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The Quest for Academic Capital and Mobility among Indian Students: Impact of Caste, Class and Commercialization of Higher Education	Shuvechha Ghimire	1-25
Disaster Preparedness in Public Schools : A Study on Earthquake Affected Schools	Sushant Bhandari	26-37
State of Newar Dalits and in Nepal	Barsha Shrestha	38-52
Genealogy of Resilience: From Inherent Ability to Community Capacity for Disaster Preparedness	Narayani Devkota	53-70
Female migration trend from Nepal: A review on the opportunities and challenges faced migrant workers	Shweta Acharya	71-92
Review Article: End of Poverty	Aishwarya Rani Singh	93-108

The Quest for Academic Capital and Mobility among Indian Students: Impact of Caste, Class and Commercialization of Higher Education

❖ Shuvechha Ghimire

Abstract

The paper is written with an aim to bridge the gap in the extant literature regarding Indian students' mobility in higher education sector. The paper aims to address some crucial questions of the aspirations of the 'new' middle class Indian students, especially pertaining to the field of study of technical sciences, opting to pursue a tertiary degree abroad than in India itself. The paper