cash. Ownership of the major means of production is described in Table 6.1.

Land

These households are vulnerable to any material change in their relations of production or reproduction. This is shown in each household history by periods of indebtedness and loss of means of production due to natural disasters, other causes or generational changes in the composition of the household. These incidences can push the household into grain deficit: 'we did not have enough to eat during my grandfather's period' (Ram Narayan Lamichhane: 39).⁵⁴

The grain sufficiency of these households is dependent on the cultivation of land to its maximum potential, so any income from the sale of agricultural products must be used to purchase chemical fertilizers and improved seeds:

These days we have more yield because of chemical fertilizer and improved seeds. (Ram Narayan Lamichhane:43)

The harvest has increased by one-third more than before. It's because of improved seeds and chemical fertilizers and so we have enough to eat these days. (Firtha Raj Lamichhane:55)

A diversity of crops and livestock are raised to protect against disease and changes in local markets for particular products. For example a disease of wheat over the past 4 years has led these households to change from wheat cultivation to growing potatoes on their irrigated land.⁵⁵ Excess potatoes are sold either from the home or taken to markets at Nala or Kathmandu. The households generally sell only potatoes and rice, as surplus maize is used to feed the animals.⁵⁶ However, this small surplus production does not protect these households from fluctuations in their material circumstances such as those arising from large capital outlays required for weddings or funerals.

Livestock

The amount of surplus agricultural production directly influences the number of animals a household may keep; the more surplus maize that there is, the less feed stuff has to be bought in from the market: 'We don't sell maize because we need it to feed our cattle and buffalo' (Ram Narayan Lamichhane:34). Table 6.2 shows the distribution of livestock amongst these households. However, grain adequate households with small or no surplus production cannot feed many animals either from the fodder available from their own land, or from the grain produced. Grass fodder is grown on the terrace edges of khet land and so the quantity available to a household is limited by the amount of irrigated land owned by the household.

Although each household in this group owns some animals, they do not own sufficient numbers to ensure a good return on the labour invested in them:

If we calculate all the expenses to feed the cows and buffaloes, we have no profit. (Netra Prasad Lamichhane:42)

We have no profit, we are in loss ... money from the sale of milk is not even enough to buy feed for the buffalo. (Bil Prasad Lamichhane:3)

Thus profits from raising one buffalo and selling its milk to the government dairy will not cover the outlay on feed.⁵⁷ Payment from the government dairy, run by a grain surplus household, is by volume and dependent on the fat content of the milk, and therefore if the household water the milk down they are paid a lower price. The teashops in Nala, the local market town, however, pay a higher price regardless of the fat content, but households with insufficient household labour do not have the time to take milk to these more lucrative markets:⁵⁸

We do not get any money if we don't sell milk, but our market is far away, so we cannot carry the milk there for sale. If we use the milk at home we will not have money to buy salt, and oil, so we have to sell even if we are in loss...We don't get much profit from selling the milk to the government dairy. We could have more if we could sell it in Nala to the tea shops in the bazaar. We don't make a profit from keeping animals or from agriculture. If there are few people at home to work in the fields we need to hire-in people on wages. The price of the crops obtained from the fields is just enough to pay their wages. (Bil Prasad Lamichhane:4-7)

One grain adequate household decided to invest in two buffalo and sell their milk directly to Nala rather than using the government dairy, in this way the household head has a regular monthly income of Rs 1000-1100 from milk.⁵⁹ Other households with one buffalo reported incomes of

Rs300-400 per month from milk sold to the government dairy.⁶⁰

Trees

Diversification in agricultural production is also reflected in the tree-planting practices of these households. Grain adequate households have sufficient area of unirrigated land to leave some less productive areas fallow to allow for regeneration of trees:

I have not planted trees on the bari, I have planted them on barren land because trees planted on the edges of fields cause a lower yield.....We have enough food from our other land so we were able to leave some land uncultivated. Moreover, we do not have enough time to cultivate it, and the trees grown on that land can be used for many purposes. (Ram Narayan Lamchhane:13-16)

The male head of each household had planted both timber and fruit trees around the house and in gully areas to widen the resource base of the household, products from these trees were for own use and for sale:⁶¹

We can have many benefits from private trees. We can use dry leaves for bedding for livestock. If the leaves are edible we can feed them to our livestock. If the tree bears fruit we can sell them. When the trees grow bigger, their timber can be used to build houses. (Ram Narayan Lamichhane:12)

Trees on private land are used for firewood and for timber for house construction for both current and future consumption needs: one male household head had left the trees to mature to be used for timber for his sons' houses, and in the interim he will use the side branches for firewood and leaf litter for animal bedding:

We have our own trees. It has been almost 15 years since we've been to the forest for firewood, we only go to the forest for leaf litter. (Tanka Nath Lamichhane:28)

Trees are also used as commodities to be sold in time of need, one household sells its trees instead of taking loans with money lenders because the interest rates are considered to be too high:

I prefer selling trees and other things rather than borrowing money from others. I will save trees even if they reduce the crop yield. (Bil Prasad Lamichhane:27)

These households also regulate their use of firewood, in the summer they use rice and maize stalks and also burn maize cobs:

We burn wheat and rice stalks, maize stalks and cobs...Sometimes we bake rotis, we don't need much firewood for cooking rotis. (Bil Prasad Lamichhane:31)

Instead of cooking rice which requires high temperatures over a long period they cook roti (a type of unleavened bread) as a substitute which can be cooked over a small fire. ⁶²

Diet

The types of food commonly eaten by households are used by villagers to judge relative wealth. ⁶³ Those grain adequate households with low rice production reduce their intake of rice and use maize as the main staple, one male household head describes the actions commonly taken by 'poor' people:

Poor people like to eat maize and millet because they are cheaper compared to rice. Rich people eat rice. So those who are rich and want to eat rice sell their maize and millet and

buy rice if they don't produce enough. Poor people sell rice and buy cheaper food such as millet and maize flour. Those who have enough eat good food and those who don't eat bad food. (Firtha Raj Lamichhane: 64)

To ensure the continued reproduction of the household with limited means of production the grain adequate households adopt such mechanisms as eating poorer quality foods and those foods which require shorter cooking times.

Relations of Production and Reproduction within Households

Division of Labour

The division of labour described for grain surplus households is followed by grain adequate households (Figures 6.9-6.11), although where men work for seasonal agricultural wages the women take a heavier burden of agricultural tasks. Sickness and lack of adult household labour leads to some changes in the division of labour between men and women. In the case of one household the husband, Tanka Nath Lamichhane, is unable to work due to illness, and his wife has had to take paid employment to ensure that they can pay for agricultural wage labour to compensate for the loss of labour power on the land. Bauni Maya collects milk from a depot higher up the ridge and carries it to the government dairy at Banepa, a large town on the main road to Kathmandu. The money she obtains from this job she uses for household expenses and for her personal use - clothing and cigarettes:

I carry milk to the government dairy in Banepa for 9 months of the year..I get paid Rs 150 every two weeks....I leave home at 5 or 6 o'clock and return home at 1 o'clock.....Since I get paid bi-monthly, I can manage household expenses with the money. (Bauni Maya Lamichhane:34-36)

They have also sold some unirrigated land to provide cash to pay for commodities.⁶⁴

Forests

For all the grain adequate households forest related tasks remain the responsibility of women as does the care of children, low value animals and tasks associated with the crop production of unirrigated land.

Markets

The degree to which these households are incorporated into the market economy is not as great as for grain surplus households. However, any surplus that is produced is sold in local markets by male members of the household.⁶⁵ The income used from the sale of agricultural produce is used to purchase commodities necessary for the reproduction of the household, such as kerosene for lighting, oil for cooking, clothes, salt and spices.⁶⁶

Relations of Production and Reproduction with other Households

Labour Relationships

Grain adequate households generally secure their subsistence through the use of household labour or exchange labour with affinal households. The distribution of labour amongst these households is shown in Table 6.3. However, those households with insufficient adult labour are forced to

hire in additional agricultural labour to ensure their subsistence production. This is a cost which is not covered by the income produced from the sale of surplus production of maize and millet, and forces some households to seek waged employment as seasonal agricultural labourers. In most cases, previous generations of grain adequate households were also unable to produce sufficient for the reproduction of the household and were forced to sell their labour locally:

We used to go to Nala, Banepa and Bhaktapur for labouring work. We bought food grain with that money. (Firtha Raj Lamichhane:55)

During our father's time we did not have enough to eat. We did wage labour for money for food. (Bil Prasad Lamichhane:13)

Some male members of grain adequate households participate in the agricultural labour market during the monsoon, when wages are higher and agricultural work freely available in the villages.⁶⁷ However, these households also occasionally hire in agricultural labour when their own household labour is insufficient to ensure the completion of all the agricultural tasks. Unlike the grain surplus households where labour is hired-in on a regular basis, the grain adequate households with little surplus income to spare to pay for waged labour must use this income only when it is not possible to use household or exchange labour.⁶⁸

All the grain adequate households hire in oxen and a ploughman from neighbouring Tamang households to plough their land, as they cannot afford to maintain a pair of oxen.⁶⁹ The cost for this service is Rs 50 per day which is usually paid partially in cash and the remainder in exchange labour:

Now they have started charging Rs 50 per day. We pay some of the amount in labour exchange and some in money. For one day of ploughing we need to give three people's labour. (Netra Prasad Lamichhane:52-53) ⁷⁰

Usurious Relationships

Relationships between grain surplus and grain adequate households are conducted on several levels: through economic and caste based relationships including: usury; inter-household exchange of labour; waged labour and exchange of women through marriage. Loss of means of production through indebtedness is common amongst this group of households:

I had borrowed Rs 2400 but I was not able to pay even the interest and so the debt was doubled. I had to sell my land to the money-lender to repay the loan. (Tanka Nath Lamichhane:7)

One household lost their land to a money-lender who had been cultivating their land in lieu of interest on the money that had been borrowed from him. The household head could not pay the money back, so the money-lender appropriated the land and registered it in his name:

In a way you could say that I sold the land, the money-lender took it. The land was mortgaged, so the money-lender was cultivating the land in lieu of interest on the money I had borrowed from him. I could not pay the money back so I gave the land to the money-lender, he then registered the land in his name, that is how I have less land these days than before. (Firtha Raj Lamichhane:56-58)

This same household later took out another loan with the Agricultural Development Bank at an interest rate of 12% which increased to 18% because the loan was not repaid within a set period:

I borrowed the money to buy buffalo. I paid Rs 4,000 for a buffalo in the Terai. But the buffalo died one month after I had bought it, and its calf also died. Then I went to the Bank to tell them about this, but the people (bankers) did not care about my petition, and so we still owe money to the Agricultural Development Bank. (Firtha Raj Lamichhane:59-60)

Lack of sufficient household labour, land and milk-producing livestock with which to bring in a regular income forced many of these grain adequate households to borrow money to buy more land (rates of interest were 24%). In the case of one household they were forced to sell buffalo and goats, and at one time to reduce their food intake to repay this loan:

I sold buffalo and goats, sometime we stopped eating and saved in that way. We need to be afraid if we owe money. We don't need to be afraid of the money-lender if we pay him back. (Bil Prasad Lamichhane:18)

Cyclical change within a households' ownership of the means of production is common to all categories of households. The grain adequate households interviewed all had histories which indicated periods of greater wealth, and loss of land and livestock to repay debts.

Tenancy Relationships

In Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun, tenancy relationships amongst the grain surplus and adequate households are not common. However, the primary school in Lamichhanegaun owns an area of 55 ropanis of guthi land next to the school, which is rented out to seven grain adequate households, the total rent on which is 22 muri and 17 pathi (1 muri = 20 pathis). Initially the rent was paid in maize and now it is paid either in cash or kind, after a decision made by the school management committee:

In the beginning cereals were paid as the rent, but later the school's management committee asked for the rent to be paid in money. The money is deposited in the school account and used to pay the teachers and buy materials. (Hari Prasad Lamichhane:103)

Firtha Raj Lamichhane is a tenant of the school guthi land and pays them a fixed rent in maize of 3 muris and 17 pathis, the land produces between 4-5 muris of grain. Thus there are limited advantages to the tenant of cultivating this land, although they have rights over any additional crops that they raise and also access to the trees on the land for firewood. This household have been cultivating the land for 16 years, initially they had to pay half the produce in rent, known as an adhiya rent, but this was altered to a fixed rent a few years later:

In the beginning the land was barren, we ploughed and dug the land in 2027 BS (1971 AD), and grew crops there from 2028 BS (1972 AD). That year we paid half the yield to the school and from 2029 BS (1973 AD) we have been paying a fixed rent....We do have advantages, we have two crops maize and millet in a year and we also grow some potatoes, Besides this we also have grass for fodder and dry leaves for bedding. Since there are also some trees on the land we can cut them for firewood. (Firtha Raj Lamichhane:52-53)

In summary, grain adequate households have limited access to the means of production and are reliant on household labour, and in particular women's labour, to ensure the continued reproduction of the household. Small surplus production leaves these households vulnerable to any unexpected change in their material circumstances and may force the household into deficit production. Generally, they do not hire-in agricultural labour unless they have insufficient household labour

available, preferring to exchange labour with other households rather than pay cash for labour.

Grain Deficit Households

Ownership of the Means of Production

Relationships within and outside the household are determined by their limited ownership of the means of production. Grain deficit households have the least access to and ownership of the means of production.

Land

As can be seen from Table 6.1, all households own some unirrigated land but four households own no irrigated land. Rice, as the principal commodity of exchange, is produced on a limited basis by this group. They have no surplus production for sale or exchange and must therefore sell their labour to earn cash with which to buy grain for their subsistence, or labour for in-kind payment in rice. The artisan castes or sano jat which comprise the majority of households in this category are described by women of one grain surplus household as poor because:

.....they don't have land. They have to go to Patan to make bricks for 3-4 months of the year, they only return during the summer when they earn their livelihood by working for others on wages. (Satibama and Shyamsangari Panday:76)

Livestock

Ownership of livestock, as shown in Table 6.2, follows the same pattern of distribution as for land, with households either owning small numbers of animals or tending animals for other households. Livestock ownership reflects the relations of surplus extraction into which they must enter to ensure their subsistence. Tending animals for other households is a common characteristic of this group because they are unable to buy animals or pay for feed for them. The tending relationship requires that the tending household rears the animal, and as payment for the expenditure of their labour for the maintenance of the animal they may retain half shares in the offspring or half of the sale price. If the animal does not give birth then the tending household will benefit only from its manure: ⁷¹

If the cow gives birth, then we can half shares in the calf. If she does not give birth we only have rights to the cow-dung for fertilizer. (Maya Sarki:5)

We have been raising the goat belonging to a man from Dulalgaun for 6 months. The goat belongs to the owner but we get half of its offspring. (Bil Bahadur Nepali:3)

In these small, generally nuclear households there is no surplus labour and the tending agreement places an additional burden on the labour force. In some cases there is little benefit in tending an animal, the cost of feeding a buffalo is high and will not be repaid on sale of the animal. In one case the owner of the animal keeps the first Rs 550 of the sale price and any money over and above this will be divided between the owner and the tender:

Rs 550 was set aside for him first. The income above this amount will have to be divided into two equal shares. It's hard to keep buffalo. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:32)

Trees

Communally owned resources such as forests are essential to the maintenance of the subsistence of these households. They have no surplus income to buy chemical fertilizers and must rely on leaf litter from the forest and animal manure for fertilizer. They have insufficient land to allow trees to grow, and they must secure their firewood and fodder needs from the forests:

Those who have their own trees can cut firewood and store it for the summer. But we don't have trees on our fields...poor people like us have to go and collect our firewood from the forest. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:36)

Insecurity of tenure on their land also dictates against planting a long term resource.

These households with inadequate areas of land for subsistence cannot leave any part of their land under trees, since they must produce as much grain as is possible. They make the greatest use of the forests and are affected most by decisions to restrict access. (See Chapter 8 p.312 for a discussion of the perceptions by grain deficit households of the impact of a forestry development project on local management of forests).

Vulnerability to disaster is greater in these small grain deficit households; labour is limited with many of the adult members migrating to

India or to Kathmandu for work, and thus the remaining members of the household are left exposed to the limits of their subsistence production. Migration of adult members leaves the old and young behind to subsist on their inadequate production. Any externally imposed change in this fragile economy can lead to the complete destruction of the household with the eventual dispersal of its members. One such adjustment to the economy through changing control over the means of production, is through external intervention in local management of forests, placing the management in the hands of the grain surplus households, and restricting local access to forests for those without access to political power:

If the villagers own the forest they may protect it or they may destroy it. If the guard is from the village he may allow only the rich people and not the poor to use the forest. If there is a government guard he may treat everyone equally. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:75)

Diet

Economy through alteration of the nutritional content of the diet of the household is characteristic of grain deficit households. As was previously described for some grain adequate households, they recognise their poverty in the types of food that they eat: 'Rich people have lentils, rice and vegetables to eat, but we poor people have to depend on a porridge of maize flour and vegetables' (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:6).

Relations of Production and Reproduction within Households

Division of Labour

The division of labour between men and women previously described for the other two categories of household is also followed by grain deficit households, since labour relationships between individuals based on gender transcend divisions of class. Forest related tasks remain the responsibility of women as does the care of low value animals such as goats. However, male migration for work for long periods leaves the women solely responsible for the agricultural production process, and in many cases women are forced to hire out their labour for cash or kind payment to secure the consumption needs of their children and themselves.⁷² Thus unlike women of grain surplus households whose labour is withdrawn into the house, grain deficit women are forced into the labour market and often have to seek employment outside the village in towns and cities.

Since the majority of grain deficit households are nuclear, the conflicts between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law are absent. Husband and wife both tend to take an equal role in decisions which involve the daily and long-term needs of the households, where the wife is responsible for all the daily domestic tasks which would otherwise be shared in a joint household. It is not until the children of the household are old enough to help with both agricultural and domestic tasks that the wife is released from an unrelenting burden of work.

Markets

The grain deficit position of these households means that they do not enter the markets to sell their products. However, certain commodities must be purchased for which cash is needed and obtained through wage labour. These commodities are purchased by the men and not the women, but decisions to purchase household items such as cooking oil emanate from the women.⁷³

Relations of Production and Reproduction with other Households

Amongst the households studied in Tukucha none had sufficiently large land-holdings to warrant employing permanent tenant farmers. Grain deficit households thus had to rely on seasonal agricultural labour or migration to India or Kathmandu for manual labour to secure the subsistence of their households.⁷⁴

Labour Relationships

Members of all the grain deficit households expect to have to work for wage labour to pay for the grains necessary for the reproduction of the household. The type of labour falls into two categories: migration for long-term employment to Kathmandu or India; and local seasonal work as agricultural labourers. The latter option is badly paid and for grain deficit households is rarely practised if they have labour available for migration. However, for small families with young children it is difficult for adult members of the household to be able to earn sufficient to cover their subsistence needs, as they are unable to migrate for labour. These

households are vulnerable to any change in the adult labour composition, for example through death, where reduction in the number of adults available to work household land leaves these households unable to meet their consumption requirements:

It is harder to get sufficient to eat these days....Before the family was larger and so more people could earn wages....Now my two brothers are dead and it is difficult to get enough money for food. (Bil Bahadur Nepali:22-25)

Several of the households leave their land fallow and migrate for 6 months to Patan, in the Kathmandu Valley, to work in the brickfields.⁷⁵ In the case of the Sarki, cobbler, household, the advent of cheap shoes from China and India has meant the total collapse of their shoe-making trade, relationships in the village which were based on this trade have disintegrated and the household is forced to migrate for manual labour.⁷⁶ However, when households have young children they are unable to migrate and the women must remain at home and farm their land and also work as agricultural labourers:

As we don't produce enough crops to eat, we have to go to Patan for manual labour - making bricks for almost half of the year. We have to leave our house, land and everything here, some things have to be sold and some given away to others. The maize plants are quite tall by the time we return. We cannot go to Patan now as we have a small baby. Now I want to labour for others in the village and feed the children. It is hard to earn a livelihood. (Maya Sarki:10)

In the case of agricultural labour differential wages are paid to men and women, Rs 15 for men and Rs 10 for women.⁷⁷ The type of employment entered into by grain deficit households varies according to the generational structure of the household.

One male head of a grain deficit household has paid employment as the school peon, in this case a caretaker, and is also in charge of the forest nursery. However, his salary of Rs 400 per month is used in part to repay an outstanding loan with the money-lender.⁷⁸ Since one male adult's labour is taken up with paid labour, the household have a limited and inadequate supply of labour to ensure their subsistence production from their land. The children are too young to contribute fully to their own consumption requirements, and so maintenance of household subsistence is achieved through the labour of Thakur Prasad's, wife and any income left surplus after payment of interest on the loan is used to hire-in labour.⁷⁹

As with the other categories of households labour is exchanged when it is available with other affinal households. The types of labour relationships entered into by these households are shown in Table 6.3. However, because labour is limited and is necessary to the maintenance of each household there is no regular exchange of labour as in the grain adequate households. At certain times labour will be requested from affinal households to help in house construction or other large labour-intensive tasks.⁸⁰

Patron-client relationships between sano jat and other castes are formalised through the sale of their particular artisan services. The client household is known as the bista, a term which is also used by the sano jat to denote higher caste. The bista household pays an annual fee in grain, balli, for the services of the Kami (blacksmith) or Damai (tailor) in the forthcoming year.⁸¹ One blacksmith described his relations to his high-caste bistas in the following terms:

If the bistas come to our home we would tie our buffalo in the courtyard. We would give them utensils and rice to cook, and they would cook their own food. They would milk the buffalo and eat the rice and in this way they would pass the time until their tools were ready. (Thulo Kancha Kami:11)

In the case of the Damai study household he does not have bista clients but sells his services locally for money.⁸² The sano jat arrived in the area about 60 years ago at a time when the villages were expanding and there was a demand for their services.⁸³ Restrictions on access to surrounding forest has meant that blacksmiths working in the area are reliant on their clients supplying them with trees to make charcoal. In exchange for trees the blacksmith will make tools for the client free of charge.⁸⁴ One blacksmith household has 30 to 40 bista households, who pay between 12 manas and 2 pathis of grain annually for the services of the blacksmith.⁸⁵ This grain must provide the subsistence needs of the household because their land-holdings are inadequate, and all adult male household labour is used to service the needs of the blacksmithy:

My grandfather's land has been shared between 10 households, how can there be enough land for us to live off? (Kale Biswa Karma:44)

Tenancy Relationships

One household is a tenant of guthi land, which belongs to the temple.⁸⁶ They have use of the land and must pay half its produce as rent to the pujari who maintains the temple:⁸⁷

Since the rent is adhiya we share the crops 50-50. If the yield is 12 pathis, we have 6 pathis each. (Bil Bahadur Nepali:13)

Initially the rent was fixed at a rate of 11 pathis of maize, and was later changed to half the produce of one harvest - maize. The extra crops produced from this land are used to supplement the household's diet, but do not provide sufficient food to maintain the household for the whole year: 'We work for wages to buy food when we are in deficit' (Bil Bahadur Nepali:15).

Usurious Relationships

Loss of the major means of production - land, is a common occurrence within this group, and the mechanisms through which other individuals acquire the land vary. One of the major mechanisms is through indebtedness. Loans are taken out by these households to buy livestock, land, dowries and to pay for unexpected expenses incurred through sickness.⁸⁸ Repayment of interest and principal is difficult and involves working for wages and also working for the money-lender. In some cases debtors pay back interest through raising animals for other households. However, in many cases money-lenders will foreclose on the debtor and take the land given as security for the loan.

There are many stories of illegal seizure of land generally told by the sano jat to account for their poverty:

It has been two generations since we came to this village. This is my mother's parent's home. Since I had no maternal uncles to inherit the property my father left his property in Janagal and came to live here. I used to have enough land, but I was very young when my parents died, so other people took the land. The

leaders of the village, the Chetris took the land and began to cultivate it; they registered it in their name. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:12)

Mortgaging of land is common and accounts for much of the land transfer and accumulation that has occurred in these villages. The certificate of land ownership is handed to the money lender who may then cultivate the land himself or allow the debtor to sharecrop the land whilst the debt is being repaid.⁸⁹ Generally members of the sano jat will first approach their bistas for loans and other material help:

I took a loan with one of my bistas, from the pradhan pancha. I borrowed Rs 100-150 a year ago, I have to repay the interest as well. (Bil Bahadur Nepali:39)⁹⁰

The existence of these patron-client relationships places obligations on the patron to give aid to the client in time of need: old clothing is given to the debtor, and interest is not charged on loans, but the debtor must give his labour to the money-lender whenever it is required.⁹¹

Caste Relationships

The sano jat form the major proportion of grain deficit households in these villages. Their caste determines and directs the relationships into which they may enter. Caste relationships function at the level of appearance through the rules promulgated to maintain the ritual purity of the twice-born high castes which regulate the social interactions between high and low caste. Observance of these rules ensures the maintenance of the socially subservient role of the low caste individual: commensal

relationships may not be entered into, for example a low caste person may not enter the home or prepare rice for a high caste person. A low caste person must stand outside a tea shop and wash out his or her own glass, and must avoid physical contact with a high caste person.⁹²

Although caste is the idiom through which relationships of exploitation are conducted, it is not the only mechanism through which individuals are excluded from access to means of production: 'A kami may be a minister, I belong to the same caste but people do not treat us equally. So it is not only caste that causes differentiation it is money also' (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:19).

Relationships of exploitation are recognised by the poor but they feel powerless to change these relationships. As the women commented on the inevitable domination of men over women in a patriarchal system so do the poor perceive their relationships with the rich in a society dominated by those who own and control the means of production:

Everybody listens to the rich but no-one listens to the poor even if they shout. If some project comes to the village, the rich go to the front and take their share of the money: the poor get nothing...It is a long time since the panchayat system was introduced but the poor have not benefitted from it.....If we go to a feast, they say "wait you will eat later", finally they return and say - "the food is finished". Is there any value in the feast for the poor? (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:17)

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

The case studies indicate the mechanisms of surplus extraction through which differentiation of individuals occurs. They reveal the appearance at the empirical level of relationships of class and gender through the expression by individuals of their understanding of their relationships.

Women are subordinated to men through their lack of ownership of the means of production. They are also subordinated through relations of human reproduction, which are reinforced through caste structures, and the maintenance of male ritual purity. However, individual experience of relationships of human reproduction is dependent on the age of the individual. Thus women within a household will experience different relationships with each other according to their age. Experience of economic relationships is dependent on class. Thus grain deficit women are forced to sell their labour power, whereas grain surplus women may withdraw their labour power from the fields into the house. Women as a category are divided by their age and their class.

An examination of the ownership of the major means of production - land amongst the three categories of households has shown how grain surplus households are able to accumulate sufficiently through sales of surplus grain to invest in superior means of production such as fertilizers and seeds. Surplus cash is also used to enter into money-lending relationships and to hire-in agricultural labour. Use of agricultural waged labour releases member of the household, particularly women, from work on the household land. Political control within the panchayat is also held by these grain surplus households.

Grain adequate households have limited access to the means of production, and produce only small grain surpluses for sale. They are reliant on household and exchange labour particularly women's to maintain the economic reproduction of the household.

Grain deficit households through their limited access to land are forced to sell their labour either as agricultural wage labourers or as seasonal migrants to the cities. They are vulnerable to exploitation through usurious relationships which often leads to the loss of means of production including land and livestock. Both men and women must enter the wage labour system to ensure the continued reproduction of the household. The division of labour between men and women is indistinct due to the fact that women are often left responsible for the maintenance of the household land and must either employ male agricultural labour or perform tasks normally associated with men.

These relationships of social control are strengthened through the caste system, but ultimately it is the relations of class and gender which are determinate. In Chapter 7 caste is replaced by ethnicity as a mediator of the relations of production and reproduction and their expression at the level of appearances.

NOTES

1. It has a total population of 3022 (1981 census), of which 1590 are women and 1432 are men.
2. Balabhadra Dulal:32; Hari Prasad Lamichhane:50.
3. See Chapter 3 (p.61) for a description of this legal code.
4. Gunaraj Lamichhane:55.
5. Gunaraj Lamichhane:55-62.
6. Five Jaisi-Brahmin, Lamichhane households and two Newar Shrestha, households (Gunaraj Lamichhane:54).
7. Hira Lal Shrestha:40.
8. Hari Prasad Lamichhane:48-52; Gunaraj Lamichhane:67-68.
9. Information on the physical construction of the village is derived from my own observation and interviews with all the households of Lamichhanegaun.
10. Altitude range of the gaun is 1480 m-1560 m.
11. Gunga Lamichhane:10.
12. From discussions with members of each village about events in the other village it became obvious that villagers were ignorant of others' affairs unless they were related.
13. I do not, however, discuss in detail each woman's role in the household, but I use the information gained from those respondents with whom I formed the closest relationships.
14. Liddle and Joshi (1986:142-5) in a review of Indian household types show that Indian women would rather live in a nuclear household where they are free of the constraints of a joint household.
15. From a conversation with Lala Panday (Field Notes, 1987).

16. From fieldwork observations. I lived in several households where I noted the internal allocation of tasks between women at different stages of the generational and reproductive hierarchy.
17. From fieldwork observations.
18. See Bennett (1983:165-212) for a detailed discussion of the mistrust and suspicion that daughter-in-laws are held in by other members of the affinal family: 'Sexual love is considered the keenest pleasure known to the senses. But it is felt to be destructive to a man's physical and spiritual well being. Women are powerful, demanding, seductive - and ultimately destructive'.
19. The Bartaman ceremony observed during my fieldwork marks the initiation of young, in this case seven year old, high-caste boys into their Hindu caste and lineage. Their acceptance into their lineage and caste are marked by the sacred thread which they will wear for the rest of their lives. This indicates that they are 'ritually and morally responsible for all (their) actions' (Bennett, 1983:61), and therefore must respect and follow all the rules which maintain their ritually pure positions with respect to women, lower castes and non-castes.
20. See Bennett (1983:215) for details of other such cases.
21. Discussion with Ambika Khatri (Field Notes, 1986).
22. From discussions with Satibama Panday and Gunga Lamichhane (Field Notes, 1986).
23. Bennett (1983:215) describes how menstrual blood came to be polluting, it is recorded in the Story of the Rishi Pancami Fast. There are four stages through which a woman passes: on the first day she is like a candalini (accursed and damned woman); on the second day she is as sinful as one who has killed a Brahmin. On the third day she is equal to a rajhki or dhobini (washerwoman); and on the fourth day she is purified.
24. Such taboos against women climbing trees are widespread throughout the world, other reference to the operation of this taboo include Harris (1943) who writes about the Ozuitem Ibo of Nigeria: 'The only rigid taboo with respect to forest use relates to the absolute prohibition of women from climbing trees.'

25. Informal discussion with Kanchi Panday (Field Notes, 1987).
26. Gunga Lamichhane:95.
27. From Informal discussions (Field Notes, 1986).
28. Maya Shrestha:3-5.
29. Discussions with Gunga Lamichhane and Annapurna Lamichhane (Field Notes, 1986).
30. Maya Shrestha:15.
31. From field observation of one female-headed household where her young daughter would take the buffalo milk to the government dairy each morning before school.
32. Informal discussion with a group of women (Field Notes, 1986).
33. From interviews with households in Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun (Field Notes, 1986).
34. Kapil Dev Lamichhane, pradhan pancha, and Gunaraj Lamichhane, adachya, are brothers. Kapil Dev's eldest son is the headmaster.
35. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:52.
36. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:5.
37. Gunaraj Lamichhane:84; Hari Prasad Lamichhane:32; Kaji Ram Panday:13.
38. Gunaraj Lamichhane:86; Dolma Kumari Lamichhane:14.
39. Hari Prasad Lamichhane:15.
40. Ram Bahadur Panday:14.
41. From field-work observations and questioning.
42. Satibama Panday and Shyamsangari Panday:48

43. Informal discussion with Gunga Lamichhane (Field Notes, 1986).
44. From observations in Nala and information from villagers.
45. Hari Prasad Lamichhane is the local headmaster; Gunaraj Lamichhane's son is a security guard at the Royal Palace in Kathmandu.
46. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:36.
47. Gunga Lamichhane: 95.
48. One muri of flour is equivalent to 160 manas.
49. From fieldwork observations.
50. Ram Bahadur Panday:39.
51. From fieldwork observations.
52. Gunaraj Lamichhane, Kapil Dev Lamichhane and Hari Prasad Lamichhane.
53. From fieldwork observations.
54. Firtha Raj Lamichhane:57
55. Ram Narayan Lamichhane:23; Netra Prasad Lamichhane:38.
56. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:38; Ram Narayan Lamichhane:26.
57. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:43; Bil Prasad Lamichhane:3.
58. From information from teashop owners in Nala and Ram Narayan Lamichhane:37; Bil Prasad Lamichhane:6.
59. Ram Narayan Lamichhane:38.
60. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:43.

61. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:13; Firtha Raj Lamichhane:4; Bil Prasad Lamichhane:23; Tanka Nath Lamichhane:25-26.
62. This practice of eating roti instead of rice was used by villagers to identify households which they considered to be poor because they were unable to serve rice meals regularly.
63. I also used these food indicators in my initial classifications of households whilst working in the villages. I was often told by grain surplus households that I must not stay with a particular household because they did not eat rice and they were therefore poor and unfit for me to stay with.
64. Tanka Nath Lamichhane: 60-61. He sold the land for Rs 7500.
65. Ram Narayan Lamichhane:58; Netra Prasad Lamichhane:45; Firtha Raj Lamichhane:51; Tanka Nath Lamichhane:62; Bil Prasad Lamichhane:12.
66. Tanka Nath Lamichhane:62.
67. Firtha Raj Lamichhane:67; Tanka Nath Lamichhane:34.
68. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:48; Ram Narayan Lamichhane:44; Bil Prasad Lamichhane:7.
69. Netra Prasad Lamichhane:52; Firtha Raj Lamichhane:68.
70. One day's ploughing is equivalent to 3 man days of exchange labour. This is calculated on the equivalence of one man's labour to one oxen's labour, and therefore totals three man days with two oxen and one ploughman.
71. Gunga Lamichhane (Field Notes, 1986); Thulo Kancha Sunaar:32; Kale Biswa Karma:3.
72. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:31; Maya Sarki:10.
73. Maya Sarki:4; Gunga Lamichhane: 96.
74. Maya Sarki:10; Bil Bahadur Nepali:3; Kale Biswa Karma:22; Thakur Prasad Lamichhane:1.

75. Maya Sarki:32; Bauni Maya and Biswa Karma:1.
76. Maya Sarki: 10.
77. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:3; Maya Sarki:10; Bil Bahadur Nepali:33; Thakur Prasad Lamichhane:36.
78. Thakur Prasad Lamichhane (p.7): "I work as a peon for the school, for that I am paid Rs 100 per month. I also work in the nursery for which I am paid Rs 300..."
79. A large debt to a money-lender was incurred whilst building their house four years ago to pay for the cost of the house - Rs 60,000 (Thakur Prasad Lamichhane:10).
80. Bil Bahadur Nepali:30.
81. From discussions with bistas and sano jat members.
82. Bil Bahadur Nepali:7.
83. Bil Bahadur Nepali:28.
84. Kale Biswa Karma:33.
85. Kale Biswa Karma:39.
86. Bil Bahadur Nepali:14.
87. A pujari is the person who looks after the temple and also performs daily worship. However, he is not necessarily responsible for rituals outside the temple.
88. Bil Bahadur Nepali:43.
89. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:12.
90. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:5.
91. Thulo Kancha Sunaar:5.

92. From field work observations and discussion I noted that sano jat will hold out their hands to have an object dropped into it rather than have it handed to them.

CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF A PANCHAYAT: BANSKHARKA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Social reality for individuals is composed at several levels of abstraction and is reflected in day to day relationships and experiences. The level of appearances represents the expression of the class, gender and caste or ethnic group. In Tukucha, described in the previous chapter, relationships of caste dominated individual relationships and determined access to means of production and the political process. In Banskharka, described in this chapter, caste is replaced by ethnic group as the mediator of class and gender, and determinant of access to the means of production. The historical construction of the ethnic groups now forms the individual reality of men and women.

The level of appearances (or the observation of the concrete at the empirical level) is based on relations of human reproduction and on categories of ownership of the means of production. The three categories of households, grain surplus, grain adequate and grain deficit described in Chapter 5 are used in this chapter to differentiate between households on the basis of their ownership of productive resources and labour; and between individuals on the basis of their gender relations.

7.2 BANSKHARKA - ITS PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

Banskharka lies to the north-east of Kathmandu, a day's journey away on foot and by bus. This panchayat was chosen for its known strong political leadership and history of forest protection. These are described in Chapter 8. The villages selected for study within the panchayat are spread down one hillside, and lie in three wards of the panchayat.¹ The ethnic composition of this panchayat is predominantly Tamang with Lamas, Sherpas, Chetris, Newars, Brahmins and sano jat, or artisan castes, also represented.

The three villages studied, Jalshe, Lamatol and Khanaltol, are physically isolated from each other but they are closely linked through relationships of usury and share-cropping. Each village is differentiated on the basis of caste and ethnic group, with individual households linked through kinship and economic ties. Sherpa, Lama, Tamang and Chetri are the main ethnic and caste groups in the study villages.

Lamas, Tamangs and Sherpas

The Lama and Tamang groups practice the same form of lamaistic Buddhism. The Lamas consider themselves as distinct from and superior in status to the Tamangs. There are contradictions between the Tamang and Lama practice of Buddhism where Tamangs use Lama priests for their major life cycle rituals but also continue to worship local deities with animal sacrifices, and refer to dhamis for medicinal healing (Fürer-Halmendorf, 1956:174).² Within the Tamang group there are differences between the degree of adherence to Buddhist doctrine in terms

of eating meat. The Gales, a separate clan, will eat mutton but not buffalo or beef, whereas the Dongs will eat both buffalo and beef.³ In the view of a Chetri informant all Tamangs are the same, and rank low in his perception of ritual hierarchy:

The Tamangs since they eat beef, they are equivalent to sarkis, cobblers, but they're not untouchables. (Bahadur Thapa:70)

Further differentiation has occurred within the Lama group where the term Sherpa has been adopted recently by some households. The use of the name Sherpa does not represent any direct connection between the people of this area and the Sherpas of Khumbu in eastern Nepal but represents the expression of a political allegiance to this wealthier and more prestigious group (Clarke, 1980:79). Ritual relations exist between the Sherpa groups, the Lamas and Tamangs, and they describe these relationships to be those of dhal-bhal (older brother-younger brother).⁴ This relationship implies a certain set of ritual and obligatory relationships; intermarriage is also forbidden between lineages of the same clan (Clarke, 1980:80). However, the determinate relationships between these groups are not those of lineage but are those of economic formation. Economic and ritual status ascribes the Tamangs with a lower position in relation to the Lamas and Sherpas.⁵

Jalshe and Its Construction (Plate 7.4)

Jalshe is the name given by its Sherpa inhabitants to a collection of seven households which are clustered on a steep hillside at an altitude close to the limits of cultivation (2150m). It lies on one of the major trading routes between Tibet and Nepal. The seven households that constitute



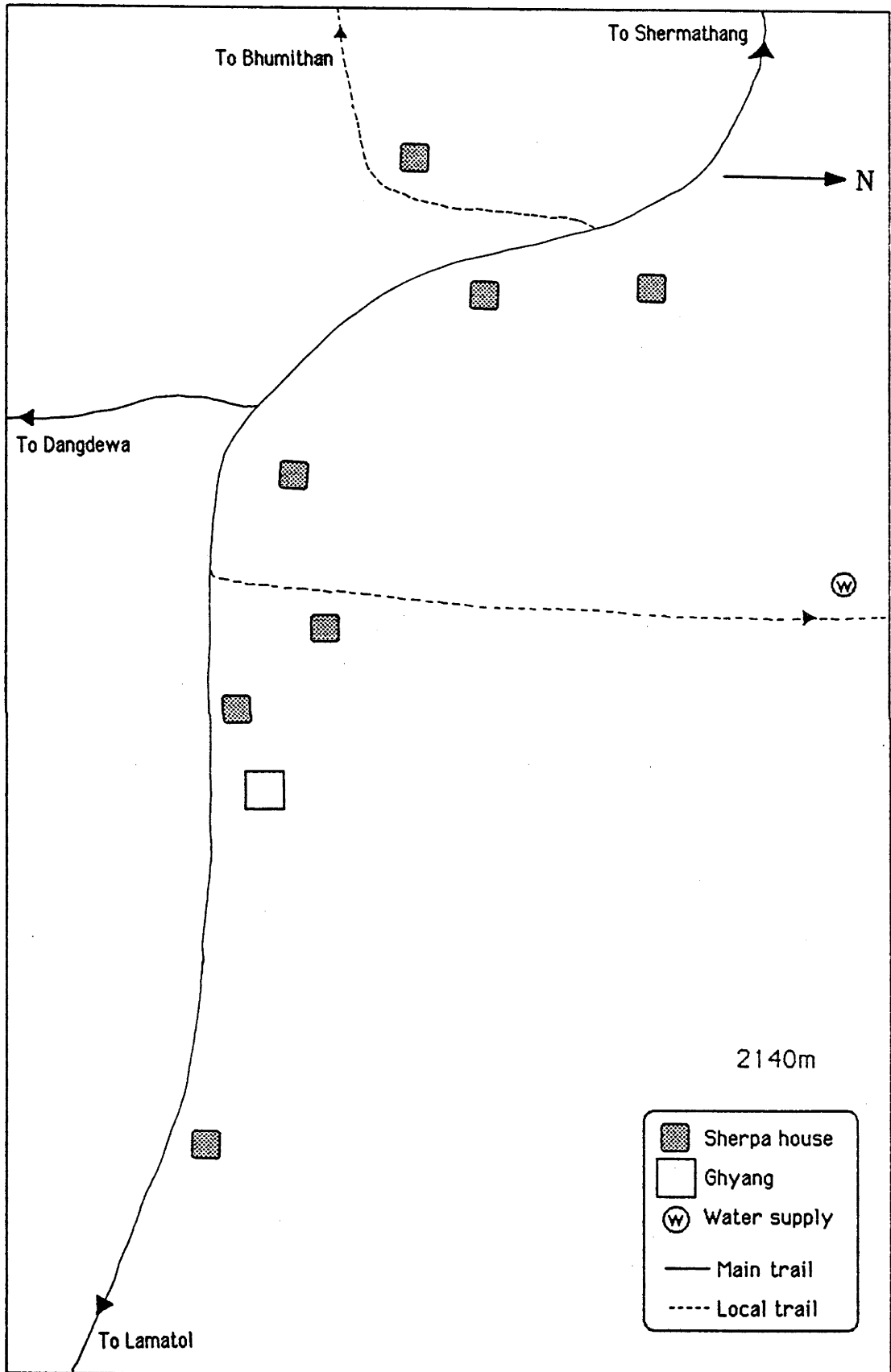
PLATE 7.4: Jalshe

this tol are linked through kinship relationships; they settled in the area over the past 60 years from villages higher up the ridge, see Figure 7.12.⁶ The population varies seasonally and annually, with members of each household migrating for work in India or Kathmandu. In one case the whole household has left to live in Kathmandu and their land is farmed by a Tamang tenant.⁷ Relations of kinship between the households do not ensure equality of access to the means of production or relationships of mutuality. There is a wide disparity in wealth between the households and thus access to and control over the means of production. Access to resources common to all households - forests and water, is restricted by the wealthiest and politically most powerful household.

Jalshe is surrounded by natural forests, the major species is khasru, *Quercus semecarpifolia*. A large amount of land is left fallow for grazing because there is insufficient manpower to bring it under cultivation.⁸ The main crops are radishes, potatoes and wheat, and surplus production of these crops is swapped by the households with lowland villages for rice and maize.⁹ The length of the agricultural season is short due to the high altitude of the tol. Table A.2 shows the seasonal agricultural tasks carried out in this area.

Wealth is overtly displayed in this settlement through the materials used in the construction of houses and in their interior furnishings. In some cases windows were glazed in place of the more usual wooden shutters, glazed windows are considered to be an indicator of wealth by the villagers (Plate 7.5).¹⁰ All the houses are built on two floors, the lower floor is used to house the animals and in some cases a washhouse for clothes. In the case of grain surplus households the upper floor is divided

FIGURE 7.12: Map of Jalshe



into several rooms all with wooden floorboards and covered in rugs. There is a room devoted to the gods, a living room and one or two bedrooms. Unlike the houses in Tukucha all household members have wooden beds on which to sleep. Grain surplus households display their wealth through the furnishings of their living rooms which are lined with shelves and covered with copper and brass pans and other items acquired from work in India, including in one household an iron stove with a chimney to the exterior.¹¹ Grain deficit households in this village live in small single roomed houses, with fewer material possessions (Plate 7.6).

The increased wealth and accompanying claims to high ritual status by most of the households led to the decision to build a temple, ghyang, in the settlement.¹² Each household was required to donate labour, money - Rs 1000, rice, millet and maize to pay for the construction costs; the land for the temple was donated by an absent householder, who no longer used the land because his household lives in Kathmandu.¹³ Common pasture in the to and land on which to build a dikki, a wooden device to dehusk rice, was also donated by the same household. However, although this land was donated for common use one household has claimed it as its own and registered it in 1985 in the recent cadastral survey.¹⁴

The surrounding natural forests of oak are used to supply firewood and green fodder, and are used on a seasonal basis by the households. These forests are protected by the settlement, but the collection of dry firewood, leaf litter and fodder is permitted. The seasonal use of the forest is shown in Table A.6. The reliance on tree fodder throughout the study villages is in contradistinction to Tukucha, where villagers used grass and crop residues and bought hay for fodder.



PLATE 7.5: Jalshe: an example of a 'grain surplus' house



PLATE 7.6: Jalshe: an example of a 'grain deficit' house

Lamatol and its Construction (Plate 7.7)

The area now occupied by Lamatol was settled 5-6 generations ago, by Lamas from a village on the other side of the ridge.¹⁵ The settlement extends up the hillside between the altitudes of 1620-1660m, and includes 18 Lama houses of agnatically related individuals, and five Tamang households. Figure 7.13 illustrates the distribution of houses through the tol. House construction in this tol (hamlet) is similar to that of the Sherpas of Jalshe. The houses are of two-storey stone construction with a verandah on the ground floor which is used by women for carpet-making.

Lamatol is a nucleated tol built around an old ghyang which has recently been superseded by a new larger ghyang. Authority within the tol remains with the Lama of the old ghyang, who is also the ward leader, adachya, and considered to be the most powerful person in the area.¹⁶

The ghyang directs and determines ritual relationships between households in the village. Graham Clarke (1980) describes the importance of the temple to village-life in this area, which is paralleled by explanations given by villagers in Jalshe and Lamatol. Ritual responsibilities for the annual cycle of festivals are held by each household in turn. Every household with village-citizenship is responsible for the feeding of the entire village during festivals for that one year. It is difficult for those households with low grain production to meet the demands of their religious obligations, and may push a grain adequate household into temporary grain deficit for that year.¹⁷

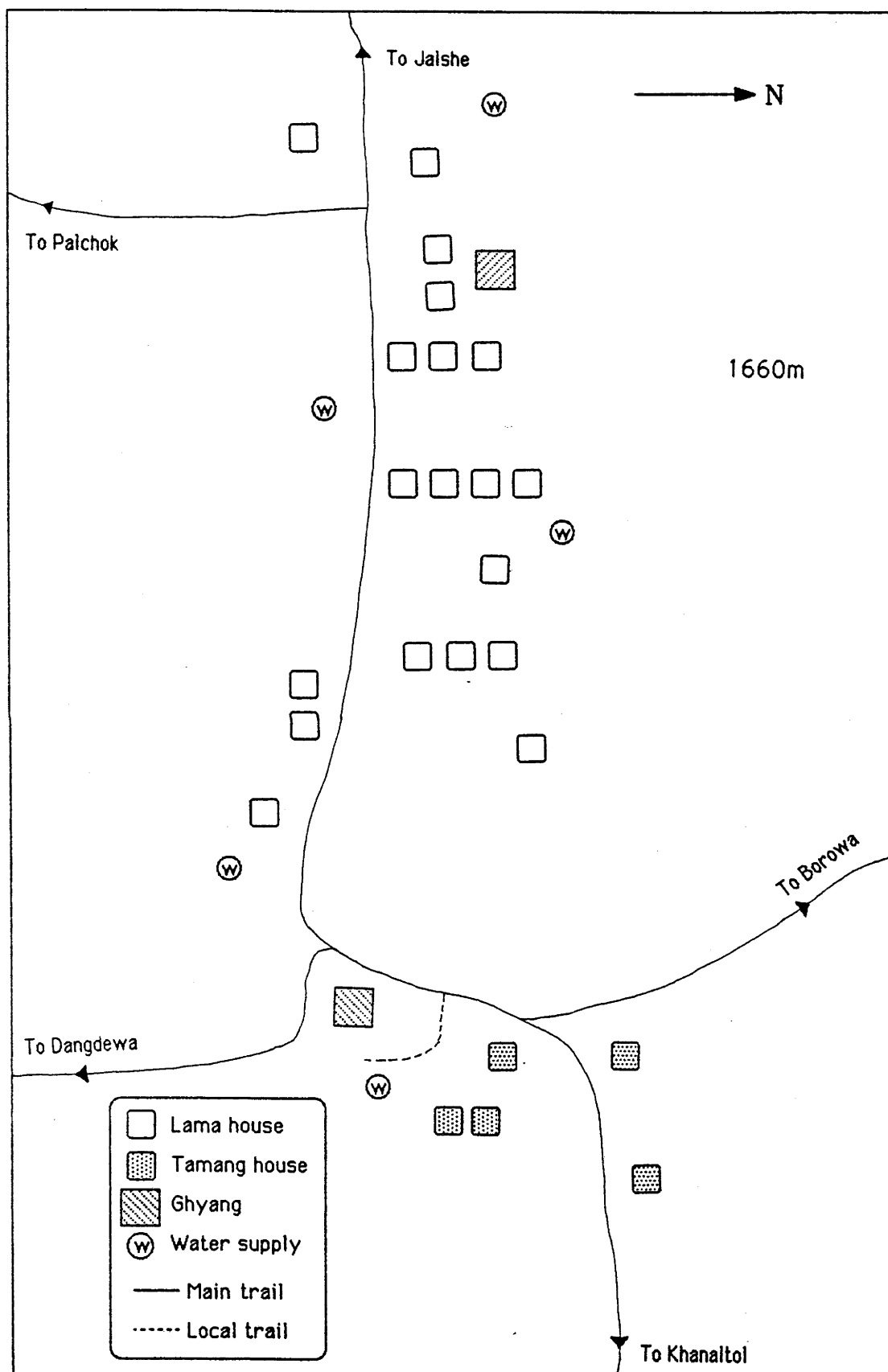


PLATE 7.7: Lamatol



PLATE 7.8: Khanaltol

FIGURE 7.13: Map of Lamatol



Carpet-making introduced to the area about 16 years ago forms the major source of income for the households.¹⁸ Each household produces in the order of 10-20 carpets each year which they sell in Kathmandu for Rs 800-1100 per carpet.¹⁹

Each household now has access to its own water supply which at the time of the study was under construction using labour demanded from each household. The settlement is surrounded by terraced rainfed bari where maize and millet are grown. Livestock are stalled during the main agricultural season and allowed to graze over the bari during the fallow period.²⁰ Table A.3 shows the seasonal crop production on khet and bari.

The settlement has access to natural forests of chilaune, lali gurans and angeri, *Schima wallichii*, *Rhododendron arboreum* and *Lyonia* sp., which are used to supply dry firewood and leaf litter; fodder is cut from trees on private land and not from the forest.²¹ Seasonal use of the forest is described in Table A.7.

The Tamangs who live below the new ghyang live in settlements dispersed through their bari, their houses are small usually with thatched or stone roofs. Landlord-tenant relationships characterise the economic ties between the grain surplus Lama and Sherpa households and the grain deficit Tamang. These relationships also characterise the ties between the Chetri inhabitants of the lowland areas and the Lamas.

Khanaltol and its Construction (Plate 7.8)

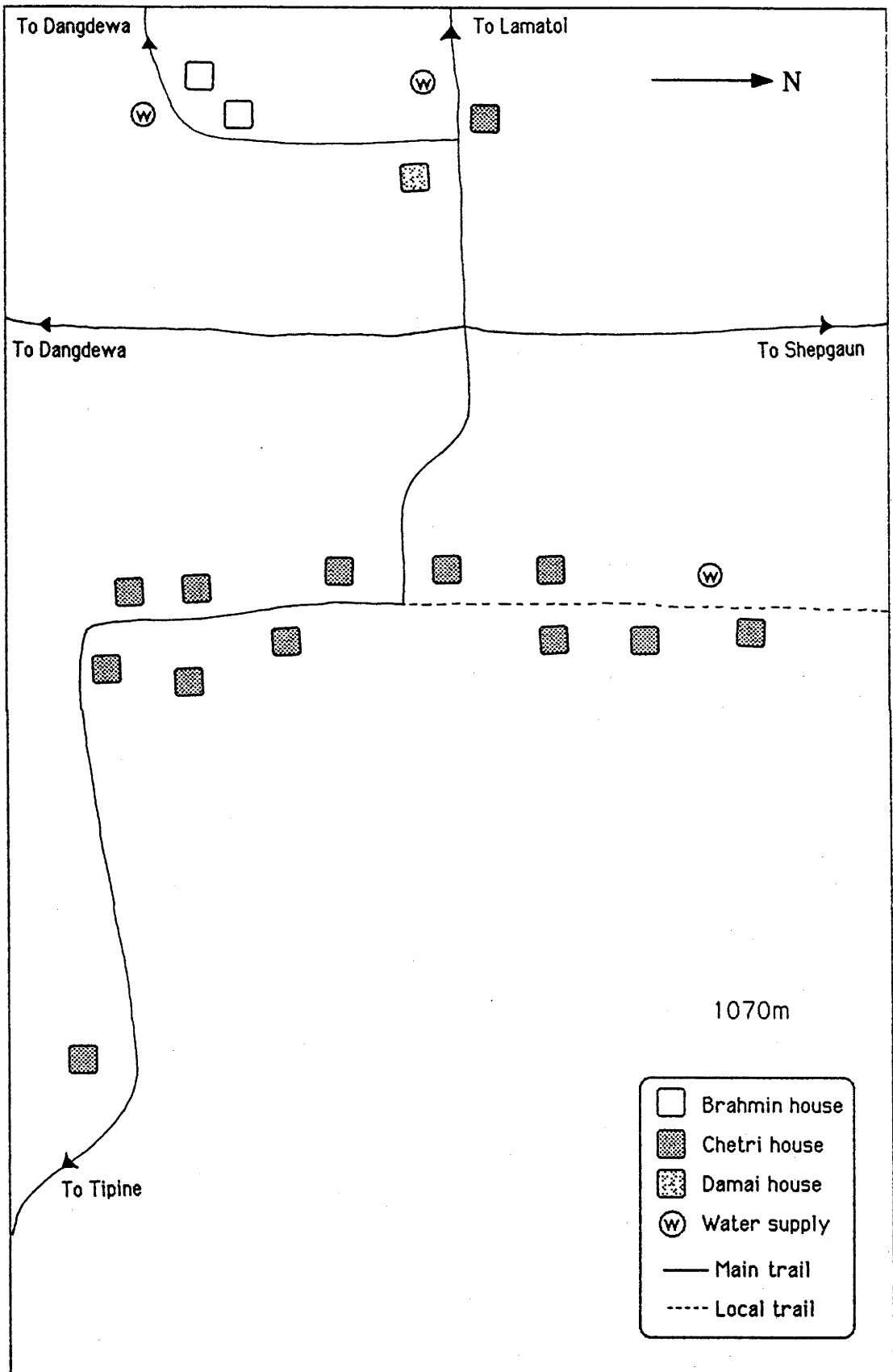
Khanaltol lies at an altitude of 1070 m close to the Indrawati Kola and its

land area is drained by several smaller rivers. It is a small nucleated hamlet (tol) of 13 agnatically related Chetri households (Figure 7.14). Associated with the tol are two Brahmin households, and one Damai household. The Chetris' ancestor bought the land from a Tamang and settled in the area 3-4 generations ago.²² The Tamangs who consider themselves to be the original settlers of this hill side have been forced through indebtedness and mortgaging of land to money lenders onto the middle altitudes of the hill slope onto the less fertile rainfed agricultural land.

Khanaltol is surrounded by irrigated agricultural land some of which is owned and also sharecropped by the Chetris. Rice, lentils, maize, millet and wheat are the major crops grown, although crop yields are severely reduced due to the predation of monkeys on crops grown in unirrigated land close to the forest.²³ Table A.4 shows the seasonal crop production on khet and bari. Their houses are similar in design to those of the Chetris of Tukucha and are built of mud bricks with slate roofs.

Forests of lowland sal and dhalne katus, *Shorea robusta* and *Castanopsis indica*, cover the lower slopes of the settlement area and extend down to the river. Access to these sal forests is restricted by the Chetris but they are used to supply each household's needs for dry firewood, green fodder, bedding and timber. To counterbalance the limited access to forest products, each household has planted trees on its own land to produce timber for house construction.²⁴ Seasonal use of the forest is described in Table A.8.

FIGURE 7.14: Map of Khanaltol



Interaction between Jalshe, Lamatol and Khanaltol

The Sherpas and the Lamas control the irrigated rice land of the valley bottom and the trading routes of the ridges. The Chetris of Khanaltol are the tenant farmers of the Sherpas of Jalshe and the Lamas of Jatan. The remaining irrigated land in the valley bottom is owned by the Chetris, leaving some of the Tamang households as tenant farmers and waged agricultural labourers for the Lamas and Chetris. The ties between these three settlements are based on the ownership of land, the expenditure of labour in its cultivation, and on relations of usury.

7.3 GENDER AND THE RELATIONS OF HUMAN REPRODUCTION AND PRODUCTION

In the following sections I will discuss the various mechanisms through which patriarchal relationships are expressed.

Relations of Human Reproduction

The relationships experienced by women in Tukucha are similar to those of women in Banskharka due to the patriarchal society in which they all live, but some variations exist. This was most strongly demonstrated in the differences between women of the same class but different ethnic origin in the three villages studied, and also between women of the same ethnic origin but of different economic class.

Purity as a Construct of Patriarchy

The concepts of purity which rule the actions of Hindu women also permeate the relationships of Sherpa and Lama women. For these women too, menstrual blood is considered to be polluting to male members of their household and similar taboos operate.²⁵ Domestic tasks which are considered polluting to the Hindu male, are viewed in the same way by the Buddhist male; washing of dirty plates and removal of night soil remain the responsibility of women.²⁶ The maintenance of the juxtaposition of male purity to female impurity acts as a means to subordinate women to men. Relationships between men and women are regulated through this concept of purity and women are daily reminded of their impurity relative to their affinal men and thus their subservient position.

Relationships of reproduction for Sherpa and Lama women differ from those experienced by the Jaisi and Chetri women of Tukucha, and the Tamang and Chetri women of Banskharka. Sherpa and Lama women expressed their greater freedom in the selection of their marriage partners and child marriage is rare; whereas it was common amongst the Tamang and Chetri women in Banskharka and the Jaisi and Chetri women of Tukucha. Although legislation was enacted in 1975 which raised the minimum marriage age for girls from 14 to 16, it has had little impact in the village. For example, a young Tamang girl had married at 10, although she still lives with her parents.

Hierarchical relations within households between affinal women are similarly developed to those experienced in Tukucha. However, the economic independence of younger affinal women through waged

employment and migration outside Nepal for work often leads to the assertion of the younger woman's position against her mother-in-law. Relations between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law are often fraught with disagreement and mutual resentment of the other's power. This relationship was clearly demonstrated to me when I observed one situation where the daughter-in-law with her young sons left the marital home to stay in Kathmandu. She sold some gold that she had been given by her husband on his return from India to pay for her expenses in Kathmandu. She finally returned to Jalshe when her husband returned from India and her mother-in-law had left for India.²⁷ Although such overt statements of women's freedom of action are more often reported by these households, daughters-in-law were anxious to demonstrate how they maintain respectful relationships between themselves and their mothers-in-law, even if the mother-in-law does not reciprocate:

When my mother-in-law was ill I tended to her needs, I had to bring her a pot for her to defaecate and urinate in and then clean it for her. I even had to clean up her vomit. So well did I serve her.....But she did not help me when I gave birth to my first son. On the third day I was given tomatoes and potatoes. (Lasam Sherpini:57-58)²⁸

The subservience of women to men observed in the women of Tukucha is not apparent in all the case-study Lama and Sherpa households in Banskharka. Women are not required to wait on their husbands nor to eat their leftover food. One woman commented on her equality with her husband with respect to the serving and eating of food: 'If my husband returns home after the meal has been served, he must serve his own food and eat alone, we will not wait for him' (Chyama Sherpini:61).

Divorce amongst the Lama and Tamang women of the households studied was not common, but one young woman had recently divorced her husband, with whom she had never lived.²⁹ The divorce proceedings were placed before the pradhan pancha who decided that the woman must pay her husband Rs 2500 before she can collect her dowry property.³⁰ After leaving her husband she was forced to return to her natal home where her labour was the sole means by which to secure the subsistence of the household. Her father had died 12 years previously and her mother had left the household to live with another man, and there were no other adults within the household capable of securing their subsistence. The divorce settlement money could only be obtained by selling some of their land, and also by taking a loan with a Lama money-lender.³¹

Divorce followed the marriage of this woman because she could not live with the man chosen for her, she said that she had been married too young before she understood how the marriage relationship would determine her actions, and prevent her from returning to her natal home to help her grandparents and younger siblings. The burden of the loan remained her responsibility, and only by selling the products of her labour - carpets is she able to repay the interest on the loan.³²

Class and Sexuality

The articulation between gender and class is shown at the level of appearances in the conflictual relationships between two Sherpa households. The origins of the dispute between the households are rooted in a land feud of a previous generation, and are now built on through recourse to economic and sexual oppression. The household which has

perpetuated the feud hold political and economic power in the tol - the head of household is a ward member, sadasya, and his relationships with the pradhan pancha are described as 'close' by other villagers (Lasam Sherpini:49). They are considered to be the wealthiest household in the village in terms of the amount of surplus grain they produce and also due to remittances sent from kin in India:

The sadasya is rich...he holds authority because he is rich. People say he is the richest man in the village. The village is not benefitted from him even if he is rich....The rich man of the village should comfort the poor. Even if he cannot do anything for the poor he should treat them well...He treats everyone badly. He threatens people and does not let them go to the forest. He is proud of his wealth but he does not share it with anyone. (Lasam Sherpini:44-46) ³³

The sister of the sadasya describes the household as powerful using notions of slavery to indicate their control over other villagers: 'No-one can tell us anything - we can even buy and sell people that is how powerful we are' (Dil Maya Sherpini:3).

Rumour and gossip are the means used by women of the sadasya's household to denigrate women of a grain deficit household. They accuse Lala Sherpini of having sexual relations with the sadasya. ³⁴ Lala Sherpini recounts the way in which these accusations were used to defame her character both in Jalshe and throughout the local area:

Last year the sadasya went to the water mill to make flattened rice, chiura. I had also gone there to grind some flour. He had quite a heavy load of chiura so he wanted to leave it there and hire a labourer to carry it home. I offered to exchange my load of flour (7 pathis) for his load of chiura (13 pathis), he agreed and so we walked home. He invited me into his house to drink some raksi. But later I found out that his wife suspected us of

having sexual relations. She and the sadasya's sisters spread rumours about us and said that the sadasya was crazy about women. They spread these rumours in a neighbouring village. The sadasya and his wife had an argument about us and he asked her to apologise to me for starting these rumours. Later, the sadasya asked me to work on a parma (labour exchange) weeding their potatoes. My mother told me not to go because of the abuse I had had from them. That day I had a bad pain in my stomach, I stayed in the house and heard the sadasya's wife talking to another woman outside, she was accusing me of being in love with her husband. I was really mad and shouted at her and then abused her again in the morning. I told her husband what she was saying, I said it was wrong to denigrate me in this way. I cannot have sexual relations with him because his wife is the sister of my husband. Then I told him that his wife should take an oath with a copper utensil on her head and a copper coin in her mouth, and swear not to spread such rumours about me. (Lala Sherpini:30) ³⁵

Since this time the two households have not spoken to each other and the vendetta against the women of the grain deficit household has been increased. Violence and abuse against the two women were used by members of the sadasya's household: Lala Sherpini's old and sick mother was beaten up in the forest for allegedly cutting green firewood:

the sadasya caught my basket, then I asked him why he was doing this, at this he slapped me across the cheeks, I hit him with my sickle which he then took and threw away.....(W)hen the moon came up I went alone to see the pradhan pancha, he did not listen to me but sided with the sadasya. (Bina Sherpini:27) ³⁶

Oppression through the economic sphere is practised by members of this grain surplus household over Lala Sherpini. Control over the means needed to secure subsistence is maintained by the sadasya's household through the denial of access to communally owned forests and to use of the communally owned dikki, a rice dehusking implement. ³⁷ If members of

Lala Sherpini's household are seen by the sadashya to be using the dikki, he throws away the rice and beats them: 'Our tears will cause their future generations' unhappiness. If I had collected all the tears that have rolled from my eyes, they would have filled 2-3 water pots' (Lala Sherpini:28). Since they are not allowed to use the settlement's dikki they are forced to walk to another village where they have relatives and use the dikki there, the walk takes an hour and a half. ³⁸

Denial of access to basic needs is extended to the water tap which was supplied by the government and constructed by village labour. ³⁹ Lala Sherpini's household was not asked to donate labour because there were no men in the household who could have laboured on her behalf. When the tap had been constructed the sadasya sent a man to Lala Sherpini with a bill for Rs 90, representing the cost of waged labour which had to be employed because Lala Sherpini had not been able to contribute labour. She was unable to pay the bill and so is not allowed to use the tap and must use a stream for their water supply. ⁴⁰

Lala Sherpini's limited access to the means of production and her gender combine to render her powerless against those who have access to a network of formal authority gained through their ownership and control of the means of production. A female household with no male members is vulnerable to exploitation by those households with both men and women: 'we cannot oppose them because we have no husbands or brothers' (Lasam Sherpini:26). The functioning of a patriarchal society ensures that women remain in a subservient position in the realms of economic production and human reproduction.

Relations of Production

Ownership of Means of Production

Land, Livestock and Trees

The inheritance of land is through the male patriline. On the death of their husbands' Sherpa and Lama women are allowed use of the land for the rest of their life, after which it is inherited by male members of their household. ⁴¹ In Tukucha where similar land inheritance laws exist women would not plant trees, claiming that it was men's work. Women in the Lama and Sherpa settlements also hesitate to plant trees on private land in the absence of their male relatives: 'We have no men to plant trees and it's not right for women to plant trees' (Mendo Lamini:6). ⁴² The Chetri women of Khanaltol will also not plant trees, they say that it is men's work and women cannot plant trees.

Women cannot assume responsibility for resources which are considered to be in the male domain even when their husbands are absent from the household and the continued subsistence of the household depends on the women. Livestock ownership follows the same pattern seen in Tukucha where all animals except for goats are owned and cared for by men.

Incidences of the overt expression of patriarchal relations are common, but women themselves through their ignorance of agricultural affairs and local political decisions also demonstrate the working of a patriarchal system. In Jalshe, even though women are left as household heads, control of the means of production remains in male hands, women do not know

how much seed is necessary for planting their irrigated land and refer such questions to their husbands:

I don't know how much seed our khet needs, women don't go to the khet, only my husband knows. We don't even know where our fields are. (Chyama Sherpini:43)

Women's knowledge extends to issues that determine daily existence and not to those external relationships which ensure the long term subsistence of the household.

Division of Labour

Division of labour within households is dependent on the economic base of the household, and thus varies according to whether the household is in grain surplus, adequate or deficit. Labour allocation also varies according to whether the households are members of caste or ethnic groups. Particular relationships within households are discussed in each of the three types of grain category household.

Daily reproduction of households in terms of cooking, water collection and cleaning, remains the major responsibility of women of all castes, ethnic groups and class. Although, the clear definition of tasks observed within Hindu households is not so well demarcated within the Lama and Sherpa households.⁴³ In these households work is allocated between men and women on the basis of physical ability, age and free-time. However, in the Chetri settlement of Khanaltol a similar division of labour operates for agricultural, domestic and forest-related tasks as was observed in Tukucha.

The incorporation of women into the commodity market through the production of carpets is widespread throughout all the households in Jalshe, Lamatol and Khanaltol. However, although it is the labour of women which produces the product to be sold, it is the men who control the marketing and sale of the carpets in Kathmandu. ⁴⁴ Carpet-making is the women's major occupation during the winter months, the cash incentives for the household from carpet-making are high and women's labour is preferentially used for this task as opposed to agricultural tasks which become the province of the men. ⁴⁵

In Jalshe and Lamatol, domestic tasks normally associated with the labour of women are also performed by men. In one household where I was staying the wife had withdrawn her labour from the daily sustenance of the household to make carpets and her husband had assumed responsibility for cooking, child-care, and collecting water. ⁴⁶

Due to the migration of men to India women in Jalshe are often the household heads and perform many of the tasks ordinarily carried out by men: women will pay labourers' wages, and make decisions about the allocation of grain surpluses for sale or use within the household. ⁴⁷

I decide what we need to buy....According to Sherpa custom the women decide when to sell potatoes. (Chyama Sherpini:59)

However, when the male household head is present these decisions are then made by him as exemplified in the words of one man: 'I decide, I grow the crops, I barter and I sell if they are to be sold' (Chwang Jimi Sherpa:77).

In this household the use of oral intimidation maintained the male's superior position over the female. The husband constantly ridiculed his wife, and belittled her knowledge when I was talking with her, punctuating her answers with comments such as: 'What would she know about anything?' (Chwang Jimi Sherpa:41). She in turn was unable to comment on any questions directed to her about land ownership and rights of access to the forests, referring me to her husband for information. The interview with her was forced to a halt as her husband continued to dominate her through his presence and oral interference.

In summary, all women in these villages are subordinate to their affinal males, and their relationships with these men demonstrate the working of their subordination. The degree of subordination varies according to the economic position of the household and its ethnic origins. Some women are subordinated by women of higher class through mechanisms such as intimidation by use of oral innuendo. However, in all three categories women are subordinated through their lack of ownership and control over the means of production. Intra-household hierarchies between individuals also exist which are dependent on both gender and age.

The expression of gender relations within the study villages follows the same pattern as described for Tukucha. Patriarchal relations are in ascendance over those of economic class, and define the access to and control over the means of production.

7.4 CLASS AND THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND ECONOMIC REPRODUCTION

Grain Surplus Households (Figure 5.2)

Ownership of the Means of Production

Ownership of the means of production, land and livestock is concentrated in the grain surplus households. The importance of caste as a mediator of economic class is not as evident in these households as for Tukucha, rather the distribution of resources is aligned with the historical construction of each household. There are both grain surplus and grain deficit Chetri households and grain surplus and grain deficit Sherpa and Lama households, as shown in Table 7.4 which illustrates the distribution of grain production between the 21 case-study households.

Land

Land, as the major means of production, is the subject of all discussions of wealth in the three villages. Mechanisms for the acquisition of land form part of the oral history of each household, and all households recount histories of land loss due to mortgage and natural disaster. Land was acquired through a number of mechanisms including purchase from absent landlords, foreclosure on debtors and inheritance, and clearance of forest land:

Household Name	Caste	No. of consumers per household		Consumption needs per household (muri)	Actual production (muri)			Total production (muri)	Surplus production (muri)
		Adults	Children		Rice	Maize	Milliet		
GRAIN SURPLUS:									
Chwang Jimi Sherpa	Sherpa	2	1	10	13	0	150	163	153
Neema Syangbo Lama	Lama	2	0	8	37.5	48	40	125.5	117.5
Dambar Bahadur Khanal	Chetri	4	1	18	17	26.25	12	55.25	37.25
Annapura Adhikari	Brahmin	6	4	32	7	30	32	69	37
Radhika Khatri	Chetri	6	0	24	11.5	30	16	57.5	33.5
Kami Dorge	Tamang	5	0	20	30	5	16	51	31
Maya Khanal	Chetri	4	1	10	8.5	18.75	10	37.25	27.25
Jimi Lama	Lama	2	0	8	10	12	7	29	21
Lasam Sherplini	Sherpa	2	3	14	7.6	0	27	34.6	20.6
GRAIN ADEQUATE:									
Lokte Lama	Lama	2	3	14	5	0	28	33	19
Ganga Prasad Adhikari	Brahmin	4	4	24	15	15	10	40	16
Lal Singh Tamang	Tamang	2	4	16	2.5	16.5	9	28	12
Bhim Kumari Khanal	Chetri	2	4	16	10	9	7	26	10
Neema Wangal	Tamang	2	0	8	0	5.25	12	17.25	9.25
Maya Lamini	Lama	4	0	16	6.5	15	3	24.5	8.5
Gale Buddha	Tamang	4	2	20	6.5	12	4	22.5	2.5
GRAIN DEFICIT:									
Dama Lama	Lama	3	3	18	8	6	1	15	-3
Katak Bahadur Khatri	Chetri	10	0	40	12	8	16	36	-4
Babu Lama	Lama	6	0	24	1.5	11.25	7	19.75	-4.25
Dal Bahadur Damai	Damai	3	1	14	0.25	1.9	0.5	2.65	-11.35
Sangay Lama	Lama	6	0	24	5	2	5	12	-12

TABLE 7.4: Annual Consumable Grain Production of Case Study Households: Banskharka Panchayat

Our household settled in the area 4 generations ago...our ancestors were forced to move from their home because there was insufficient family land to support all the members. Our ancestor cleared the land of forest and cultivated it, he paid the fixed land tax of 4 daam or 1 or 2 mohors and the land was then registered in his name. (Annapurna Adhikari:45) ⁴⁸

The major proportion of lowland irrigated land was purchased by grain surplus Chetri households from Lama and Sherpa landlords who now live in Kathmandu or in other villages. ⁴⁹

The grain surplus households of Jalshe ensure adequate supplies of grain through their acquisition of land in various cropping areas. Thus land is owned in the lowlands for rice production, at middle altitudes for maize and millet production, and at high altitudes for production of potatoes and radishes. ⁵⁰

Surplus grain production in these households is one appearance of their access to superior means of production, and is considered to be an indicator of wealth by other households. Wealth is overtly expressed by Lama and Sherpa households through the condition of their housing and interior furnishings, which is also an expression of their close incorporation into the commodity economy through migration to India. Migration of members of their households to India and Kathmandu for waged labour has led to an accumulation of wealth which is reinvested in the village through the acquisition of land, livestock and luxury goods.

Livestock

Distribution of livestock amongst all three categories does not follow the same pattern as described for Tukucha. In Banskharka, livestock ownership is distributed across the three categories, as shown in Table 7.5. What is important is the ownership of oxen by grain surplus households. Oxen are used as another income source to hire out for ploughing.

Trees

All the grain surplus households indicated that they had access to their own private forests on land which they had left fallow to allow for the regeneration of trees. Those households with surplus income from remittances by members working in India and Kathmandu and with access to waged labour invest in forestry. They are able to buy labour to transport and plant large areas of tree seedlings from nurseries established by forestry projects.⁵¹ For example, Chwang Jimi Sherpa (pp.8-11) had planted a large private forest with seedlings from the forest nursery established under the auspices of the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project. He hired labour to carry the seedlings from the nurseries and the labourers also planted the 9-10,000 seedlings.⁵² This ensured that his household had private access to a forest resource, and were not dependent on the collectively controlled forests surrounding the village. For those households with no access to remittances or other cash income and with limited land-holdings creation of private forest resources is not possible.

Household Name	Caste	Buffalo	Cows	Oxen	Sheep	Goats
GRAIN SURPLUS:						
Chwang Jimi Sherpa	Sherpa	4	2	0	0	0
Neema Syangbo Lama	Lama	2	2	0	0	0
Dambar Bahadur Khanal	Chetri	0	3	4	0	9
Annapurna Adhikari	Brahmin	1	1	2	0	6
Radhika Khatri	Chetri	3	0	2	0	11
Kami Dorge	Tamang	1	4	2	0	3
Maya Khanal	Chetri	0	0	2	0	0
Jimi Lama	Lama	0	5	0	0	0
Lasam Sherpini	Sherpa	3	0	0	6	0
GRAIN ADEQUATE:						
Lokte Lama	Lama	2	0	0	0	6
Ganga Prasad Adhikari	Brahmin	3	0	2	0	4
Lal Singh Tamang	Tamang	2	0.5*	0	0	0
Bhim Kumari Khanal	Chetri	1	1	0	0	3
Neema Wangal	Tamang	0	2	0	0	0
Maya Lamini	Lama	1	1	0	0	0
Gale Buddha	Tamang	0	5	2	0	4
GRAIN DEFICIT:						
Dama Lama	Lama	4	0	0	0	0
Katak Bahadur Khatri	Chetri	1	0	0	0	2
Babu Lama	Lama	1	5	1	0	0
Dal Bahadur Damai	Damai	0	0	0	0	0
Sangay Lama	Lama	4	0	0	0	0

* Tended

TABLE 7.5: Livestock Ownership by Grain Production Category of Case Study Households: Banskharka Panchayat

Relations of Production and Reproduction within Households

Reproduction of the household is dependent on the human constitution of the household and their access to the means of production. The relationships between individuals within the household determine the ways in which the means of production are used to ensure continued subsistence.

Division of Labour

The demarcation between gender and form of work seen in Tukucha is not demonstrated in the Lama and Sherpa households, although the gender determined dichotomy between production for own use and production for sale exists. Tasks associated with the daily reproduction of the household such as cooking food and collecting water may be shared between men and women of the Sherpa and Lama households. Figures 7.15 and 7.16 describe the division of labour both within and outside the home.⁵³

Land

Seasonal variation in household composition is common amongst the Sherpas and Lamas due to the migration of adult males and females to Kathmandu and India.⁵⁴ The reduced household size increases the burden of agricultural work on those household members left - usually women, the sick, the old, and young children. The division of labour in such households is then dependent on the age and physical ability of each member.⁵⁵ Due to the dispersed nature of land-holdings in Jalshe, women labour only on unirrigated land. Those households with irrigated land employ tenants to crop it, and therefore women's labour is solely directed

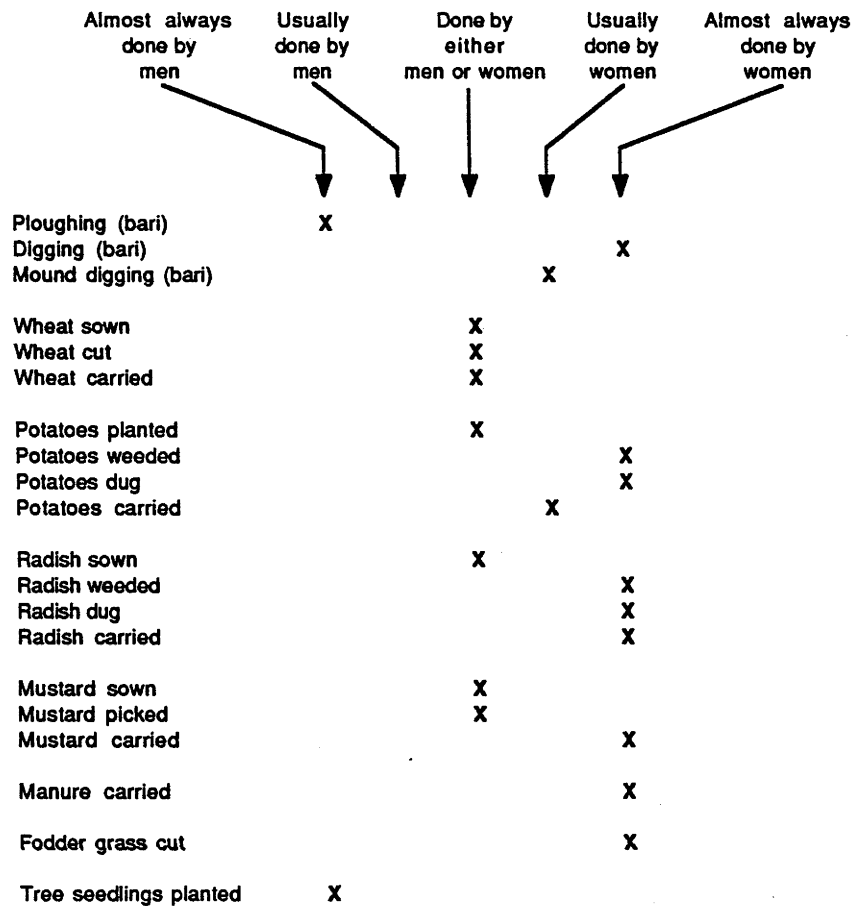


FIGURE 7.15: Division of Labour in Agriculture (Crops): Jalshe (2140m)

	Almost always done by men	Usually done by men	Done by either men or women	Usually done by women	Almost always done by women
Ploughing (khet)		X			
Digging (khet)			X		
Digging (bari)			X		
Mound digging (bari)				X	
Mound digging (khet)		X			
Rice sown			X		
Rice planted				X	
Rice weeded			X		
Rice cut			X		
Rice threshed		X			
Rice stalks bound				X	
Rice stalks carried		X			
Maize sown			X		
Maize weeded			X		
Maize thinned			X		
Maize cobs harvested				X	
Maize cobs carried			X		
Maize stalks cut			X		
Maize stalks carried				X	
Wheat sown			X		
Wheat cut			X		
Wheat carried			X		
Millet seed sown			X		
Millet planted				X	
Millet weeded			X		
Millet heads gathered				X	
Millet stems cut				X	
Millet stems carried			X		
Potatoes planted			X		
Potatoes weeded				X	
Potatoes dug				X	
Potatoes carried				X	
Manure carried				X	
Fodder grass cut			X		
Tree seedlings planted	X				
Carpets made				X	
Carpets sold (Kathmandu)	X				

FIGURE 7.16: Division of Labour in Agriculture (Crops): Lamatol (1660m)

to the production of low value unirrigated crops.

In Jalshe, for those households where all the men have migrated women are responsible for all aspects of agricultural production on unirrigated land except for ploughing and planting tree seedlings. Where there are men in the household there is a more even distribution of work between men and women. Although women remain responsible for weeding and harvesting of crops.

The Chetri households have large extended families and thus are able to rely on household labour and exchange labour with affinal households.⁵⁶ However, some waged labour is hired in during the monsoon season. The division of household labour follows the pattern seen in Tukucha where women are responsible for most agricultural tasks on irrigated and unirrigated land, and all the domestic work (Figures 7.17 and 7.20). Migration from these households is unusual with all the households interviewed having a male household head.

Grain surplus households in Lamatol rely on affinal female labour for production of income through carpet-making. The withdrawal of women's labour from agriculture into carpet-making is characteristic of all the grain surplus households in Lamatol that have adequate access to male household labour or waged labour.

Livestock

In the Sherpa and Lama households women and men collect fodder on a daily basis for their livestock (Figures 7.18 and 7.19). Buffalo, oxen and cows are tended by Tamang and low caste households living at lower

	Almost always done by men	Usually done by men	Done by either men or women	Usually done by women	Almost always done by women
Ploughing (khet)		X			
Ploughing (bari)		X			
Digging (khet)			X		
Digging (bari)			X		
Breaking up clods (bari & khet)					X
Mound digging (bari)				X	
Mound digging (khet)		X			
Rice sown		X			
Rice planted					X
Rice weeded					X
Rice cut			X		
Rice threshed		X			
Rice stalks bound				X	
Rice stalks carried			X		
Maize sown			X		
Maize weeded					X
Maize thinned			X		
Maize cobs harvested					X
Maize cobs carried					X
Maize stalks cut					X
Maize stalks carried			X		
Wheat sown		X			
Wheat cut			X		
Wheat carried			X		
Millet seed sown		X			
Millet planted					X
Millet weeded					X
Millet heads gathered					X
Millet stems cut			X		
Millet stems carried					X
Manure carried					X
Fodder grass cut					X
Tree seedlings planted		X			
Carpets made					X
Carpets sold		X			

FIGURE 7.17: Division of Labour in Agriculture (Crops): Khanaltol (1070m)



FIGURE 7.18: Division of Labour in Animal Husbandry and Domestic Tasks: Jalshe

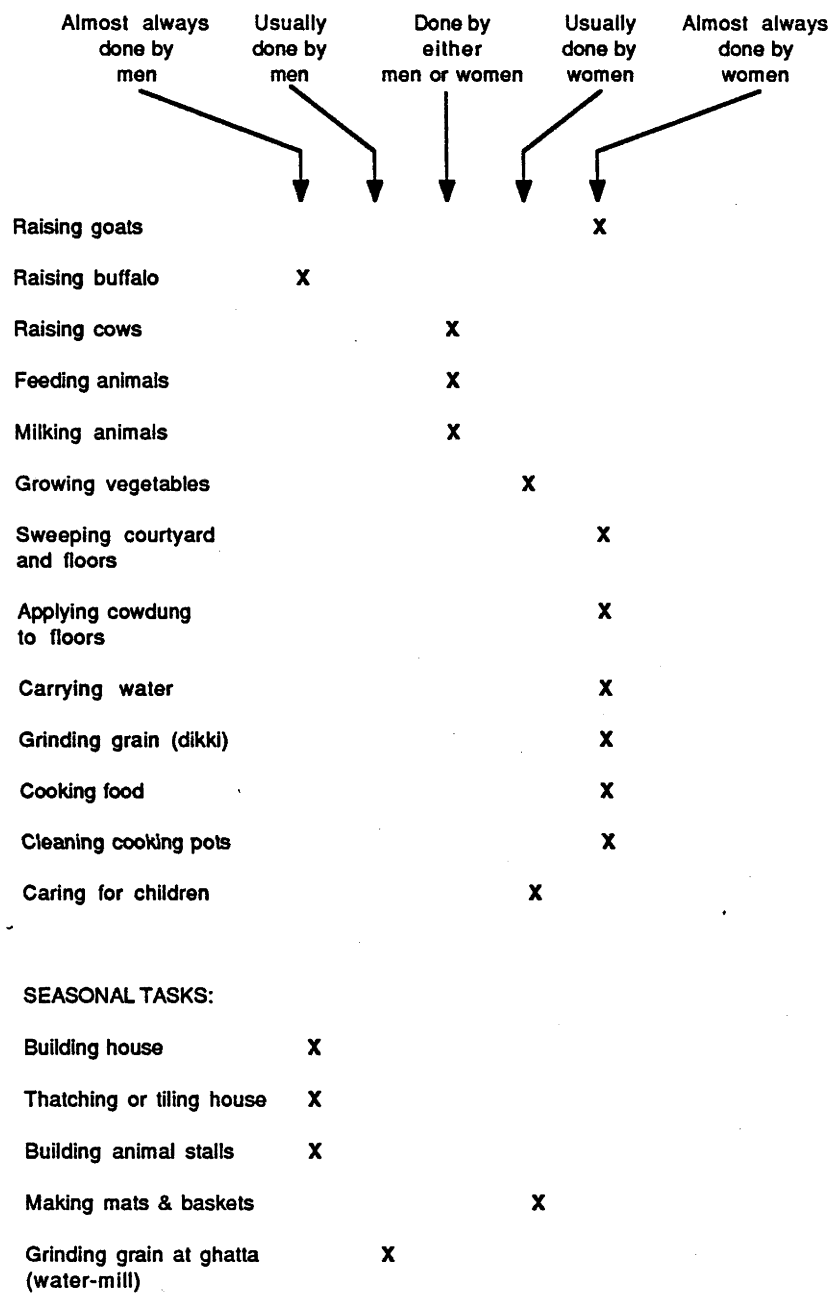


FIGURE 7.19: Division of Labour in Animal Husbandry and Domestic Tasks: Lamatol

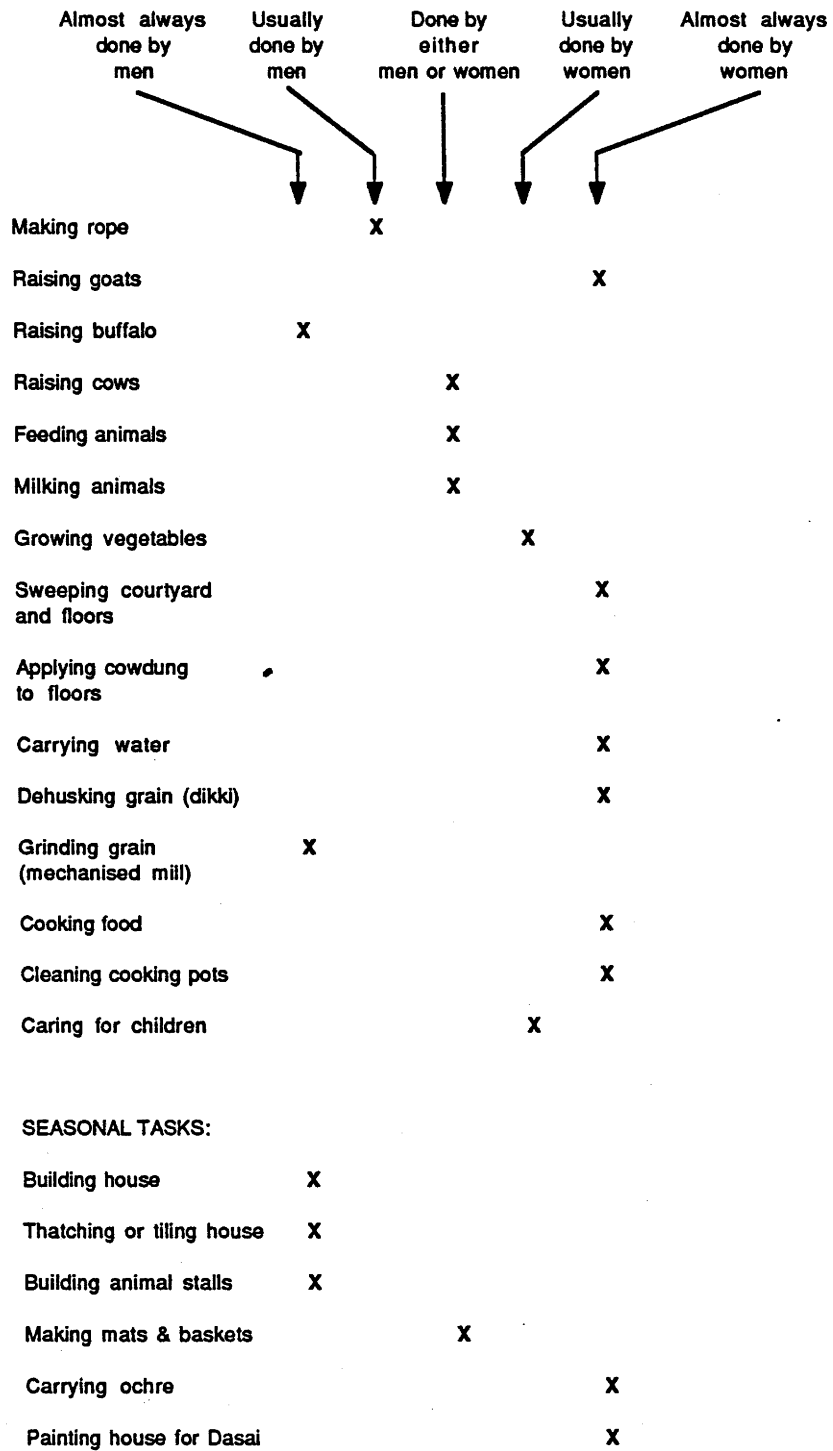


FIGURE 7.20: Division of Labour in Animal Husbandry and Domestic Tasks: Khanaltol

altitudes, and thus the major proportion of livestock associated tasks have been transferred to other households. Sheep owned by the Sherpa households are taken to graze in the forests by an agnatic male. In the Chetri households both women and men take their goats to graze in the forest (Figure 7.20).

Forests

In Jalshe and Lamatol, collection of forest products including fodder is a task equally divided between men and women, as is shown in Figures 7.21 and 7.22.⁵⁷ The availability of labour determines the allocation of forest related tasks rather than the gender. Physical constraints will prevent women from performing certain tasks including collecting wood from the steep cliffs surrounding the village, which men consider to be too dangerous for women:

There are many steep hills and cliffs here. We climb the cliffs to collect firewood. Women cannot climb these cliffs, also they cannot go far from home. Although women go down the hill to cut grass, men usually go with them if there are heavy loads to be carried. (Neema Syangbo Lama:65)

Generally women will not climb trees to cut either fodder or firewood and will ask men in the household to do this:

We have no men in our family, so we cannot cut firewood because women cannot use axes. (Lasam Sherpini:10)

The limitations on physical capability are constructed not solely through biological differences between men and women, as it is women of all economic classes who carry heavy loads of manure and crops between fields and house, but are also socially constructed through what are

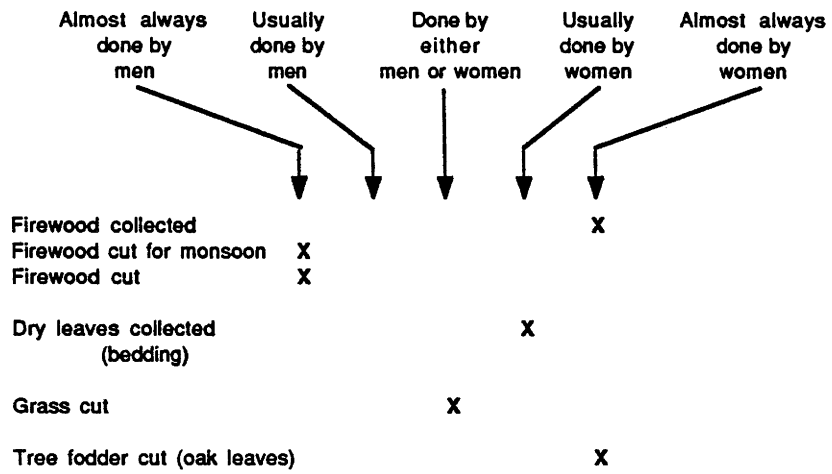


FIGURE 7.21: Division of Labour in Forests: Jalshe (2140m)

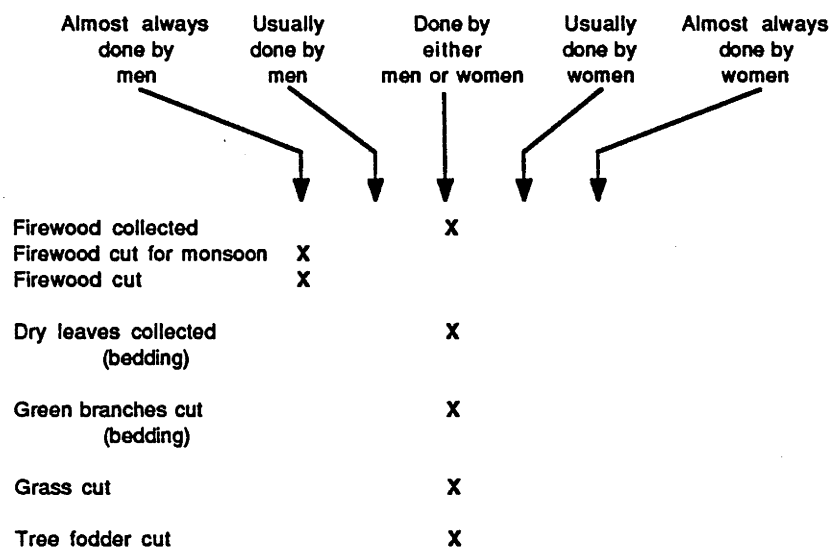


FIGURE 7.22: Division of Labour in Forests: Lamatol (1660m)

considered to be female and male tasks in a patriarchal society.⁵⁸

In Khanaltol, the division of labour for forest-related tasks is clearly defined and follows a similar pattern to that of the Chetris and Jaisis of Tukucha (see Figure 7.23). Women are primarily responsible for the collection of forest products - firewood, leaf litter and fodder, whereas men are responsible for cutting firewood for the household's longer-term needs during the monsoon. Similar taboos operate against women climbing trees and cutting branches for firewood or fodder with an axe.

Relations of Production and Reproduction with other Households

Labour Relationships

Grain surplus households with surplus income enter into waged and share-cropping relationships with other households to perform those agricultural tasks which they are unable to complete with their limited labour pool. Table 7.6 describes the range of labour relationships entered into by Sherpa, Lama and Chetri households.⁵⁹ Chetri and Lama households exchange labour with agnatic households, and during the rice transplanting season waged labour is also employed. Labour is not exchanged by the households of Jaishe because they have limited household labour available to them and must therefore hire in waged labour when needed.⁶⁰ Tamangs from surrounding villages are employed as wage labourers by these households, and stay in accommodation provided by the household for the monsoon and firewood cutting seasons.⁶¹

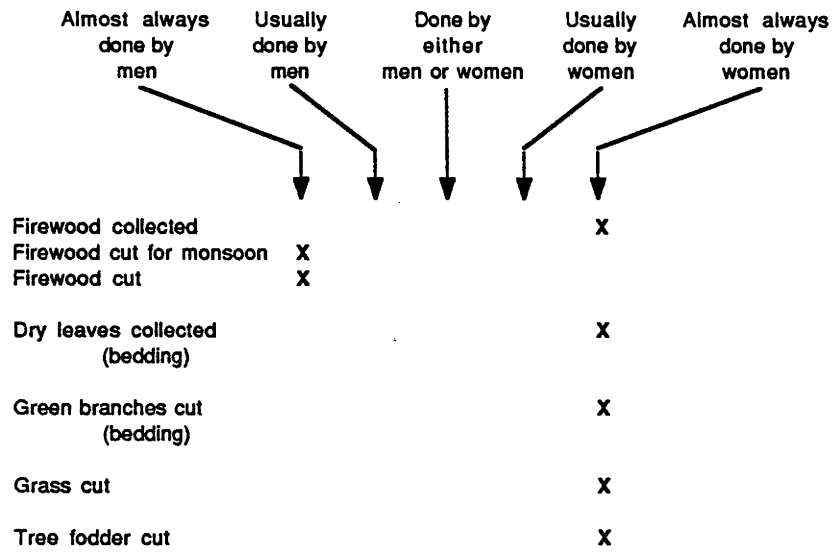


FIGURE 7.23: Division of Labour in Forests: Khanaltol (1070m)

HOUSEHOLD NAME	Household	Exchange	Hire-in	Hire-out	Tenant	Landlord
GRAIN SURPLUS:						
Chwang Jimi Sherpa	●		●			●
Neema Syangbo Lama	●		●			●
Dambar Bahadur Khanal	●	●	●		●	
Annapurna Adhikari	●	●	●		●	
Radhika Khatri	●	●				
Kami Dorge	●	●	●			
Maya Khanal	●	●			●	
Jimi Lama	●	●	●			
Lasam Sherpini	●		●			●
GRAIN ADEQUATE:						
Lokte Lama	●	●	●	●		
Ganga Prasad Adhikari	●	●			●	
Lal Singh Tamarg	●	●	●		●	
Bhim Kumari Khanal	●	●				
Neema Wangal	●					
Maya Lamini	●	●	●			
Gale Buddha	●	●	●			
GRAIN DEFICIT:						
Dama Lama	●	●	●	●	●	
Katak Bahadur Khatri	●	●				
Babu Lama	●	●	●	●	●	
Dal Bahadur Damal	●		▨	●	●	
Sangay Lama	●		●		●	

- Labour involved in agriculture
▨ Labour involved in agriculture and artisan work

TABLE 7.6: Labour Use by Grain Production Category
of Case Study Households: Banskharka Panchayat

Differential rates of pay exist for men and women, where women are paid less for a day's labour than are men. When I questioned male informants as to why women are paid at a lower rate than men a common reply was that 'women are unable to work as hard as men', physically exerting labour is construed by men to be 'hard' work and must therefore be paid at a higher rate. ⁶² Thus women's labour is exploited by the employer who will pay women at a lower rate than men for labouring for the same number of hours.

The Lama households are prohibited by religion from ploughing land and must employ a ploughman and oxen from the neighbouring Tamang village to plough their land. ⁶³

Waged labour

Release from cultivation of their extensive agricultural lands through share-cropping relations allows the Sherpas to enter into trade locally and also with India. The Sherpa settlements on the mountain ridges occupy sites on the trading routes to Tibet and India. Households in Jalshe and Lamatol each have male and female members working in India or Kathmandu for wages, the workers return to their villagers periodically bringing luxury items and gold bought with their cash wages. ⁶⁴

The absence of at least one household member is common amongst the Sherpas, with several of the houses closed because the whole household has migrated for work to India or Kathmandu. The Sherpas from this area tend to congregate in Kashmir where they are sub-contractors for road-building projects and employ labourers from surrounding villages and take them to work in India. ⁶⁵ Members of these households are not forced

to sell their labour but they, as owners of the means of production, buy labour power which they pay at a lower rate than the value of the Indian contract, and thus mechanisms of surplus value are in operation. Several grain surplus Sherpa households have migrated to Kathmandu where they make and sell carpets to a booming tourist industry. ⁶⁶

Extraction of surplus value through the employment of waged labour for the production of carpets is a common relationship between members of grain surplus and grain adequate and deficit households. Members of grain deficit and adequate households sell their labour for a wage to the owner of the means of production. Through the production process a carpet is made which has a value greater than the costs of replacement of the physical labour involved in its production and the costs of materials. It is the difference between these costs and the price for which the carpet is sold which becomes the surplus value. ^{67 68}

Usurious Relationships

Tales of the debts of previous generations abound amongst these households, where high rates of interest were charged on the loan of money during the Rana period. In consequence, members of households were forced to migrate to India for waged labour for up to 20 years before returning to the village with cash to repay loans. ⁶⁹ Acquisition of surplus income from migration for work in India has led these households to invest in increased ownership of the means of production, in particular land and livestock. ⁷⁰ Surplus income acquired by Lama and Sherpa households through trading and migration to India is also used to finance money-lending activities.

Grain surplus Chetri households also have taken out loans with the Lama money-lenders.⁷¹ In one case, a Brahmin household has had to give some of its irrigated land to the Lama money-lender as security for a loan, they continue to cultivate the land but on a kut rent until the loan is repaid.⁷² In another case, a Chetri grain surplus household has been forced to sell some of its irrigated land to the Sherpa money-lender to repay a debt, now it is renting in the land from the money-lender on a kut which requires 5 muris of grain from a total rice production of 6-7 muris.⁷³

Kinship imposes relations on individuals which necessitates sharing their labour amongst their kin, but these kinship ties are also used when small loans are required. Loans are given between agnatically related households generally without interest, although in some cases high rates of interest were quoted.⁷⁴

In general surplus economic production flows up the hillside from the tenant farmers to the Lama and Sherpa landlords, and also in the form of interest on loans. Money-lending relations as a means of surplus extraction predominate amongst these grain surplus households, and form the major links between the Lama and Sherpa money-lenders, and the Tamang and Chetri households of this area.

Tenancy Relationships

In Jalshe and Lamatol, land remote from the house is farmed under share-cropping relationships. Irrigated and unirrigated land is farmed by Tamang, Newar, Chetri and Sarki share-croppers.⁷⁵ The rent usually applies to the main crop only and the tenant is permitted to raise other

crops on the land and to use fodder grass and trees for the tenant's own household use. The landlord-tenant relationship is considered by landlords to be of benefit to the tenant because the tenant may grow other crops on the landlord's land:

If time permits the tenant gets as much benefit as we get. Tenants who work hard have a great advantage because they get two harvests each year. (Lasam Sherpini:6)

Each land-owner is obliged to pay a land-tax to the state, as all land is owned by the state. However, the level of state taxation is far lower than the rates at which rents are fixed, therefore there is a transfer of surplus from the tenant to the landlord.

Rents fixed at a certain level, kut, by mutual agreement have been replaced in some areas with 'fair' rents assessed by the recent cadastral survey, 1985, which has demarcated ownership of land and the amount of rent payable by each tenant. In one case, the landlord suggested that the tenant had bribed the surveyors with the result that the rent was fixed at a low level:

One khet of mine was surveyed last year and rent was fixed at 14 muris. The tenant provided the survey team with raksi (alcoholic drink made from grains) and chickens. The field produces 50-60 muris of rice the tenant should pay 25-30 muris of rice in rent. (Chwang Jimi Sherpa:65)

Allegations of bribery of survey officials were also levelled against this same landlord household by other villagers, who claimed that this household had seized land given to the village for use for communal grazing:

They registered the land in their name during last year's survey. It was left by a lady who has gone to live in Kathmandu, she donated the land for common pasture. They have captured this land. (Lasam Sherpini:26)

Landlords prefer kut rents to adhiya, (where half the harvest is given as rent) in the words of one landlord: ⁷⁶

....with the adhiya system we do not get half of the actual grain production because the tenants tend to show a lower yield than they obtained.....they tend to cheat. With a fixed rent (kut) we don't have to check the validity of the tenant's claim except in the case of drought or landslide when the landlord must compensate the tenant for loss of production'. (Lasam Sherpini:14)

Relationships between landlord and tenant are often characterised by mutual distrust. Tenant households relate examples of exploitation by landlords through the charging of high fixed rents on land of low productivity. The share-cropping relationship is based on extraction of surplus through the use of another person's labour, where the landlord acquires surplus production through the share-cropper labour relationship. Sharecroppers must give to the landlords a fixed rent in kind, a rent which leaves them with a small residual to be distributed in their household or sold through the market.

Tenancy relations are handed down from one generation to another, with such arrangements benefitting the landlord when there are high fixed rents and no renegotiation of rents. ⁷⁷ Inheritance and division of the land area cropped by tenants follows the same pattern as the inheritance of their own land. Thus it is possible for the tenancy agreement to be shared amongst father, brothers and sons; a landlord may have several tenants

working an area of land which was originally given to one tenant.⁷⁸

Generational change in a household's economic position is indicated through oral histories which refer to a past where households were in grain deficit.⁷⁹ Grain yields from unproductive upland were insufficient to secure the subsistence of the household, and because there was no income with which to purchase additional land, it was necessary for some Chetri households to become tenants for grain surplus Sherpa households. This has led to the current anomaly of grain surplus households as tenants for other grain surplus households.⁸⁰ However, through migration for waged labour and the advent of improved seeds and chemical fertilizers, these grain deficit Chetri households have been able to invest in production and have secured a grain surplus: 'Previous generations were in grain deficit but with the introduction of chemical fertilizers yields have increased twofold' (Dhambar Bahadur Khanal:56).

These tenants describe their share-cropping relationships as beneficial to the household:

I am a tenant for a small area of khet for which I pay a kut of 5 muris of rice, the annual production is 14 muris. We benefit from cultivating other's land because we can keep the rice straw and any surplus grain produced over the agreed kut. (Dambar Bahdaur Khanal:52)

Political Relationships

Those households with a grain surplus of over 100 muris do not cultivate their own land, labour is hired in from neighbouring settlements.⁸¹ The withdrawal of household labour from the land releases household members

for work in other spheres. Both households with large grain surpluses have household members who have migrated to India for work, and so the male household head is able to remain in the village and has assumed local political power.

The implications of the retention of a senior male in a household for other households where there are no senior males has already been demonstrated in the case cited in Jalshe. Disputes over access to land cannot be settled by women and without a senior male these households are vulnerable to exploitation and oppression by households where there are men in positions of local political and economic power.

Enhanced social status and political control is also acquired through the use of surplus income to finance religious activities. One grain surplus Lama household used its cash surplus acquired through 18 years of work in Assam to build a new ghyang.⁸² Although this ghyang and its Lama is lower in precedence to the neighbouring old ghyang and Lama; the new ghyang's Lama has extensive ritual obligations which include teaching, attending all the rites of passage rituals and maintaining the religious festivals at the ghyang. Through these relationships the Lama is able to extend his own political and economic control. Guthi land which supplies the ghyang with rice for religious festivals is maintained by tenants. Chetri tenants of this land pay a kut to the ghyang, and through this mechanism surplus production by the Hindu cultivators is used to maintain the ritual focus, the ghyang, of the Buddhist landlords.⁸³

Neema Syangbo as a practising Lama, in this context a priest who can write and teach the Tibetan Buddhist texts, has obligations to many

Buddhist households throughout the area to attend at life-cycle rites.⁸⁴ His position as the head of a grain surplus household ensures his freedom to employ others to work his land and releases him for religious and political practice. His ritual links with households are further consolidated at the political level, where he represents the interests of households at the panchayat level as a ward member. The meshing together of religion and political power is well demonstrated throughout this panchayat, where the Lama priests through their high ritual position and payment for their services are able to penetrate all levels of the political system, as ward leaders, adachyas, and members, sadasyas.

In summary, grain surplus households are the landlords, employers of labour and money-lenders in this area. The Sherpa households through trade and migration to India have accumulated large surpluses that they have invested in the means of production. The Chetri households retain tenancy relationships from a grain deficit past because these relationships increase their grain production surplus.

Grain Adequate Households (Figure 5.3)

Ownership and Control of the Means of Production

Land

The ownership of land amongst the grain adequate households follows the same pattern of change over time already demonstrated by the grain surplus households. However, past accumulation of debts and loss of land in this group has precluded future generations from being being able to

accumulate sufficiently to invest in more land or livestock.⁸⁵ In one case, debts incurred by the father were inherited by the son, who was able to repay only the interest on the debt. However, at the time of the Land Reform it was stated that rates of interest should be reduced to 10% and thus when:

a land reform officer came to our village, I met him but the money-lender hid himself, the officer told me to go the district headquarters at Chautara with the money-lender. However, the money-lender did not go so the case remained unresolved. I sold my six water buffalo, one ox and goat and paid off the debt. Since then I have not been able to afford to buy more buffalo. (Gale Buddha:39)

Without irrigation, crop production from baris is low and will only provide sufficient grain for household consumption and for seeds for the following year, with no surplus for sale. 'Seeds are bartered' between households to ensure that there is a rotation of rice varieties and thus higher grain production (Gale Buddha:66).

Livestock

Livestock ownership in this group of households is well distributed, with most households either owning buffalo and/or cows. Milk and ghee produced from the buffaloes is either sold in the village or in the surrounding area, but distance from markets precludes the sale of buffalo milk for a regular source of income as it is in Tukucha for grain surplus and adequate households. Oxen are not widely owned by the grain adequate case-study households.

Trees

Most grain adequate households have some trees on field boundaries but they rely on access to communally protected forests for their daily firewood and fodder needs. However, the grain adequate Lama households all own large areas of private forest which they use to supply their daily and long-term needs for forest products.⁸⁶ The number of trees on field edges has increased over the past 5-6 years due to the restricted access to forests.⁸⁷ Those households with no trees on private land are forced to buy wood from those with trees.

Relations of Production and Reproduction within Households

Division of Labour

The division of labour associated with the production of commodities and use-values by the household follows the patterns established within Tukucha. However, the division of labour between men and women is determined by the production of carpets for the market which alters the allocation of tasks for the daily maintenance of the household, as was seen for grain surplus households:

The daughter-in-law makes carpets, my son has to take care of the children. (Gale Buddha:7)

Generally, however, the division between those tasks necessary for the daily reproduction of the household and those for its long term sustenance remain divided between men and women. Labour associated with the

maintenance of livestock follows a similar pattern to that of grain surplus households.

Forests

The division between the male and female domain of productive activities in the forests remains clearcut in all the households: 'Men cut firewood because women cannot work with axes...Women do not climb up trees, the men climb the trees and cut fodder' (Neema Wangal:17-18).⁸⁸ This division of labour also reflects the different roles assigned to men and women: tree felling for firewood for the monsoon is a male role, whereas the day to day maintenance of the household through collection of fallen twigs and branches is women's work.⁸⁹ However, in some households where production of carpets is the major source of income, the distinction is blurred and whichever adult has free time will collect firewood and fodder.⁹⁰

Relations of Production and Reproduction with other Households

Labour Relationships

Exchange labour and household labour are the major mechanisms through which these households complete their agricultural work, as shown in Table 7.6. These households are generally tenants and debtors of grain surplus households. They do not themselves employ tenants and generally only employ waged labour when they have insufficient household labour:

We do our own work because if we hire in labourers we will have to pay them money. (Neema Wangal:62)

However, in certain circumstances labour must be hired in, for example, Lama households may not plough their own land because of religious taboo, and households without oxen must also employ others to plough their land.

Relations of obligation exist between households of different cultural and economic status in a locality, known as 'pardaa jaanu parne' (Lal Singh Tamang:32). This is exemplified in the call for labour to help with house construction; households from all nearby villages are required to send labour or food to fulfill their obligation.⁹¹

Women exchange labour with other women to complete their work on both irrigated and unirrigated land. Men exchange labour with other men to cut firewood for the monsoon period. If the household has insufficient male labour and are therefore unable to fulfill their exchange labour obligations they must hire in labourers to help cut firewood for the monsoon.⁹²

Waged labour

Young women of grain adequate households are either employed within the household or by grain surplus households in the manufacture of carpets. One 10 year old girl was earning Rs 300 per month making carpets, money which is reallocated in her household for the purchase of commodities.⁹³

Waged relationships are a characteristic of members of these grain adequate households either through occasional agricultural waged labour or employment as carpet-makers.

Usurious Relationships

Most of these households have taken out loans either with their kin or with money-lenders from Lamatol.⁹⁴ The loans were generally required to pay for life cycle rituals such as weddings and funerals and for the purchase of livestock.⁹⁵ In one case a loan was taken to buy chemical fertilizer to try and obtain a grain surplus; grain production is sufficient for own household needs but insufficient if they sell grain to purchase commodities such as cooking oil, salt, spices, clothing and kerosene for lighting.⁹⁶

Tenancy Relationships

Tenancy relations are entered into by two grain adequate households which have settled on the lower slopes in the rice-growing land. One household has share-cropped the land for the past 40 years.⁹⁷ Although the land has had different owners the tenancy has remained with the same household. A kut rent of 10 muris is payable on the land, although the rents are high both households continue to cultivate the land to provide an additional source of fodder for their buffalo:⁹⁸

There would be benefits from cultivating others' land if we were able to obtain a second harvest but the monkeys eat the wheat crop. However, we do get rice straw and lentils, so there are some benefits. (Bhim Kumari Khanal:32)

In summary, grain adequate households with limited access to the means of production are reliant on the sale of labour to grain surplus households to provide income with which to purchase necessary commodities. For

example, women of these households are employed in carpet production. Relationships of tenancy and debt characterise these households. In general, they do not hire-in agricultural labour but rely on household and exchange labour to complete their agricultural tasks.

Grain Deficit Households (Figure 5.4)

Ownership of the Means of Production

Land

The distribution of the means of production amongst the study households varies according to a number of factors. However, a common characteristic of all the grain deficit households is ownership of low quality land and small areas of irrigated land. The temporal variation in ownership of means of production is demonstrated by all the households. However, grain deficit households with limited access to the means of production are more vulnerable to change than are the Sherpa households with large grain surpluses and diverse income sources.

Ownership of the major means of production - land is not uniformly distributed throughout Lamatol. Land loss due to landslip is common in this geologically fragile environment, and has led to one household losing half its unirrigated land and thus forced them into deficit grain production (Babu Lama:51). The grain deficit Lama households own khet in the less productive upland areas as opposed to the fertile khets around Khanaltol. Yields from this irrigated land is low and both men and women of the household work the land, they do not employ tenants.

Limited land ownership amongst these households is further compounded when any grain surplus must be divided between members of a joint household. In one case, three brothers who live in separate houses but have not separated their landholding share their production from the unirrigated land. However, this leaves each household with a grain deficit because of the low productivity of the land.⁹⁹

Livestock

Livestock ownership is high amongst the grain deficit Lama households, and indicates that their current grain deficiency is a temporal aberration, which will be remedied through their superior access to the means of production (see Table 7.5). These households are rapidly becoming incorporated into the commodity economy through production of carpets for the market. Reliance on agricultural production for the reproduction of the household unit is lessened through access to the waged labour market and carpet manufacture.

In the case of those grain deficit households with limited resources of land and livestock the opportunities to accumulate and reinvest in production are restricted, for example Katak Bahadur Khatri and Dal Bahadur Damai. Relationships of dependency between grain deficit and grain surplus households engendered through tenancy and debt ensure that there is no surplus with which to invest in production.¹⁰⁰ Ownership of livestock in particular buffalo and cows is low, Katak Bahadur Khatri owns one buffalo and two goats and Dal Bahadur Damai owns no animals.

Trees

Decrease in production yields is also attributed to the need to grow trees in baris and the concomitant shading effects on the crops, and to the loss of grain in lowland areas to monkeys. ¹⁰¹ However, grain deficit households in Lamatol have alternative sources through which to secure their subsistence, carpets are made by the women during the winter months and sold by their male relatives in Kathmandu; and trees owned by all the households are used for timber and firewood. ¹⁰²

Relations of Production and Reproduction within Households

Division of Labour

Land and livestock

The particular division of labour already discussed for grain surplus households is also seen in grain deficit households. Changes in the labour composition of a household over time leads to fluctuations in its economic status, and to the allocation of tasks between members of the household. Large families with limited landholdings and many small children are often forced into temporary grain deficit, because there is insufficient labour power within the household. These households have no grain surplus to sell and must seek other means by which to secure their subsistence, for example, adult males hire themselves out as agricultural labourers during the monsoon, and women make carpets for sale. Table 7.6 shows the labour relationships entered into by these households. ¹⁰³

These households produce insufficient grain from their land for the whole year and alternative sources of income are sought. The Lama households are dependent on the income from sale of carpets and in one case, thangkas, religious paintings. ¹⁰⁴

Forests

The division of labour for collection and cutting of forest products follows the same pattern described for grain adequate and grain surplus households. Women and children are responsible for collection of firewood, fodder and leaf litter, and men are responsible for cutting of firewood for the monsoon and cutting of fodder from trees. ¹⁰⁵

Relations of Production and Reproduction with other Households

Labour Relationships

Although there are grain deficit households amongst the Lamas they also own large numbers of animals some of which are tended by Tamangs. One Lama household owns an ox but because they are not permitted to plough their land they gave the ox to a Tamang household for production of manure, on the understanding that the Tamangs will plough the Lama's land when necessary. ¹⁰⁶

Exchange labour is common amongst these households where men and women exchange labour with related members of the same sex. ¹⁰⁷ With small land areas the number of labour days given by the household cannot be repaid in labour by other households, and in this case the surplus days are paid by the other exchange households in money. ¹⁰⁸ However, waged

labour is also used where there is insufficient household labour available and is paid in grain (12 manas for one day) or in money (Rs10 for one day).¹⁰⁹

The Damai household is unable to exchange labour as there are no other sano jat or artisan households within the locality. Therefore, waged labourers are employed for agricultural tasks that cannot be completed by the members of this household.¹¹⁰ Grain and cash which is paid for the Damai's services must be reallocated to pay for labour, a deduction from the gross product available to the household for their own use or for sale in the market to buy commodities.

Members of the sano jat sell their labour through the products that they produce for their client households and are paid in kind, bali, by these households. The Damai, tailor, household has 40-50 bista, or client, households for whom he makes clothes. Household members cannot secure their subsistence from their share-cropped land and are therefore reliant on the grain given by the client households in exchange for these artisanal services.¹¹¹ Dal Bahadur Damai does not own any livestock, and tends his landlord's animals to obtain manure for his fields. Close relationships are maintained with the landlord through all aspects of the production process. He has also bought land from his landlord on which he has built their one room house.¹¹² These close ties of dependence between the Damai household and the landlord leave them vulnerable to exploitation by the landlord through unfair rents or interest rates.

The sale of carpets and thangkas has provided the Lama grain deficit households with the cash to withdraw from labour exchange obligations

and therefore released both adult male and female labour for work on income-earning products.¹¹³ Incorporation of these households into a market economy is following a similar pattern to that previously described for the grain surplus households. However, where the grain surplus Sherpa households controlled labour and land, many of these grain deficit households have limited access to land and are the tenants of grain surplus households. The grain deficit households with limited access to the means of production are vulnerable to any change in the market for the products that they make.

Tenancy Relationships

To supplement grain production from their own land grain deficit households in Lamatol are tenants on guthi bari land belonging to the temple in a neighbouring panchayat. However, the rent, kut, is fixed at a higher level than the total production from the bari and thus the tenant is forced to make up the kut with grain from his own baris. He continues as tenant of this land because it is an obligation inherited from his father.¹¹⁴

Relations of exploitation through tenancy relationships occur for those households with the least access to means of production. In the case of the Damai household, the major proportion of their land is rented in from a Tamang grain surplus household. Rent on this land is fixed at one muri of grain which may be millet or rice. Even if the tenant's yields are low which they have been for several years he does not get any remission from the full kut. The tenancy was inherited from the household head's father:

When my father was alive we had two milk buffaloes and produced 25-26 muris of rice and more corn and millet than we have now. But the landlords took all the land and so now we are in trouble. (Dal Bahadur Damai:22)

The Damai's land was appropriated by his landlord, who was also a bista, after it was surveyed, and then the landlord registered the land in his name. The bista did not permit the tenant to exercise his rights. Under the *Land Reform Act*, 1964, tenants were given security of tenure. A tenant cannot be evicted by a landlord and a tenant's rights are inheritable by his sons.

Grain deficit households must buy in food grains to fulfil their subsistence requirements, and they also barter grain for potatoes with villagers from Jalshe. ¹¹⁵

In summary, grain deficit households are characterised by the sale of their labour either as agricultural labourers or as waged labourers for carpet production. Their limited ownership of the means of production prevents accumulation of surplus for investment in land or livestock. They are vulnerable to any change in their material circumstances either through natural disaster or through loss of household labour through death. Exploitative tenancy relationships characterise this category of household. Both men and women must enter into waged labour relationships to ensure the reproduction of the household. Women in this category sell their labour in the production of carpets.

7.5 CONCLUSIONS

In Banskharka, economic class determines the relationships between women of different caste and ethnic group and also relationships within the ethnic group. There are also hierarchical structures within households that determine women's relationships with each other and with male kin. Thus there is a complexity of structures that determines each individual's relationships with another.

Although Sherpa and Lama women follow the Buddhist religion, notions of purity that construct Hindu religion have also become part of Buddhist women's relationships. Lama and Sherpa women expressed their freedom with respect to their male kin in other aspects of their production and human reproduction relationships, as a result of their greater economic independence, either through money gained from working in India, or from money from the sale of their carpets.

For all three categories of households, production of carpets by women releases them from some agricultural and domestic work which in the case of Lama households is taken over by men. For Chetri women carpet production is confined to the winter months when there is less agricultural work. For Lama women, however, carpet production continues throughout the year irrespective of the amount of agricultural work. The division of labour between Lama and Sherpa men and women is not distinct and is dependent on physical ability, age and available time rather than gender. However, the division of labour in Chetri households follows the same pattern observed in Tukucha, where there is a strict division between

women's production of use-values and men's production for exchange and sale.

Relationships between women of the same ethnic group are seen to depend on their access to the means of production. In one case, women of a grain surplus household are able to intimidate women of a grain deficit household through oral abuse, and also by preventing access to basic needs of firewood and water. In this case, women are divided amongst themselves, and through their actions are reinforcing structures based on the ownership and control of the means of production.

Men own and control the means of production, even in those households where the men have migrated to India for work and the women are left to maintain the household land.

Grain surplus households are characterised by their employment of agricultural waged labour, and waged labour for carpet making. The virtual withdrawal of the Sherpa households from agriculture into the market economy as labour contractors has led to a greater accumulation of the means of production. Surplus income is used to fund money-lending activities. With more land and limited household labour these households have entered into tenancy agreements with both grain surplus and deficit households to ensure their continued reproduction. Chetri grain surplus households have retained tenancy relationships with Sherpa households because it has increased their total crop production capability.

Grain adequate households have limited access to the means of production and rely on household and exchange labour to complete their agricultural

work. Women of these households enter into waged relationships with grain surplus households for carpet production. Relationships of tenancy and debt predominate, both sets of relationships prevent these households from accumulating sufficiently to invest in more land or other means of production.

Grain deficit households with poor quality and small amounts of land, are forced to sell their labour either as agricultural waged labour, or through sale of products, such as thangkas, and carpets. However, they are vulnerable to any fluctuations in the markets they serve through their products. Tenancy relationships based on large rents are characteristic of this category and again restrict the opportunities for accumulating surplus grain production for sale.

Overall, these three categories of household are linked through relationships of labour, usury and tenancy; where economic surplus is extorted by Sherpa and Lama landlords.

NOTES

1. Altitude range: 1070m-2150m.
2. Gale Buddha:60.
3. Neema Wangal:54 and Fricke (1986:41) also refers to this.
4. From a conversation with Rejhung Lama (Field Notes, 1987).
5. For a more detailed discussion of these ritual relationships see Fürer-Haimendorf (1956); Clarke (1980).
6. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:63.
7. Seraph Lama:4.
8. Lasam Sherpini:26; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:75.
9. Lasam Sherpini:45; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:75.
10. Lala Sherpini: 'they are wealthy they have glass in their windows' (Field Notes, 1987).
11. Field Notes (1987).
12. Chyama Sherpini:3.
13. Lasam Sherpini:24-29; Lala Sherpini:28; Nima Sherpa and Kasam Sherpini:41.
14. Chyama Sherpini:9; Lala Sherpini:28-29.
15. Neema Syangbo Lama:87; Dama Lama:30; Lokte Lama:79; Sangay Lama:83.
16. Babu Lama:60; Dama Lama:50; Lal Singh Tamang:26.
17. Chyama Sherpini:3; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:20.
18. Dawa Lamini:77

19. The price obtained for each carpet varies according to the number of knots, colour and design. Dawa Lamini:78; Maya Lamini:81; Dama Lama:82; Sangay Lama:84.
20. From fieldwork observation and Dawa Lamini:79.
21. From fieldwork observation.
22. Dambar Bahadur Khanal:50.
23. From fieldwork observation and discussions.
24. From discussions with all the households in Khanaltol.
25. From informal discussions with Lala Sherpini and Lasam Sherpini (Field Notes, 1987).
26. From field work observations.
27. Lasam Sherpini:60-61.
28. Women are usually given chicken or other meat after giving birth. To give food such as described by this woman is considered to be insulting.
29. Meena Syangbo:90.
30. Meena Syangbo:90 and discussion with other villagers.
31. Meena Syangbo:90.
32. Meena Syangbo:89
33. Lala Sherpini:28.
34. Lala Sherpini:30.
35. This form of oath is considered to be very strong and binding.
36. I was asked to look at the firewood after the event. There was no green wood in the bundle.

37. Lala Sherpini:28.
38. Lala Sherpini:28
39. Lala Sherpini:65.
40. Lasam Sherpini:42; Lala Sherpini:67.
41. From discussions with Lala Sherpini.
42. Cheba Syangbo:8; Lasam Sherpini:2; Dawa Lamini:78; Lokte Lama:79; Maya Lamini:80.
43. For example each adult is responsible for washing their own clothes.
44. Dawa Lamini:79; Maya Lamini:81; Neema Syangbo Lama:85; Rejhung Lama:86
45. Carpet-making is included in Figures 7.16 and 7.17 showing the division of labour for agricultural tasks, because it replaces women's labour otherwise used in agriculture.
46. Field note observation and comment from Babu Lama.
47. Fieldwork observation and discussion with Lasam Sherpini.
48. 4 daam would have been the fixed land tax at that time. The land tax did not depend on the area of land but on the productivity of the khet or bari.
49. Radhika Khatri:43; Dambar Bahadur Khanal:49.
50. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:63; Lasam Sherpini:18.
51. Neema Syangbo Lama:14 and Chwang Jimi Sherpa.
52. The cost of labour was Rs 10 for carrying 100 seedlings and a further Rs 10 for planting them.
53. These figures are based on observation and interviews with men and women in the three settlements.

54. Lasam Sherpini:58; Chyama Sherpini:26; Neema Syangbo Lama:9.
55. Lasam Sherpini:18.
56. Radhika Khatri:49.
57. From discussion with all the households and from fieldwork observation.
58. See O'Laughlin (1974:306) for a description of the tasks Mbum women are allowed to perform. She notes that: 'This greater rigidity in sexual definition of roles cannot be associated with any increased importance of biologically determined differences in strength and aptitude between women because young women before marriage perform many physically demanding tasks.'
59. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:65-73; Lasam Sherpini:18; Neema Syangbo Lama:92; Dambar Bahadur Khanal:64; Annapurna Adhikari:34.
60. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:80.
61. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:78. Firewood cutting season is mid-March to mid-May.
62. Neema Syangbo Lama (p.103) rates of pay are Rs20 for men and Rs10-15 for women.
63. Neema Syangbo Lama:80; Dawa Lamini:78. Payment for a days ploughing is Rs 30, which is equivalent to the wages of three men: the two oxen and the ploughman attract wage compensation in equal measure.
64. Field Notes (1987).
65. Chyama Sherpini:35.
66. Seraph Sherpa: 4.
67. Wages for carpets are paid at a fixed rate of Rs 200 for each carpet.
68. Dawa Lamini (p.79) states that young girls, under 14 years of age, work carpets with a more experienced partner, in this case they are

paid Rs 100 for a completed carpet. In other cases, the employer supplies the materials and the carpet maker weaves the carpets at his or her home. These carpets are then sold by the employer in Kathmandu for about Rs 1000.

69. Rhejung Lama:87; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:10; Seraph Sherpa:4.
70. Lasam Sherpini:44.
71. Dambar Bahadur Khanal (p.59) has taken a Rs 3000 loan with the Lama of the new ghyang, the rate of interest for Rs 1000 is 2 muris of rice per year.
72. Annapurna Adhikari: 45.
73. Maya Khanal:7
74. Maya Khanal has taken a loan of Rs 100 and has to pay interest of either Rs 20 or 5 pathis of rice:11; Dambar Bahadur Khanal:59.
75. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:65; Lasam Sherpini:18.
76. This reflects the preferences of the pre-Rana regimes as is described in Chapter 3, p.76.
77. Lasam Sherpini:10; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:71. See also Borgström, 1980:69 for a discussion of tenant's rights.
78. Lasam Sherpini:10; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:71.
79. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:74; Maya Khanal:7; Chyama Sherpini:45.
80. Maya Khanal:7; Dambar Bahadur Khanal:52; Annapurna Adhikari:45.
81. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:65; Neema Syangbo Lama:92.
82. Rejhung Lama:87.
83. Bhim Kumari Khanal:31.
84. Neema Syangbo Lama:11.

85. During the Rana period, high interest rates were charged - one muri of grain for every Rs 100 borrowed, now interest rates are five pathis of grain for Rs100 Gale Buddha:37.
86. Lokte Lama:79; Maya Lamini:80.
87. Bhim Kumari Khanal:7
88. Bhim Kumari Khanal:13.
89. Dawa Lamini:78; Lokte Lama:79.
90. Maya Lamini:80.
91. When Lal Singh Tamang decided to enlarge his house help was obtained from all three categories of household. If a household does not have spare male labour to send to help with the house construction they will send food. From field observation and discussions with Lal Singh Tamang (p.10).
92. Neema Wangal:47; Bhim Kumari Khanal:13; Lokte Lama:79.
93. Lal Singh Tamang:88.
94. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:52; Bhim Kumari Khanal:38.
95. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:53; Bhim Kumari Khanal:39.
96. A loan taken with a Sherpa money-lender of Rs 500-600 (interest on the loan is Rs 100 is 5 pathis of rice or Rs 20) was used to buy oxen and to pay for expenses of parent's death rituals. (Ganga Prasad Adhikari: 47; Bhim Kumari Khanal:39).
97. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:44.
98. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:42; Bhim Kumari Khanal:31.
99. Dama Lama:44; Katak Bahadur Khatri:12.
100. Dal Bahadur Damal:33; Dama Lama:42.
101. Babu Lama:10; Katak Bahadur Khatri:53.

102. Babu Lama:9; Dama Lama:15; Sangay Lama:84.
103. Babu Lama:64; Dama Lama:54.
104. Sangay Lama:84.
105. Sangay Lama:83; Babu Lama:17; Dal Bahadur Damai:28; Katak Bahadur Khatri:14; Dama Lama:14.
106. Babu Lama:2.
107. Babu Lama:61; Katak Bahadur Khatri: 57; Dama Lama:52.
108. Dama Lama:53.
109. Babu Lama:62.
110. Dal Bahadur Damai:19.
111. Dal Bahadur Damai (p.16) each household gives 1-2 pathis of grain, ball, every year.
112. Dal Bahadur Damai:4.
113. Sangay Lama:84.
114. Dama Lama:42.
115. One pathi of maize for 2 pathis of potatoes, or one pathi of maize flour for 10 manas of potatoes. Katak Bahadur Khatri:55; Babu Lama:57; Dama Lama:47; Sangay Lama:84; Dal Bahadur Damai:21.

CHAPTER 8

THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF FORESTS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 6 and 7 have demonstrated the social relationships between individuals that determine ownership and control of resources. This chapter discusses the nature of forests as a raw material necessary for the production and reproduction of life in Tukucha and Banskharka. The empirical evidence draws on oral histories from villagers in these panchayats. The chapter is divided into two main sections, one for each panchayat. The first part of each panchayat section follows the ordering of historical and world system change within Nepal, to show the effects of national forest policy on resource use at the level of the individual. The second part of each section discusses the interaction between individuals in the village and an external community forestry project, the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project.¹ The Project's activities in the formal sphere of meetings to establish local forest management systems revealed relationships between individuals dependent on class and gender which otherwise remained obscured.

8.2 TUKUCHA PANCHAYAT

The information within this section draws on oral histories given by elderly male and female members of three gauns - Lamichhanegaun, Pandaygaun and Thapagaun, and focuses on the history of usage in living memory. Within the boundaries of Tukucha panchayat there are a number of forests which have a variety of legal classifications from government to panchayat forest. However, local control over these forests has continued irrespective of their legal status. In this section I will describe only those forests that were used by the villagers I was working with: Sano Ban; Sapanesura Ban; and Thulo Pakha Ban.

Sano Ban and Sapanesura Ban are government owned natural forests, which have been protected by the adjacent villages. Sano Ban surrounds three caste differentiated settlements, Pandaygaun, Rayagaun and Thapagaun.² Sapanesura Ban adjoins Lamichhanegaun, a settlement of Jaisi Brahmins and Shrestha Newars, and is protected and used by villagers from this gaun.³

Thulo Pakha Ban is a plantation forest established in 1952 by the post-Rana government, and is now designated as a panchayat protected forest.

Rana Hegemony: 1846-1951

Deforestation has a long history which pre-dates the living memories of the elder men and women in the villages. It appears from discussions with older people that much of the highland was left for grazing land.

According to one old woman this barren land was a remnant from the period of Prithvi Narayan Shah and his capture of Kathmandu Valley, 1768, when trees were cut down for firewood and so that his armies could obtain a clear view of the Valley. The hills above Lamichhanegaun show signs of hill forts which according to popular memory were used by Prithvi Narayan Shah. ⁴

From 1895 oral histories suggest that there was increased encroachment on forest land. People began to cultivate grazing and forest land adjacent to their fields:

We call this land 1952 BS (1895) because after this date the land was registered....People would cut down trees for firewood next to their fields. Next year they would include this forest land in their cultivated area, and so they would go on increasing their land. (Hari Prasad Lamichhane:49)

During the Rana period rights over use of forests were vested in the government through the ban goswara, forest office, in Kathmandu, and enacted through a dittha:

The ban goswara used to have the overall authority andthe ditthas were employed from the goswara. Government forests were demarcated by the ditthas using stones. Anyone who was powerful could get the post of dittha. People went to the goswara office and applied for the post of dittha. The boss of the goswara had the right to employ ditthas and he would employ his own people. The villagers used to be the guards and they were paid by the Ranas. They were paid Rs 3.50 a month. Later the salary was raised to Rs 5 a month. They used to take care of the forests assigned to them. They had the same responsibility as the guards of these days have. (Hira Lal Shrestha:55, 57) ⁵

The ditthas and guards had jurisdiction over 7 to 8 forests in this area, but were unable to enforce restrictions because they visited each forest only once a month. ⁶ However, at this time there were forests of large trees surrounding both Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun: 'There were large trees in Sanoban during the Rana period which were used for building timber and crooked trees cut for firewood' (Bahadur Thapa:1). ⁷ One forest, Rani Ban, remained well protected, as it was a birta grant to the Rani (wife of one of the Ranas) and access to the forest was prohibited. Trespass carried a fine of 4 paisa. ⁸

It was suggested by Ram Bahadur Panday (p.8) that because salaries paid to the forest guards (Rs 3-3.5 per month) were low there was little incentive to protect the forests. Punitive measures were imposed by forest guards on local people caught infringing rules which prohibited the cutting of green firewood, grass and timber. Local people were either fined heavily or taken to the forest office in Kathmandu where they were put in jail if they were unable to pay the fine. ⁹ Villagers needed to obtain firewood and fodder from the forest and would often resort to sorties at night to evade the forest guard. ¹⁰

Sapanesura Ban has been protected by the Lamichhanes and retained for their use for as long as can be remembered. ¹¹ During the Rana period there were restrictions on its use, imposed by the villagers, dry leaves could be collected once a year during Chait (mid-March to mid-April), and access to the forest at any other time was prohibited by the panchas, village elders. ¹² Firewood that had been cut in previous months by cutters designated by the panchas and left in piles to dry, was then made available to the villagers, also in the month of Chait. ¹³

Villagers from settlements other than Lamichhanegaun were forbidden access to Sapanesura, and if they were found violating this rule they were punished through confiscation of their baskets and cut firewood. Local mechanisms existed through which serious disputes between villages over access to forests could be resolved, for example meetings between aggrieved parties decided that cut timber should be confiscated and put in a public place (a rest-house for example) for communal use by villagers of Lamichhanegaun. ¹⁴

Deforestation: 1933 to 1950

Large scale deforestation of Sano Ban and Sapanesura Ban relates back to a violent earthquake in 1933, followed by a heavy snowfall in 1935 which further exacerbated the damage. ¹⁵ The earthquake caused widespread destruction of houses and forests, and many broken trees were sold at auction to contractors. As a result of the damage an order was issued by the government opening forests to local people to supply timber for rebuilding. ¹⁶ However, the contractors were said to have used the forests as a mine for timber and were responsible for cutting large areas of unbroken trees, to be sold in Kathmandu to repair damage sustained there. ¹⁷

Freeing of access to forests led to further destruction with many people cutting and selling firewood to neighbouring towns: 'Firewood from these forests was sold to local people at rates of 10 paisa per bhari, firewood was also sold in Bhaktapur and Nala' (Hira Lal Shrestha:55). ¹⁸

Government controls could not be sustained when demand for forest

products outstripped supply, forests close to trails rapidly became degraded; and the rapid population increase at this time led to increased demand on local resources. The population of Thapagaun grew from 10-12 households in the 1930's to the current 50-60 households; and over the same period the population of Lamichhanegaun has grown from 9 households to 39 households. ¹⁹ Oral histories from the villagers indicate that from the 1930s they were forced to travel long distances to other forests for firewood, fodder and timber:

At that time (1930s) there were forests at Madhav Pokhari and Chhahare. Chhahare is about 3 kosh (6 miles) east of here. Women had to walk 6 kosh (12 miles) a day to get one bhari of firewood. They left home early in the morning and came back in the evening with a bundle of firewood. (Ram Bahadur Panday:17) ²⁰

The hillside now dominated by Sano Ban was then bare of all trees and was used as village grazing land. ²¹

Persistence - from Rana Hegemony to Shah Monarchy: 1951-1960

'Democracy came to Nepal in 2007 BS (1951 AD). The destruction of the forest also began with the beginning of democracy' (Hari Prasad Lamichhane:15). ²² During the Rana regime if people were found cutting down trees they were fined, after 'democracy' the rules were relaxed and people would bribe the guards. ²³ It was a period of increasing population with insufficient food production, and firewood and timber were cut for sale in towns to provide cash to buy grains. ²⁴ Villagers state that they had to economise on the amounts of firewood used and would substitute with maize stalks whenever possible. ²⁵

This period also saw the afforestation by the government of a hillside adjacent to Lamichhanegaun previously used for grazing. Thulo Pakha Ban was planted by the Afforestation Division with species of pine from a nursery established in Lamichhanegaun.²⁶ Oral histories indicate that the total loss of the communal grazing area was opposed by local people who requested that the government leave some land bare for the cattle to graze on.²⁷ This area was later afforested on the request of the village elders with khote sallo, *Pinus roxburghii*. The Afforestation Division employed plantation guards to prevent villagers entering the plantation to graze their animals.²⁸

The impact of national legislation on forest use in Tukucha was minimal. Villagers did not know about the *Private Forests Nationalisation Act*, 1957, and did not consider that there was increased deforestation at the time of introduction of the Act.

The Shah Monarchy and Panchayat Polity: 1960–1987

There was no significant increase in forest cover until the introduction of the panchayat system in 1961–2. Major expansion in cultivation onto grazing land in the higher regions of the panchayat is a relatively recent occurrence. Land which is now afforested and terraced on the upper slopes of the panchayat was until 1963 grazing land. But increases in population led to increased pressure on the existing cultivated land and for the need to expand cultivation into forest and grazing areas.²⁹

The advent of the panchayat system and delegation of responsibility for local resources to the panchayat led to a changed forest usage pattern.

Upland forests that had been open to the villagers were now protected by surrounding villages and so the villagers of Thapagaun, Pandaygaun and Lamichhanegaun had to look to alternative resources to supply their needs of firewood, fodder, leaf litter and green bedding. The decision was taken by the village elders to protect forests that lay within their ward boundaries and to exclude outsiders; each ward would have access rights and control over forests within their boundaries:

With the administrative division of the panchayats, the forests were divided among the panchayats. The forest that lies in a certain panchayat area belongs to that panchayat. The panchayats take care of the forests that are within their boundary. Previously it was not like this: forests were free to all and people could go to any forest. (Bahadur Thapa:8-9)

The village elders of Pandaygaun formed a forest committee, appointed a forest guard from the village and made the villagers sign a paper to say that 'they and their descendants would go to hell if they destroyed the forest' (Maya Panday:65).³⁰ Through the controls instituted by Pandaygaun over Sano Ban, 25 years later Sano Ban is no longer a bare hillside but a dense forest supplying the villages with firewood, fodder and animal bedding:

Many women and few men go to the forest. People used to be allowed to collect dry leaves only between the months of Phagun to Baisakh. The elders used to fix one day during Baisakh when all the villagers could collect dry leaves. On that day all the family would go to the forest and collect leaves even children and men. The men collected the leaves and the women carried them home. On that day people would also hire labourers on wages to collect and carry leaves. (Satibama Panday and Shyamsangari Panday:55)

Different settlements adopted their own forest protection practices, but

they all employed a villager to act as a forest guard:

People started taking care of the forest after the panchayat system was introduced. They employed a forest guard. The guard was paid from donations collected by the villagers. All the villagers do not have trees in their fields. People who do not have trees of their own steal firewood from the forest, even these days. The guard was from the village. He was paid in food grains and he could sell the grains if he needed money..... He was paid 2-3 pathis of grain by each household. He was paid 6 manas per person. Children below 16 and people above 40 were not counted. So the quantity that a household had to pay depended on how many family members there were between 17 and 39. There were altogether 13 family members in my family, but three of them were above 40 and three were below 16; only seven people were counted so we had to pay 42 manas of grain in a year. This system continued for 15-20 years. It has not been in practice for the last 3-4 years. It was stopped because of a quarrel. The villagers quarrelled with the guard. People went to cut firewood. The guard did not let them so they had a quarrel. Later the guard did not want to continue in his job. He said that he was looking after the forest for the welfare of the villagers not for his own interest. He did not want to do the job if the people behave in this way. The people of Thakurigaun still have a guard they have been donating grain to pay for the guard. He lets people collect dry leaves twice a year. (Bahadur Thapa:34,41)

In Pandaygaun a forest guard was appointed after a meeting convened by the elders of the village. The guard was paid through donation of rice (paddy) at the rate of one pathi per family member or the equivalent price of the paddy:

We had forest guards employed in this way for 20-22 years. We have not had any such guards for the last 4-5 years.....This ruling was rigidly enforced; for some poorer households it was difficult to maintain payments and resulted in them borrowing grain from other villagers to pay their dues. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:44)³¹

Local forest protection systems continued for between 15-22 years (until 1975-1982) in both Pandaygaun and Thapagaun. Conflicts between individuals, however, led to the eventual demise of both the systems and to the total degradation of the Thapagaun forest. Cases were cited of forest guards being bribed by wealthy villagers and in other areas of unregulated stealing from the forest during the night: 'People claimed that the guard did not treat everybody equally.....he helped those who were powerful' (Ram Bahadur Panday:27). Although the formal systems of protection had broken down, Sanoban continued to be protected by the ward leader from Pandaygaun; villagers from Pandaygaun alone were considered to have rights of use in the forest, and the Thapas were actively discouraged from using the forest surrounding Pandaygaun.

However, the population of Thapagaun had increased rapidly and thus also had its needs for firewood. Pandaygaun had a small population with a lesser demand on the forest. The Pandays of Pandaygaun are wealthy with large farm holdings (see Chapter 6) and sufficient land on which to grow trees for household use. The population differences and varying demands on the forest led to frequent conflict between the Pandays and Thapas over access to the forest protected by the Pandays and thus considered to be their own.

In parallel with local systems of protection government forest guards were appointed to protect the forests. However, these guards had limited effect, forests were considered to be the property of particular villages and were protected by them regardless of the presence of a government guard.³²

Trees on Private Land: 1933 to 1987

Whilst access to forest resources was effectively unregulated and forests were easily accessible there was no need for individuals to invest labour and land in tree cultivation, but after the 1930s degradation of the forests continued, and access became more difficult. In consequence trees were allowed to regenerate on agricultural land and in some cases men would plant wild seedlings on their land to ensure a supply of timber.³³ Previous to the 1930s there had been no protection or planting of trees on farms.³⁴

The need to rely on locally protected forests for a supply of firewood, fodder and leaf litter has continued to force a change in landuse. Since surrounding forests cannot supply all the needs of the villagers, those with sufficient agricultural land have increased the planting and protection of trees on private land.³⁵

The 25 year period after the introduction of the panchayat system has marked the beginning of a closer integration of Nepal into the world system through the intervention of large-scale aid programmes. These programmes included the introduction of chemical fertilizers, and other technologies. After the introduction of chemical fertilizers and improved seeds, crop yields improved and land could be taken out of crop production to grow trees.³⁶ However, this change in landuse was for those who had access to agricultural extension agents, cash with which to buy the new technologies and sufficient land to be able to take the risk of placing some land under a long-rotation crop - trees. Trees were planted to be used as an insurance against the future as timber for building or to realise

for cash:

We may need money to pay for labourers and for many other purposes. Suppose that I borrowed Rs 200 from you and I promised to pay you back in a month; but I could not pay you back on time because I have no job and I could not make money by other means. In that case I may sell my trees to pay the debt. I may have to sell cheaper than the normal price. I have not sold any trees so far because the trees are not big enough. I may sell in one or two more years. I will sell if I need money. (Hira Lal Shrestha:22) ³⁷

In summary, major deforestation of the large upland forests was caused by the earthquake and subsequent freeing of access by the government to forests and their products. The combination of this natural disaster with a concomitant increase in population and lack of government or local control over forests, led to a more rapid deterioration. However, as access to forests became physically more difficult and time consuming, and control of the remaining local forests was handed to the newly-formed panchayats, households turned to private land to supply their tree product needs. In the first instance, trees were allowed to regenerate in uncultivable areas, and then as local forests were more stringently controlled by locally employed guards, men began to plant seedlings from the forest on their unirrigated land.

The transition from reliance on and use of communally owned and protected forest resources to the use of private tree resources came about through a number of mechanisms. However, this transition is complete only for those households with adequate land areas to enable some unirrigated land to be relinquished for trees. Thus, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 6, it is the grain surplus and some grain adequate

households which can reallocate land to tree-growing, while grain deficit households remain dependent on communal forest resources to supply the raw materials necessary for the maintenance of life.

Forests in the Age of Aid and Development: 1961-1987

Forest protection systems set up under the auspices of the panchayat system continued until local conflicts ended in the withdrawal of locally employed forest guards from the forests. Government forests continued to be protected by forest guards employed by the Forest Department, but villagers state that use of forests continued irrespective of the legal ownership of the forests:

....for old people like us the government forests, private forests and panchayat forests are the same. We can take care of the forests whosoever forest it is. (Gunaraj Lamichhane:10)

Panchayat legislation provided local leaders with the authority to enforce local systems of control over the forests, as has been described. At the same time, in the wider global climate of 'eco-doom' prophecy, attention was focussed on Nepal through forestry aid activities. This attention converted into practical intervention in Tukucha through the work of the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project (NAFP) with the establishment of a forest nursery to supply seedlings for the new panchayat forests, the establishment of which was also funded by the Project.³⁸ This intervention had little impact on individuals' actual access to forest and tree resources in the area, and local forest protection systems established in Pandaygaun continued.

Participation

The emergence of new notions in global forestry practice - social (community) forestry and the introduction of national forestry legislation, influenced and determined the actions of NAFP at village-level.³⁹ From 1986, the Project moved from creation of forest resources to instituting forest management systems for forests used by villages. The impetus for change from the largely technocratic practices of the first years of the Project came from a number of pressures, both external and internal. The emergence of new forms of social forestry which talked of participation of local people in the management of their existing forest resources influenced practice. However, one of the most important factors was the realisation by the Project that the new plantation forests were insignificant in area and quantity relative to the existing forests being used by villagers to fulfil their daily needs.

Interactions between Project and Forest Department staff with people in panchayats had previously been confined to discussion with members of the panchayat hierarchy, and payment of wages to nursery staff.⁴⁰ The new form of social forestry demanded close association with those who used the forests:

The Project does not identify a specific women's component because the role of women is integral to almost every one of its aspects. In most subsistence economies, and certainly in Nepal, women are the main forest users. It is they who collect leaves as animal fodder and fallen wood as fuel and herd animals. They also collect a wide range of forest products for food, medicine and for many household or religious functions. The main use of the forest by men is for obtaining timber for building construction and repair and for ploughs and other

household and agricultural implements. They may also obtain and carry wood of larger dimensions than that collected by women, and then split it and use it for fuel, particularly for wet seasons. The main forest users, in time commitment and value of product, are however, women.

Women's participation is essential to the Project.....it is clear that no standard formula for women's participation exists nor indeed can be expected.....The Project will therefore need to develop its own operational procedures to ensure the appropriate participation of women. (Australian Development Assistance Bureau, 1985:16-17)

Participation as a notion and process for development has entered project planning and rhetoric. However, as with the notion of social forestry, the appearance participative action takes is dependent on the ideology of the 'implementing' organisation (Oakley, 1987:8). There are two main forms of participation which broadly encompass a reformist approach and the more radical liberative, empowerment and structural change approach:

..... (popular) participation is viewed as an active process in which the participants take initiatives and action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they can exert effective control. The idea of passive participation which only involves the people in actions that have been thought out or designed by others and are controlled by others is unacceptable. (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:x)

.....the promotion of popular participation implies a redistribution of power (basically a conflictual process) and this calls for a scientific analysis which gives due recognition to political factors, social forces and the role of class in historical processes of social change. (UNRISD, 1981:3)

The Project has adopted a form of participation which is reformist in approach where poor households obtain some incremental change in access

to forest products. It assumes that aggregate benefits of the Project will mainly benefit wealthy households but will also percolate to the poorer households:

It has been broadly agreed..that the following criterion for judging the economic success of the Project is reasonable. Recognising that some high and middle income households will inevitably and perhaps substantially benefit from the Project, the Project can be judged successful if the mass of poor households have access to noticeably more forest products. (Hamilton, 1987:5)

The Process of Participation

The process of participation of local people in the management of forest resources was started through formation of panchayat forest committees and later ward committees at the instigation of the Project and Forest Department.^{41 42} Conflicts between individuals rooted in class and gender relationships emerged and expressed themselves at these forest committee meetings and afterwards when I discussed with individuals their reactions to proposed payments for forest products and to rules restricting access to forests. It is the villagers' understanding of the impact of external notions of social forestry that form the basis of the following description of events.

Gender and Participation

Participation of women in forest decision-making is considered by some men to be unnecessary and by some women to be impossible, although women accept that the collection of forest products, and therefore the

need for forests, is mainly their responsibility:

Men don't care about the forest. They go to the teashop drink tea and talk, that's all they do. Women cook food and feed them. Men don't have to cook so they don't have any concern about the forest.....It is women who need the forest, they need firewood to cook. Women can't advise men, even if they do the men don't listen to women.....Men preach to women about not cutting trees, but what can women do they cannot cook food without firewood and they cannot collect firewood from other places. (Group discussion with women in Thapagaun:11-12, 97)

The conflict between women's needs to maintain the daily reproduction of the household and the men's longer term strategic use of forest products was made apparent at these meetings when priorities were assigned by men and women for forest products: ⁴³

<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
1. Firewood	Grass
2. Bedding	Firewood
3. Grass	Bedding
4. Timber	Timber

Overall, women assigned the greatest importance to those products on which they expended the greatest amount of labour. Labour expenditure also determined the priority that men placed on forest products: firewood was of primary importance because men are responsible for cutting firewood for the monsoon season.

Appearance of Patriarchal Relations

The actual conflict between genders is most obvious when women are brought into the male sphere, in particular the interaction of women with men in public meetings. Relations of dominance gain their full expression

at this level. The appearance of these patriarchal relations was observed in forest meetings held in the villages at the instigation of NAFFP. A clear description is given by one woman of the problems that women face when forced into a situation where they must interact on an equal level with men:

The foreigners told the villagers that because women are the forest users they must also be members of the forest committee. According to the foreigners it should be compulsory for women to attend the meetings. The men agreed to this and women were allowed to become committee members. However, women were informed of a meeting only when a male committee member chanced to meet them. Even if women attend meetings they cannot voice their opinions: they cannot speak against the opinions of their seniors. When the men have finished speaking that is the end of the meeting.....Men do not tell women that they cannot speak at the meetings, but the men do not want to be opposed by women. Also, the women are reluctant to speak out because they are afraid of making mistakes; they think that people will laugh at them....The important thing is that men should realise the importance of women's views regarding forest management. The problem cannot be solved by outsiders imposing such ideas on the men. If the men wish to dominate women then that is what will happen. (Satibama:15-17)

Women's lack of knowledge and involvement in the local-level decision-making process led to their intimidation at meetings, one woman said that if women speak out at meetings the 'men will say that the hen has started crowing' (Gunga Lamichhane:60). One man commented on the role of women in forest meetings and indicated how he perceived the relationships between men and women with reference to decision-making:

There are women on the committee; there is one woman from every household. Whether women are called to meetings or not depends on the amount of work at home. They are called to the

meeting if their participation in the meeting is urgent.....Calling all the women to the meeting just hampers the work of the agenda because discussion is not substantial.....It is true that women are the real users of the forest but our women have not yet participated in the meetings. They don't know much, they can't give solid opinions. Let me tell you one thing, I am a man, I attend the meeting. If I am prepared to make the female members of my family act according to what I say, why should they attend the meeting? (Bahadur Thapa:74)

Women's lack of access to knowledge about decisions taken concerning resources that they use transcends class divisions: 'There should be a separate women's meeting because men don't tell us anything' (Sobha Rai:28). However, women as a group are not homogenous, some women were able to participate in forestry meetings. Young unmarried women from grain surplus households spoke out at forest meetings, whereas young married women from the same households did not. Similarly, women who have attained the highest status within their households, as a wife to the household head, or are free of familial restraints, for example widows, are also more assertive amongst a mixed group of men and women. Daughters-in-law do not participate in forest meetings and when I asked them why they were silent they said that they were embarrassed to speak in front of their husbands.

Although some women did speak out at forest meetings, participation of women on forest committees with men was considered by women to be problematic because previously forest committees were organised by the village leaders and were not open to women:

It hadn't been decided by the village to put women on the committee. It was decided later when people from above came to the village...The village leaders and male members of the village used to get together and hold meetings, women were not

Involved in these meetings. (Satibama Panday and Shyamsangari Panday:44-46)

Class and Participation

Relationships which determine access to the means of production also determine access to decision-making about forests. Meetings held in both Lamichhanegaun and Pandaygaun were dominated by male members of grain surplus households. A male member of a grain deficit household describes how he perceives the relations between rich and poor in these forest meetings:

At meetings the big people speak. How can they allow the poor people to speak? If they (the rich people) see that they can make money they come forward. They don't listen to the poor.....The poor can never be happy. If they stand and speak the wind blows their sound away. If they sit and speak no one can hear them. The situation is never favourable. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:51)

Meetings at the ward-level to discuss management of existing forests were asked to assign a monetary value to firewood - a previously free good:

I knew about the meeting held at Mahadev and I went to it. For the poor people I do not think there will be an equal distribution of firewood.....Someone proposed that the cost of one bhari of firewood should be Rs 2, some Rs 5 and some Rs 2.5. The rich people have their own trees, they can cut down their own trees for firewood. Poor people like us need to collect firewood these days because we have to go for wage labour during the summer. If we don't work for wages we will have to go hungry...They said that poor people will have to cut branches and firewood which will be sold by weight. This is Phagun (mid-February to mid-March) we cannot cut branches now...I don't understand what they do and what they talk

about.....Rich and poor will be treated equally but they have asked the poor to dig the paths and plant the seedlings. If we work on wages in agriculture we get Rs 25 a day. How can we dig paths without getting any money, what do we eat? Can the poor work with empty stomachs? (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:45, 51)

For those households with limited or no access to trees on their land and limited sources of cash income the assignation of a monetary value to a previously free good meant that they would have to reallocate scarce cash resources to fulfilling a basic need:

This has caused a distinct line between poor and rich. The poor don't have money, what can they buy firewood with? The rich have money so they will buy firewood. The poor always suffer. They suffer in all aspects from every side. If a rich man's small hut is damaged, he can apply for a tree. He can then cut a big tree and build a house. If a poor man needs to cut a tree to build a house, they advise him to ask other villagers for a tree. If a powerful person needs a tree for some small job he can easily apply for it. Ram Bahadur is an example. The wall of his house was cracked a little. He brought people from the forest office and cut down some trees. The poor cannot give chickens to government personnel and hence they do not get any trees. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:51)

Additional restrictions on access to the forests decided by the forest meeting also militated against those who have no access to trees on private land:

I doubt whether poor people like me will be able to go to the forest at all. They were saying that people will be allowed to cut firewood in the forest, but now they say that we will not be allowed to. We used to be able to collect leaves and dry wood on Saturdays. Now we will be allowed to go to the forest only when the big people finish harvesting and their other work. (Thulo Kancha Sunaar:53)

The decisions were made at these forest meetings by a minority of individuals who in the main were neither the users of the forest nor needed regular access to the forest.

8.3 BANSKHARKA PANCHAYAT

The general history of forests in this panchayat draws on an interview held with the pradhan pancha, Laxman Dong. The histories of particular forests used by the villagers with whom I worked are derived from interviews with villagers from Jalshe, Lamatol and Khanaltol.

Rana Hegemony and Deforestation: 1846–1951

Prior to 1951 access to forests was unregulated, and forest areas were cleared in three ways: through shifting cultivation, *khoriya*; through conversion to permanent agricultural land which was then registered as such; and through felling of trees for firewood.^{44 45} Oral histories from village elders recall bare hillsides:

I am 65 now, all these hillsides were naked when I was a boy. Now there are forests and trees. People have been planting trees even on land where they can grow grain. In those days people used to cut trees and make large piles of firewood. This custom no longer exists. These days people protect the natural trees and plant seedlings in open places. (Neema Syangbo Lama:36)

Private forests, however, protected by their owners remained intact.⁴⁶

Persistence – from Rana Hegemony to Shah Monarchy: 1951–1960

Following the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1951, Laxman Dong became a member of the Nepali Congress Party and decided that forests must be protected for the development of the villages: ⁴⁷

I organised a feast to celebrate the 'Markalle puja' to which all the villagers were invited. I used this occasion as an opportunity to discuss forests and obtained an agreement from them that forests should not be destroyed for millet cultivation. An agreement paper was written to record that forests should be preserved by all the villagers and signed by 400 people. Shifting cultivation was banned and a panel of 3-4 judges was formed to decide on punishments for people who disobeyed the regulations. The judgements were held near the Devi temple in the sal forest. The culprit is taken there to be questioned and made to swear in front of the goddess. The first person to neglect the regulations was my cowherd who cut fodder for the cattle. I had to pay a fine of 13 paisa. The fines were used to perform the 'Markalle puja'. (Laxman Dong:5)

It was very difficult to stop villagers from other villages cutting trees because they were dependent on the Banskharka forests for firewood and fodder. I did not notice the political revolution of 2007 BS (1951 AD) as much as I noticed the revolution of the forest. Villagers from Banskharka were stopped from travelling outside their area by surrounding villages as a protest against the enforcement of forest preservation. (Laxman Dong:9)

Gradually the process of protection enforced by Laxman Dong through the village panchas, elders, succeeded and shifting cultivation, and conversion of forest to agricultural land ended. ⁴⁸ However, in some Chetri areas of the panchayat where the pradhan pancha's political control was contested shifting cultivation continued until 1981-2.

Shifting cultivation was practised by those villagers living in lowland areas. They cleared shrubs from small areas in the lowland sal forest leaving the large trees, and used these areas to grow cotton and, in forests of the middle altitudes, millet. The area of land cleared depended on the amount of manpower available to each household, and also the amount of bari in which to transplant the millet. This practice was widely used by those with extensive holdings of unirrigated land, bari, and also by those with insufficient areas of bari to set aside land for a millet nursery.⁴⁹

Bushes cleared from the land were left for a few days to dry and were then burnt and the land cultivated. Seeds of millet, string beans, brown vetch or linseed were broadcast around the clearing in the month of Jeth (mid-May to mid-June) and again in the second week of Asar (mid-June to mid-July). Millet seedlings were then transplanted to the bari in the first week of Saun (mid-July to mid-August). Some millet seedlings were left behind to grow in the forest. The land was left fallow for 3-4 years and then cultivated again.⁵⁰ Clearings in the forest where shifting cultivation has been practised can be identified by the growth of banmara (Eupatorium adenophorum).⁵¹

In 2013 BS (1957 AD) the forest was nationalised by the King but the people living in the remote hill areas did not know about this. I also did not know until much later. We continued to preserve the forest in the same way as we had since 2007 BS (1951 AD). (Laxman Dong:12)

However, the effects of nationalisation were felt by those who owned private forests, the Chetris living in Khanaltol and two Brahmin households tell the history of sal forests in the area in terms of their private ownership. One Brahmin household settled in the lowland close to

the river three generations ago. They had bought the land from a Brahmin who had left the region for his natal home in the west of Nepal. The land included an area of forest and irrigated crop land on which they paid tax. 'The forest was taken over by the government at the time of nationalisation of forests, and now it has become panchayat forest' (Ganga Prasad Adhikari:55).

Prior to forest nationalisation in 1957, part of the lowland sal forest known as Salgari belonged to Karna Bahadur Khanal who paid a tax of 7 sukas (Rs 1.75) on the forest land.^{52 53} The remaining area of forest had been protected since 1949 AD through the actions of Katak Bahadur Khatri:

During the period of the jimmawal there were no forests and the jimmawal did not have any responsibility for the forest. I applied for the responsibility for the forest to be devolved to me. This was agreed by all the villagers in the presence of some government officials from the ban goswara, and I had to go to Chautara with the jimmawal to sign a document to this effect. Officials from the goswara used to inspect the forest occasionally and fine people who had cut trees. At one time a Bhote was caught cutting a tree, the official beat the Bhote with a big stick until he was black and blue. He then fined him Rs 50. (Katak Bahadur Khatri:66)

Protection initiated by Katak Bahadur Khatri was formalised through stringent systems enforced by each household in the village:

I started to protect the forest from 2005 BS (1949 AD), according to the written agreement the villagers had to ask my permission to take forest products and I had to ask their permission to meet my needs for forest products. If a household demonstrated real need - their house burnt down or fell down during the monsoon, then they were allowed to cut trees in the forest. If a tree had two branches, they cut only one and left

the other. And thus the forest was managed through the cooperation of the whole village.....Every household had to send a member to guard the forest, four people were assigned guard duty each day during the monsoon. Even households in Jatan had to send people to guard this forest. However, this system ended after the introduction of the panchayat system when it was decided to allocate particular forests to each ward. From that time people of Jatan were not allowed access to Salgari and so they stopped guarding it. (Katak Bahadur Khatri:11, 35)

Whilst the sal forests of the lowland areas were protected by the Chetris, the upland forests were protected by the Lamas and Sherpas. In Jalshe, Bhumithan forest has a history of protection by the Sherpa villagers which stretches back 40 years: ⁵⁴

One of our relatives had gone to a ghewa (a death memorial ceremony) in this village. People of other villages also came, and one man from one of these villages said: "there are good trees in this forest but no-one is caring for them. Why don't you protect them?" From then the villagers protected the forest but one of the local leaders of those days registered the forest in his name, then the villagers bought the land from this man and have protected the forest from this time. Each household had to contribute Rs 20 to buy the land which cost Rs150. (Chwang Jimi Sherpa:25) ⁵⁵

Bhumithan is the home of the Earth god, Bhumi, the trees growing on this land are sacred to the god, and if the trees are cut down it is believed that the god will be angry. To reinforce this belief villagers were required to vow on the holy book of Lama not to cut trees. ⁵⁶ If people cut trees after taking this vow they would be committing a sin. Bhumithan is venerated and appealed to in time of drought. ⁵⁷

The forest is open to those wishing to petition the gods, and in Jeth (May-June) the Bhumi puja is performed in honour of the Earth god, but the

forest is closed to villagers outside Jalshe for the collection of forest products.⁵⁸ Protection of Bhumithan against other villages led to many disagreements and fights between kin.⁵⁹

The Shah Monarchy and Panchayat Polity: 1960–1990

It was not until the panchayat system was introduced in 1960 and became operational in 1961 that the panchayat workers had any authority over forests. 'From 2020–2022 BS (1964–1966 AD) forest preservation committees were formed and continue to operate. These committees were instructed to look after the forests in each of their areas' (Ganga Prasad Adhikari:51).⁶⁰ 'The villagers appointed a forest guard to look after the forest for which one pathi of grain was raised from each household. The number of guards varied from place to place, some forests did not have any guards' (Laxman Dong, 1987:15).

The rules and systems of protection instituted throughout the panchayat by the pradhan pancha ensured the protection of the forest from degradation: blacksmiths were fined if they were caught cutting trees for charcoal; villagers from other panchayats were beaten and their baskets and axes confiscated; access to the forests was restricted and villagers were permitted to remove dead wood and leaf litter only.^{61 62}

Trees on Private Land: 1960–1987

As a result of the restrictions on access to forests post-panchayat there was an increase in tree-planting on private land. Those households, in all three settlements, with adequate land-holdings left areas of unirrigated

land fallow. Non-arable land was allowed to regenerate with trees because of insufficient adult household labour due to migration for work to India.⁶³

Laxman Dong used his position as pradhan pancha to institute tree-planting schemes throughout the panchayat. Seedlings from the forest were planted along roadsides, around resting places, water taps and manes - a construction of stones in memory of deceased kin. In 1960 he suggested that an area be set aside for the cremation of the dead on land which had been previously used for the erection of manes, instead of each clan cremating their dead in different areas of the forest.⁶⁴ From 1964-1969, pine seedlings were planted on bare hillsides, and on the birth of a child or death of a person five trees were to be planted by the household.⁶⁵ A system of fines was also instituted by the pradhan pancha payable if an individual is found cutting trees; the money from the fines is used for panchayat development: 'whoever cuts even a small branch will be fined Rs 50' (Chwang Jimi Sherpa:18).⁶⁶

In summary, major deforestation of this area predates living memory, but it was exacerbated in living memory by clearance of land for agriculture and for shifting cultivation. Local initiatives to protect forests began in the late 1940s and were consolidated through the actions of one pancha, Laxman Dong, who later became pradhan pancha under the panchayat system. Forests have become his personal crusade and his political platform.

The shift from use of communal forest resources to private tree resources occurred as access to forests was restricted through rules and penalties.

Forests in the Age of Aid and Development: 1976-1987

The incorporation of Banskharka panchayat into the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project (NAFP) arose out of the actions of the District Forest Officer, T.B.S. Mahat, in 1976. The Back to the Village Campaign of 1977 called all the pradhan panchas to a meeting at the district town, at which they decided on the type of programmes to promote within their panchayats. It was here that Laxman Dong decided that infrastructural development, for example bridges and trails, within the panchayat would lead to only temporary benefit, whereas 'forests provide long-lasting relief to the villagers'. He then called on the help of the District Forest Officer, T.B.S. Mahat to establish a forest nursery in Banskharka, which was completed in 1978 using labour contributed by local people. This nursery remained under panchayat control although pressure was exerted on Laxman Dong to hand it over to the Forest Department. It was finally agreed by T.B.S. Mahat, Laxman Dong, and a member of NAFP that the nursery would be financed under an agreement between the Project and the Government, and this marked the beginning of a limited incorporation of the forest activities of the panchayat into the ambit of the operations of NAFP.⁶⁷

Participation and Opposition

Control over decision-making was retained by Laxman Dong, who continued to use his position as pradhan pancha to enforce forest protection throughout the panchayat. The Project was used as a source of finance but was prevented from introducing its notions of community forestry to Banskharka by Laxman Dong. In 1986, Laxman Dong assumed responsibility

for the formation of ward-level forest committees for the management of forests within each ward, and drew up an agenda of activities for which each committee was responsible: ⁶⁸

The following forest areas are to be handed over to the following wards and a separate forest development and protection ward committee to be set up in each of the wards, under the chairmanship of the ward chairman of the concerned ward by the end of this month, and the forest office at Melamchi is to be informed about it.

The Indrawati Watershed Committee forest office of the concerned area is to supervise the work concerning protection, maintenance and taking care of the forest and if it thinks that the work is not being done properly, judicial action is to be taken against the committee and the forest nationalised. (Laxman Dong:10)

However, forests and their control and access to them have moved into the political domain. Sal trees were cut by the Khanals as the political need dictated. ⁶⁹ Just prior to the local panchayat election campaign, in 1986, a large number of sal trees were cut in the forest. Forest committee meetings called by the pradhan pancha at this time were not attended by the Khanals:

I found Khanals of Khanaltol cutting down trees. By chance the guard was coming that way and he saw them cutting the trees and stopped them. They opposed this and claimed that they should be allowed to cut trees whenever they need timber. All the Khanals supported this and they had one voice. They are anti-government people. They want a multi-party system of government. (Laxman Dong:42, addressing the Shepgaun forest committee meeting)

Gender and Participation

Forests which provide part of the necessary base for the reproduction of the household are controlled and protected by the order of the *pradhan pancha*. These orders are enacted through the local ward members and leaders who impart information from forest meetings to male household heads. ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ Women are aware of their lack participation in the decision-making process and wish to redress it:

Women go to the forest meetings only if there are no men at home. They say that both men and women should go to the meeting, but this is only words, it hasn't happened. (Dawa Lamini:73)

The ward-level committees were appointed by Laxman Dong after a meeting in each ward, and composed entirely of men, in the case of ward 7 which encompasses Jalshe and Lamatol the members of the Forest Conservation Committee are also the ward members and leader, sadasyas and adachya. Women did not attend the meeting and expressed their inability to speak out in a male forum:

Only male members of the family attend, females cannot understand anything so we do not go. (Gyalmo Lamini:9)

The relationships which construct women's reality also dictate their exclusion from decisions which control their access to the means of production:

Women do not know about forest committees. Since women don't understand about meetings they cannot participate....I don't know how to speak at meetings. I want nothing to do with forest committees - only men go to meetings. (Gelmo Syangbo:19)

The males of grain surplus households retain control over all aspects of decisions regarding protection of the forests in the three villages. Women of all classes expressed the need for men and women to have equal rights over access to forests and to be involved in decisions made about forest use, but remain excluded by their gender from attendance at forest committee meetings: 'only men go to the meetings. My husband doesn't tell me what's said' (Bhim Kumari Khanal:45).⁷² In the words of one male ward member: 'Women cook and eat rice they do not go to committee meetings' (Lal Singh Tamang:8).

The female perception of male dominance in the public arena is reinforced by their male kin: 'Only men attend the meetings, women do not need to go' (Mengyur Sherpa:8). The division of labour as perceived by men is used as the reason for women not attending meetings:

.....It is hard for women to go to meetings, they have to look after the house, take care of the children, and give water to the animals. (Babu Lama:74)

Since women were not considered to be necessary members of any forest committee, either by men or by women, there was little debate as to the importance of women's participation in decisions about control of forests. Debate in Tukucha arose as a direct result of project catalysed awareness of women's use of forests. The absence of the project and the overt control over committee formation by the pradhan pancha led to the complete exclusion of women and poor people from participation in forest decision-making:

The panchayat leaders go to the forest meetings and they are the ones who make decisions about plantations, about cutting wood and grass in the forest. They do not tell people about the decisions. Although the forest is for everyone, it is used only by the rich and not by the poor. (Bina Sherpini:3)

Relationships of a patriarchal and class society determined the composition of forest committees, and also formed the views of those who had little access to forest: 'Those who are powerful can cut trees as they want, the weaker ones cannot' (Annapurna Adhikari:22).

8.4 CONCLUSIONS

The histories of forests in both Tukucha and Banskarka panchayats follow a similar pattern of local regulation. Local forest protection systems were instituted as a result of the increased population-driven demand on a rapidly diminishing resource in tandem with the institution of the panchayat and delegation of authority to the local level. However, deforestation in these panchayats has a long history which predates the oral memories of village elders. A conjunction of events led to the current situation of large areas of forest communally protected and large numbers of trees on private land. The tree-rich landscape does not, however, imply that each person has adequate access to tree products. The discussion in Chapters 6 and 7 showed how individual access to tree resources is dependent on the class and gender of the individual. For Lala Sherpini of Jalshe denial of access to forests was used by a grain surplus household as a mechanism of oppression, and an expression of male domination over female. In Pandaygaun, Thulo Kancha Sunaar perceived that the interventions of the Project would limit his access to forests which were

his only source of firewood and leaf litter. Women in both panchayats saw their exclusion from forest meetings as part of the patriarchal framework through which their relationships are constructed, ie women may not play an active role in decision-making in the public arena about forest resources.

Although both gender and class determined participation in the meetings some women were more disadvantaged by the decisions made than other women. Those women of grain deficit households with no access to private trees for firewood and leaf litter and whose labour was fully deployed in maintaining the reproduction of the household suffered more than those women of grain surplus and adequate households with access to private tree resources.

In the forest meetings grain surplus and higher caste men dominated other men of lower class and caste, and some women of grain surplus households dominated other men and women of lower class. There is a complex hierarchy of interaction between individuals which is dependent on the particular articulation between class and gender.

Forests are part of the social fabric of each village society and need to be seen in terms of the complex relationships which govern access to and control over them as a critical raw material necessary for the reproduction of the individual. In Banskharka, the operation of a patriarchal society became apparent without the intervention of an external agent through the formation by the pradhan pancha of male forest committees, the formation of which reflected Laxman Dong's own understanding of the place of women and poor within village society:

People talk about the Ranas tyrannical rule for 104 years in Nepal. The exploitation and oppression exists still today. The powerful are exploiting the weaker, the poor are oppressed by the rich people, husbands exploit their wives, the priests oppress their clients. Exploitation of women by their husbands is the worst of all. I have seen with my own eyes a man who kept 23 wives.....There are numerous examples where husbands have been exploiting their wives in many ways. The women either blame their fate for this, or they are satisfied with whatever they have. According to the law women and men have equal rights. We are supposed to treat boys and girls equally. Men are not allowed to marry more than one wife....Women have got rights. Now they should be able to use their rights properly. They should think about their own progress. (Laxman Dong:59, address to Shepgaun forest meeting)

The new paradigm of social (community) forestry as it impinges on the lives of villagers in two panchayats has been discussed. Although rhetoric speaks of involvement of women and participation of the poor, the reality for these two groups is expressed by them in terms of their lack of access to and control over decision-making. The communality assumptions of social forestry deny the social reality of access to and control over forests determined by class and gender, and thus actions which follow such assumptions reinforce these determinant relationships.

NOTES

1. The Project is invited to act in each panchayat, usually by the pradhan pancha. However, the Project will only continue within a panchayat if there is a high degree of local interest in community forestry activities.
2. Species composition of Sanoban: khasru *Quercus semecarpifolia* ; phalant *Quercus glauca*; chap *Michelia champaca*; katus *Castanopsis indica* ; kaphal *Eriobotrya cluvia* ; chillaune *Schima wallichii* . (Bahadur Thapa:3).
3. Species composition of Sapanesura from observation and discussion with Gunga Lamichhane (p.94):
 1. Phalant *Quercus glauca*
 2. Katous *Castanopsis indica*
 3. Setikath *Myrsine capitellata*
 4. Kalikath *M. semiserrata*
 5. Lali gurans *Rhododendron arboreum*
 6. Dalnekatus *Castanopsis indica*
 7. Musore katus *Castanopsis tribuloides*
 8. Jingane *Eurya acuminata*
 9. Kafal *Eriobotrya dubia*
 10. Angeri *Lyonia ovalifolia*
 11. Chillaune *Schima wallichii*
 12. Bans *Bambusa* sp.Species numbered 1-4 are the most common
4. Gunga Lamichhane: 97.
5. Balabhadra Dulal:42; Bahadur Thapa:12,27; Gunaraj Lamichhane:95; Devi Bahadur Panday:59.
6. Bahadur Thapa:34; Ram Bahadur Panday:8.
7. Hira Lal Shrestha:5; Balabhadra Dulal:6.
8. Hira Lal Shrestha:57; Hari Prasad Lamichhane:19.
9. Bahadur Thapa:12.

10. Bahadur Thapa:36.
11. Gunga Lamichhane:1; Hira Lal Shrestha:57.
12. Hira Lal Shrestha:57.
13. Hira Lal Shrestha:58.
14. Gunga Lamichhane:6-7.
15. Bahadur Thapa:1, 13; Gunga Lamichhane:96; Gunaraj Lamichhane:28; Hira Lal Shrestha:6.
16. Bahadur Thapa: 1; Balabhadra Dulal:38.
17. Hira Lal Shrestha:55.
18. Bahadur Thapa:13; Balabhadra Dulal:38.
19. Bahadur Thapa:12-13 for Thapagaun and Hira Lal Shrestha:56 for Lamichhanegaun.
20. Satibama Panday:39; Maya Panday:25; Thulo Kancha Sunaar:43.
21. Ram Bahadur Panday:11; Devi Bahadur Panday:11; Satibama Panday:30; Bauni Maya & Biswa Karma:23; Thulo Kancha Sunaar:43.
22. Balabhadra Dulal:43; Hira Lal Shrestha:56.
23. Hari Prasad Lamichhane:46; Hira Lal Shrestha:55.
24. Hari Prasad Lamichhane:16; Hira Lal Shrestha:55.
25. Ram Bahadur Panday:45.
26. Hira Lal Shrestha:56; Hari Prasad Lamichhane:57.
27. Hari Prasad Lamichhane:57.
28. Hari Prasad Lamichhane: 57-59.
29. Gunga Lamichhane:94.

30. Devi Bahadur Panday:4; Satibama Panday:27; Ram Bahadur Panday:10.
31. Ram Bahadur Panday:24-27.
32. Bahadur Thapa: 44; Ram Bahadur Panday:68; Devi Bahadur Panday:10.
33. Hira Lal Shrestha:56; Hari Prasad Lamichhane:35.
34. Ram Bahadur Panday:48; Bahadur Thapa:47.
35. Kaji Ram Panday:13; Maya Panday:30; Bahadur Thapa:25.
36. Hira Lal Shrestha:58; Hari Prasad Lamichhane:17.
37. Ram Bahadur Panday:46; Bahadur Thapa:19.
38. 'The school nursery was established in 1982-3 with Australian help. The Project gave 0.33 paisa per seedling to the school' (Hari Prasad Lamichhane:68). In 1978, five panchayat forests were established in the panchayat (Kapil Dev Lamichhane: Field-notes, 1986).
39. Discussed in Chapter 4.
40. See Griffin's (1988:114) discussion of the notion of participation.
41. These actions by the Project and Forest Department followed legislation which allowed for forest committees to be formed at ward and user group level. See Chapter 4, p.117
42. I attended all the ward-level meetings held by the Project and the Forest Department. For detailed discussion of the processes of committee formation see: King *et al* (1987) and Hobley, forthcoming in Oakley (1990).
43. Information obtained from 3 ward-level meetings.
44. Neema Syangbo Lama:38; Ganga Prasad Adhikari:26; Bhim Kumari Khanal:25; Neema Wangal:8; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:34; Babu Lama:6; Annapurna Adhikari:8; Dambar Bahadur Khanal:9.
45. Laxman Dong: 4, and Dambar Bahadur Khanal:21.

46. Annapurna Adhikari:4; Dawa Lamini:4.
47. Laxman Dong: 5; Neema Syangbo Lama:38.
48. Neema Syangbo Lama:36; Babu Lama:34.
49. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:13.
50. From Radhika Khatri; Katak Bahadur Khatri:11; Annapurna Adhikari:29-32; Bhim Kumari Khanal:21; Kami Dorge:11.
51. From my own observations and from discussions with villagers.
52. The main species found in this forest are: sal - *Shorea robusta* ; chilaune - *Schima wallichii*; katus - *Castanopsis indica*
53. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:57.
54. Nima Sherpa and Kasam Sherpini:8.
55. Nima Sherpa and Kasam Sherpini:9.
56. An indication of the mix between animist and Buddhist practices.
57. Neema Syangbo Lama:113.
58. Fürer-Haimendorf (1957:172) also mentions the Bhumi puja which he found to be celebrated in every Tamang village, following an ethnographic survey of Tamang villages in 1953.
59. At one time the villagers were unable to obtain the services of a Lama (in this context Lama is used to mean a priest) to perform their religious ceremonies because he had been prevented from using the forest.
60. Dambar Bahadur Khanal:72.
61. Dawa Lamini:16; Chwang Jimi Sherpa:45, 93.
62. Every person interviewed irrespective of caste, ethnic group, class or gender stated that there had been an increase in number of trees in

the panchayat due to the actions of the pradhan pancha. Forests that were previously considered to be open-access resources are now regulated through rules and protected by forest guards.

63. Chwang Jimi Sherpa:57.
64. Two cremation sites were constructed in the panchayat with separate cremating facilities for Tamangs, Lamas and Sherpas.
65. Laxman Dong:16.
66. Ganga Prasad Adhikari:26; Babu Lama:27; Radhika Khatri:14.
67. Laxman Dong:25 T.B.S. Mahat:3 and Mahat et al (1987).
68. I was present at the inaugural meeting for each committee and was able to observe the mechanisms of committee formation.
69. Katak Bahadur Khatri:5.
70. Information was obtained from discussions with all households in the study villages. If there are no men in the household the women will not be informed of decisions which have been made about forests which are in daily use by them.
71. Lasam Sherpini:10
72. Neema Syangbo Lama:63.

CHAPTER 9

THE REALITY OF SOCIAL FORESTRY

This study has revealed the real construction of the world by the universal categories of class and gender. It has examined this construction in two panchayats in Nepal to expose the relationships between individuals and the determination of their access to and ownership of the major means of production - land and an essential raw material - forests, and the control of labour in and between households.

Social realist methodology provided a powerful framework with which to explain the appearance of these relationships at the empirical level by use of levels of abstraction. Class and gender as determinants of an individual's social reality are not observable at the level of appearances, but they are observable through the relationships that they engender. Thus the social realist methodology provided a framework to explain the mechanisms through which class and gender generate these observable relationships.

Levels of abstraction within reality allow for the articulation between other factors such as caste and ethnicity that operate at lower levels of abstraction. The complex reality of individuals is not just composed of class and gender relations, it is articulated with caste and other cultural factors. Through the empirical studies it was shown that class, gender, caste and ethnic group articulate as contradictions each with its own dynamics. These internal dynamics continue to operate, while elements from other contradictions dominate and obscure the ultimate appearance

of the contradiction at the level of appearances. For example, in Tukucha caste relationships obscured those of class.

The theoretical relationships between class and gender were addressed at the empirical level through the lived experiences of individuals in Banskharka and Tukucha. Realist methodology allows for the primacy of individuals and for the expression of their experiences of their relationships. Methods of oral history were used to allow individuals to reveal their perceptions of their relationships.

The importance of this analysis lies in the conjunction and articulation between production and human reproduction. The patriarchal construction of society places the ownership and control of resources with men, and so women are subordinated to men through relations of production, and control over their labour power. Empirical experience reveals women of all classes dominated through relationships of human reproduction. These relationships gain their greatest expression through the working of the Hindu caste system. Here women are oppressed through the constructs of purity that define their relationships with men and ensure that they remain in an inferior position to men. Relationships which determine human reproduction tend to be subsumed by those of the production process. Thus women are subordinated to men who control the means of production, and women become an instrument of labour in both the reproduction and production process.

In the two panchayats studied, class is obscured to some extent by the operation of caste and ethnic groups. Gender relations transcend divisions based on ownership of the means of production, but women as a group are

also divided by class, some women dominating other women through their greater access to the means of production.

The historical specificity of relationships necessitates an understanding of their historical formation. Historical materialist theory was used to posit individuals within their historically contingent circumstances. The emergence of Nepal as a tributary state within a world system dominated by the imperialism of Britain affected rural producers and determined the construction of mechanisms of surplus extraction. Control over land and labour was vested in those who supported the state, leading to the formation of a landlord class; a class founded on systems of extortion and exploitation. The formation of exploitative social relations between the owners and non-owners of the means of production and the reinforcement of these relationships through the over-arching Hindu caste code form the basis for mechanisms of current structures of exploitation and differentiation.

The social realist construction of forests makes the relationships that control access to and ownership of forests central to the thesis. The incorporation of local areas into larger systems, from the Gorkha empire to the British empire, to the modern world system and now the age of aid, has widened the relationships that govern use and access to forests at the local-level.

The construction of a global forestry was examined through the historical emergence of forestry as an institution, and the changes within the profession propelled by its incorporation into wider development debates: from a forestry for 'modernisation' to a forestry which included notions of

sustenance of 'basic needs'. The assumptions on which 'traditional' positivist forestry practice are founded have been questioned. The assumptions of a traditional forestry paradigm that insists on the primacy of trees and not people is challenged by social forestry which has as its intent people and their interactions with trees.

The changes within forestry practice are not seen in terms of a paradigm shift. The assumptions on which 'scientific' and positivist forestry are based are questioned from outside the traditional forestry paradigm. However, as Kuhn has described for the development of science there are two stages in paradigm development: normal and revolutionary. In the normal phase the scientist's work is devoted to the understanding and wider application of the accepted paradigm, which is not itself questioned or criticized. Thus the forest scientist constructs the world order through the assumptions of a traditional forestry paradigm which insists on the primacy of trees and not people. Problems arising out of the practice of social forestry have their solution therefore within the explicit or implicit framework of this paradigm, and will direct the solutions to the problem accordingly (Keat and Urry, 1982:55). However, in those periods of revolutionary change, the base assumptions of the paradigm are challenged. Scientific revolution occurs when a new paradigm emerges with a new set of base assumptions which will direct understanding of problems. However, such a complete change cannot fully occur until the emergence of a new generation of proponents of the new paradigm.

A new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up familiar with it. (Kuhn, 1970:150).

Thus, social forestry lies at the edge of change where contradictions obvious within the working of the old paradigm have not been overthrown by a new social forestry paradigm. This thesis challenges the adequacy of social forestry because it retains notions and practices derived from 'traditional' forestry experience. The communality assumptions of social forestry ignore the reality of individuals differentiated by their class and gender.

It has been shown through the articulation between theory and empirical experience in both Tukucha and Banskharka that although the intent of social forestry is to help the poor and women, class and patriarchal structures limit their access to and control over forests, and thus limit the fulfillment of their basic needs. Progress will only be made when the people are able to speak of their needs, when their reality is paramount. I return to and expand Westoby's exhortation as the way ahead for a social forestry where people are seen as individuals constructed by the universal categories of class and gender:

Forestry is not about trees it is about women and men, poor and rich. And it is about trees only insofar as trees can serve the needs of women and men, poor and rich.

GLOSSARY

adachya	ward leader. There are nine wards in each panchayat
adhiya	share-cropping arrangement under which the landlord and tenant divide the primary crop equally
amanat	system to collect revenue by salaried employees
angeri	<i>Lyonia</i> sp.
Asar	mid-June to mid-July
Asoj	mid-September to mid-October
Baisakh	mid-April to mid-May
ball	an in-kind payment made to a member of an artisan caste
ban	forest
banjanch goswara	forest inspection office established during rule of Chandra Shumsher (1901-1929)
banmara	<i>Eupatorium adenophorum</i>
bans	<i>Bambusa</i> sp.
bari	unirrigated land
bethi	forced labour obligation given to village head each year by other villagers
Bhadau	mid-August to mid-September
bhari	a load carried in a basket

birta	land grant made to individuals on an inheritable and tax exempt basis
bista	client of member of artisan caste
Chait	mid-March to mid-April
chardamtheke	tax paid on annual renewal of tenure
chilaune	<i>Schima wallichii</i>
chiura	flattened rice
daam	unit of currency (Rana period)
dalne katus	<i>Catanopsis indica</i>
damai	tailor
dhai-bhai	ritual relationships (literally older brother - younger brother)
dhami	priest
dikki	implement for dehusking rice
dittha	Rana government employees in forest office
dware	revenue collecting functionary appointed by the jagirdar
gaun	village or cluster of houses
ghatta	seasonal water mill
ghewa	Lama death memorial ceremony
ghiu	clarified butter
ghiukhane	tax paid in <u>ghiu</u>
ghyang	Buddhist temple

guthi	lands endowed to religious or other institution
ijara	system for revenue collection by individuals on contract to the government
jagir	lands assigned to members of the army and government functionaries in lieu of cash payment
jagirdar	holder of <u>jagir</u> land
jaisi	a caste comprising the offspring of an informal alliance between a Brahmin man and Brahmin girl, widow, or married woman
janai	sacred thread of twice-born castes
jat	caste, tribe or ethnic group
Jeth	mid-May to mid-June
jhara	compulsory and unpaid labour obligation to the government
jimmawal	revenue collecting functionary
jingane	<i>Eurya acuminata</i>
jutho	ritually polluted
kafal	<i>Eriobotrya dubia</i>
kalkath	<i>Myrsine semiserrata</i>
kami	blacksmith
Kartik	mid-October to mid-November
katuwal	village-crier
khasru	<i>Quercus semecarpifolia</i>
khet	irrigated paddy land

khoriya	seasonal plots in forest for millet cultivation
khote sallo	<i>Pinus roxburghii</i>
kipat	system of communal land tenure common amongst the kiranti groups of eastern Nepal
kodale	'spade' tax payable on small areas of unirrigated land
kut	share-cropping arrangement under which the landlord appropriated a specific proportion of crop either in cash or kind
laligurans	<i>Rhododendron arboreum</i>
Magh	mid-January to mid-February
mana	unit of measure equivalent to 0.5 kg
Mangsir	mid-November to mid-December
mani	construction of stones in memory of deceased kin. Practice of Buddhist groups
matwalli	members of the 'alcohol drinkers' caste who are ranked above the untouchable castes and below the twice-born castes.
mohi	share-cropping tenant
mohor	unit of currency (Rana period)
mukhiya	a village headman in the hill regions
muluki ain	legal code
muri	unit of measure equivalent to 73 kg
musore katus	<i>Castanopsis tribuloides</i>
na chune	not touching

paisa	unit of currency (Rs 20 = 100 paisa)
pakho	unirrigated land on which only maize, millet and other dryland crops will grow
pancha	village elder
panchayat	an administrative and political unit encompassing a number of contiguous villages and settlements
pani na calne	untouchable castes
parda janu parne	relations of mutual help between households
parma	reciprocal labour exchange for agriculture
pathi	unit of measure equivalent to 3.6 kg
Phagun	mid-February to mid-March
phalant	<i>Quercus glauca</i>
pradhan pancha	leader of panchayat
pujari	person who looks after temple
Pus	mid-December to mid-January
raikar	state owned taxable land subject to private tenure
raja	head of princely state
rakam	unpaid and compulsory labour services payable to the government by tenants of raikar, kiptat and guthi lands
rajya	princely state
raksi	alcohol distilled from grain
rastriya panchayat	National Panchayat

ropani	a unit of land measurement equivalent to 0.05 hectare
roti	unleavened bread
sadasya	ward member. In each of the nine wards of the panchayat there are five ward members
sal	<i>Shorea robusta</i>
sano jat	artisan or untouchable caste
sarki	cobbler
Saun	mid-July to mid-August
saunefagu	tax levied in the nineteenth century on roofs in the hill region
serma	homestead tax levied in the hill region in the nineteenth century
setikath	<i>Myrsine capitellata</i>
suka	unit of currency (Rana period)
sunaar	goldsmith
tagadhari	twice-born castes
talukdar	revenue functionary in <u>kipat</u> village
thangka	Buddhist religious painting
thekbandi	collection of taxes on irrigated land by the <u>mukhiya</u> in the central region of Nepal
thekthiti	collection of taxes by the <u>mukhiya</u> on behalf of a <u>kipat</u> village in eastern hill regions
tika	ritual mark of blessing, usually on forehead

tol

hamlet

upa pradhan pancha

deputy leader of panchayat

utis

Ainus nepalensis

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Forest Act 1961. Unofficial translation.

Forest Protection (Special Arrangement) Act 1967. Unofficial translation.

Private Forests Nationalisation Act 1957. Unofficial translation.

Field Notes

Field note books were kept during the study and are referred to in the text:

Field Notes: 1986

Field Notes: 1987

Interview material was taped and then transcribed. Each interview has a specific written transcription that is referred to in the text by the name of the interviewee and a page number reference to the transcript.

People interviewed in Tukucha Panchayat:

Balabhadra Dulal (m)

Thulo Kancha Kami (m)

Bauni Maya and Biswa Karma (f) & (m)

Kale Biswa Karma (m)

Annapurna Lamichhane (f)

Bauni Maya Lamichhane (f)

Bil Prasad Lamichhane (m)

Dolma Kumari Lamichhane (f)

Firtha Raj Lamichhane (m)
Gunaraj Lamichhane (m)
Gunga Lamichhane (f)
Hari Prasad Lamichhane (m)
Netra Prasad Lamichhane (m)
Ram Narayan Lamichhane (m)
Tanka Nath Lamichhane (m)
Bil Bahadur Nepali (m)
Devi Bahadur Panday (m)
Kaji Ram Panday (m)
Kanchi Panday (f)
Lala Panday (f)
Maya Panday (f)
Ram Bahadur Panday (m)
Satibama Panday (f)
Satibama Panday and Shyamsangari Panday (f) & (f)
Shyamsangari Panday (f)
Sobha Rai (f)
Maya Sarki (f)
Hira Lal Shrestha (m)
Maya Shrestha (f)
Thulo Kancha Sunaar (m)
Bahadur Thapa (m)

Group discussion with four Thapagaun women

People interviewed in Banskharka Panchayat:

Annapurna Adhikari (f)
Ganga Prasad Adhikari (f)
Gale Buddha (m)
Dal Bahadur Damai (m)
Laxman Dong (m)
Kami Dorge (m)
Bhim Kumari Khanal (f)
Dambar Bahadur Khanal (m)
Maya Khanal (f)
Katak Bahadur Khatri (m)
Radhika Khatri (f)
Babu Lama (m)

Dama Lama (m)
Jimi Lama (m)
Lokte Lama (m)
Neema Syangbo Lama (m)
Rejhung Lama (m)
Sangay Lama (m)
Dawa Lamini (f)
Gyalmo Lamini (f)
Maya Lamini (f)
Mendo Lamini (f)
Chwang Jimi Sherpa (m)
Mengyur Sherpa (m)
Nima Sherpa and Kasam Sherpini (m) & (f)
Seraph Sherpa (m)
Bina Sherpini (f)
Chyama Sherpini (f)
Dil Maya Sherpini (f)
Lala Sherpini (f)
Lasam Sherpini (f)
Cheba Syangbo (m)
Gelmo Syangbo (f)
Meena Syangbo (f)
Lal Singh Tamang (m)
Neema Wangal (m)

Other Interviews:

Ambika Khatri
T.B.S. Mahat
Hari Shrestha

Appendix A

Seasonal crop production in Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats:

Tables A1 to A4

Seasonal forest use in Tukucha and Banskharka panchayats:

Tables A5 to A8

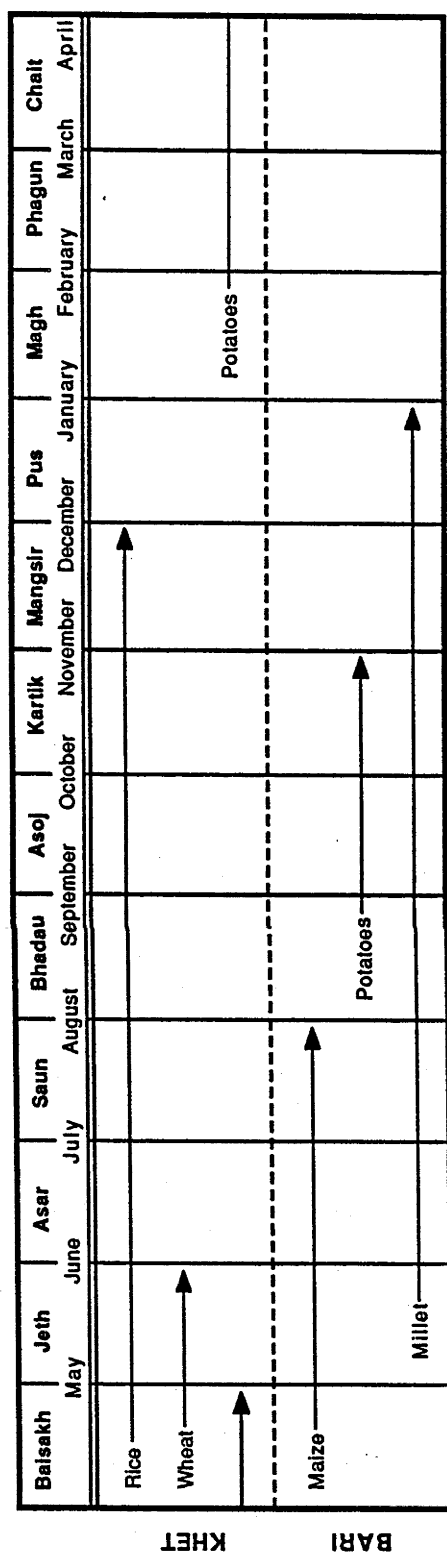


FIGURE A.1: Seasonal Crop Production on Khet & Bari: Lamichhanegaun & Pandaygaun (1400m)

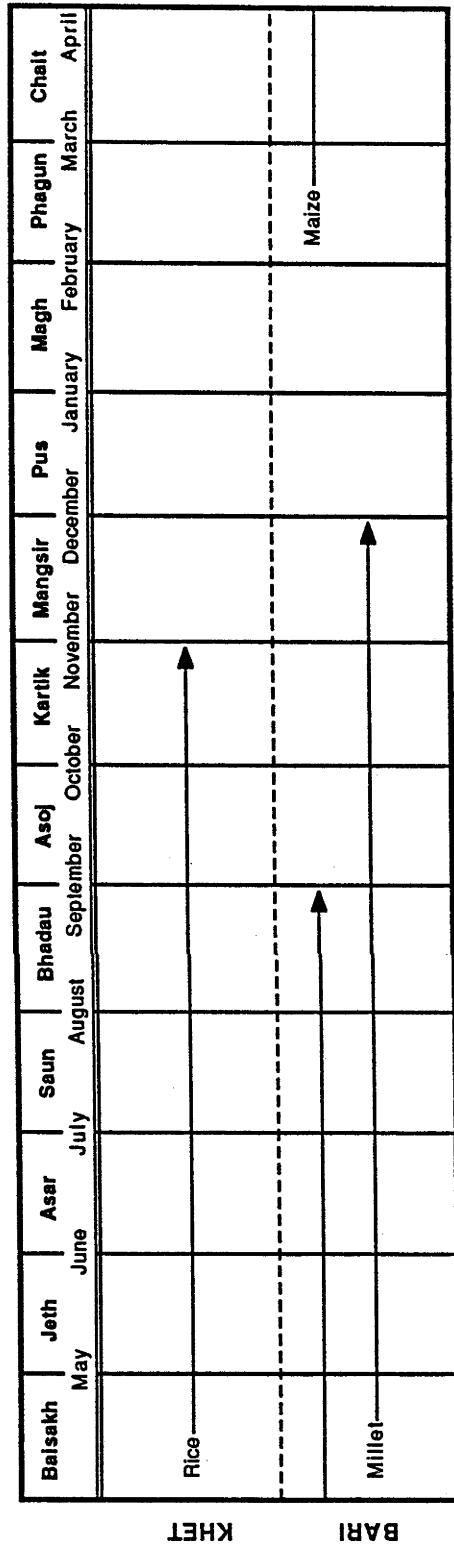


FIGURE A.3: Seasonal Crop Production on Khet & Bari: Lamatol (1660m)

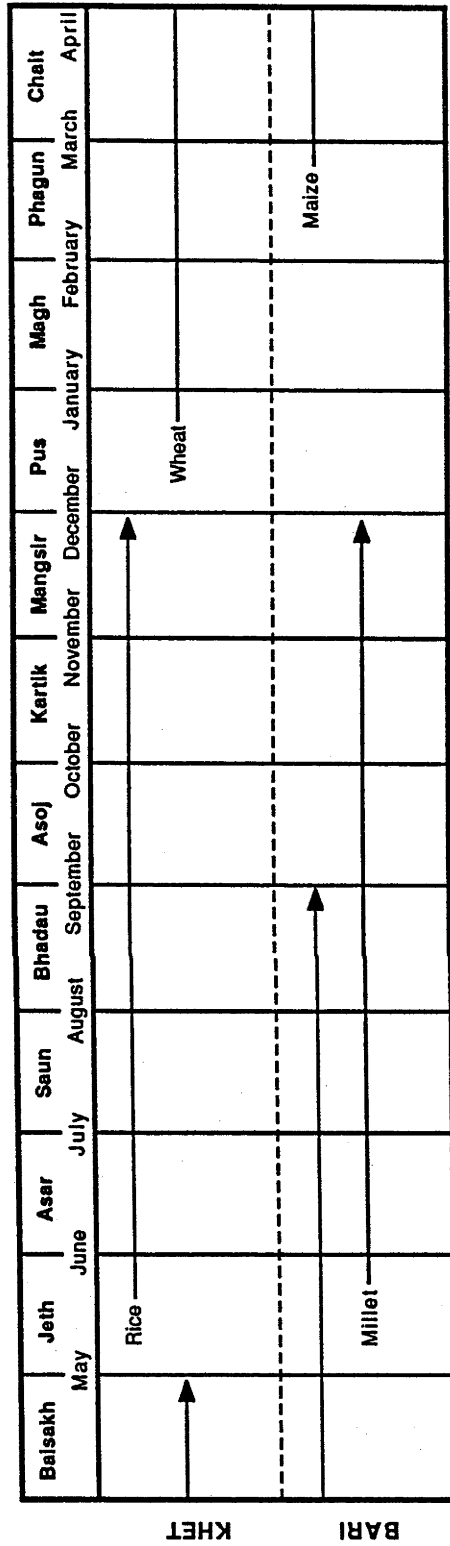


FIGURE A.4: Seasonal Crop Production on Khet & Bari: Khanaltol (1070m)

Baisakh	Jeth	Asar	Saun	Bhadau	Asoj	Kartik	Mangsir	Pus	Magh	Phegun	Chait
May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April
									Firewood cut for monsoon		
								Firewood collected			
								Dry leaves collected			
						Grass cut					

FIGURE A.5: Seasonal Forest Use: Lamichhanegaun & Pandaygaun (1400m)

Balsakh	Jeth	Asar	Saun	Bhadau	Asoj	Kartik	Mangsir	Pus	Megh	Phagun	Chait
May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April
							Firewood collected				Firewood cut for monsoon
							Dry leaves collected				
							Fodder cut				

FIGURE A.6: Seasonal Forest Use: Jalshe (2140m)

Baisakh	Jeth	Asar	Seun	Bhadau	Asoj	Kartik	Mangsir	Pus	Magh	Phagun	Chait
May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April
↑									Firewood collected	Firewood cut for monsoon	
	↑										
	↑				Grass cut ↑			Fodder cut		Dry leaves collected	
											↑

FIGURE A.7: Seasonal Forest Use: Lamatol (1660m)

Baisakh	Jeth	Asar	Saun	Bhadau	Asoj	Kartik	Mangsir	Pus	Magh	Phagun	Chait
May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April
	↑							Firewood cut for monsoon			
	↑								Firewood collected		
	↑									Dry leaves collected	
	↑								Grass cut		
	↑							Fodder cut			

FIGURE A.8: Seasonal Forest Use: Khanalitol (1070m)

Appendix B

The case-study households in Tukucha and Banskharka Panchayat are listed in Tables B.1 and B.2

Other people interviewed in Tukucha and Banskharka are listed in Table B.3

Household Name	Caste	Sex	Household type
GRAIN SURPLUS:			
Ram Bahadur Panday	Chetri	m	J
Kaji Ram Panday	Chetri	m	J
Hira Lal Shrestha	Newar	m	J
Dolma Kumari Lamichhane	Jaisi	f	J
Gunaraj Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	J
Shyamsangari Panday	Chetri	f	J
Hari Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	J
GRAIN ADEQUATE:			
Netra Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	J
Ram Narayan Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	J
Firtha Raj Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	J
Bil Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	N
Tanka Nanth Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	N
GRAIN DEFICIT:			
Gunga Lamichhane	Jaisi	f	N
Kale Biswa Karma	Kami	m	J
Thulo Kancha Sunaar	Sunaar	m	N
Thakur Prasad Lamichhane	Jaisi	m	N
Bil Bahadur Nepali	Damai	m	J
Maya Sarki	Sarki	f	N

m: male
f: female

N: Nuclear household
J: Joint household

TABLE B.1: Interviews of Case Study Households: Tukucha Panchayat

Household Name	Caste	Sex	Household type
GRAIN SURPLUS:			
Chwang Jimi Sherpa	Sherpa	m	N
Neema Syangbo Lama	Lama	m	N
Dambar Bahadur Khanal	Chetri	m	J
Annapurna Adhikari	Brahmin	f	J
Radhika Khatri	Chetri	f	J
Kami Dorge	Tamang	m	J
Maya Khanal	Chetri	f	N
Jimi Lama	Lama	m	N
Lasam Sherpini	Sherpa	f	N
GRAIN ADEQUATE:			
Lokte Lama	Lama	m	N
Ganga Prasad Adhikari	Brahmin	f	N
Lal Singh Tamang	Tamang	m	N
Bhim Kumari Khanal	Chetri	f	N
Neema Wangal	Tamang	m	N
Maya Lamini	Lama	f	N
Gale Buddha	Tamang	m	J
GRAIN DEFICIT:			
Dama Lama	Lama	m	N
Katak Bahadur Khatri	Chetri	m	J
Babu Lama	Lama	m	N
Dal Bahadur Damai	Damai	m	N
Sangay Lama	Lama	m	J

m: male
f: female

N: Nuclear household
J: Joint household

TABLE B.2: Interviews of Case Study Households: Banskarka Panchayat

**B.3: List of People Interviewed:
Tukucha and Banskharka Panchayats**

People Interviewed in Tukucha Panchayat

Name	Sex	Caste
Ruk Maya Dahal	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Balabhadra Dulal	m	Jaisi-Brahmin
Thulo Kancha Kami	m	Kami
Bauni Maya	f	Kami
Biswa Karma	m	Kami
Annapurna Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Bauni Maya Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Bed Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Datla Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Ganga Mai Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Khadga Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Krishna Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Krishna Mai Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Laxmi Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Laxmi Devi Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Lila Mai Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Maya Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Men Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Min Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Mitra Kumari Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Renuka Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Rewati Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Rukumaya Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Thuli Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Thuli Kanchi Lamichhane	f	Jaisi-Brahmin
Devi Bahadur Panday	m	Chetri
Kanchi Panday	f	Chetri
Lala Panday	f	Chetri
Maya Panday	f	Chetri
Satibama Panday	f	Chetri

People Interviewed in Tukucha Panchayat

Name	Sex	Caste
Bishnu Kumari Rai	f	Rai
Krishna Bahadur Rai	m	Rai
Sobha Rai	f	Rai
Bishnu Maya Shrestha	f	Newar
Dil Kumari Shrestha	f	Newar
Kanchi Shrestha	f	Newar
Maya Shrestha	f	Newar
Santa Maya Shrestha	f	Newar
Sukra Maya Shrestha	f	Newar
Bahadur Thapa	m	Thapa
Nani Maya Thapa	f	Thapa
Subhadra Thapa	m	Thapa

Group discussion with four Thapagaun women

People interviewed in Banskharka Panchayat:

Name	Sex	Ethnic Group
Laxman Dong	m	Tamang
Gyamjo Lama	m	Lama
Rejhung Lama	m	Lama
Barpa Lamini	f	Lama
Damini Lamini	f	Lama
Dawa Lamini	f	Lama
Gyalmo Lamini	f	Lama
Mendo Lamini	f	Lama
Phupu Lamini	f	Lama
Sarkini Lamini	f	Lama
Yamu Lamini	f	Lama
Mengyur Sherpa	m	Sherpa
Nima Sherpa	m	Sherpa
Seraph Sherpa	m	Sherpa
Bina Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Chyama Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Dil Maya Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Kama Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Kasam Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Lala Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Tchiring Sherpini	f	Sherpa
Cheba Syangbo	m	Tamang
Gelmo Syangbo	f	Tamang
Meena Syangbo	f	Tamang
Mengyur Syangbo	m	Tamang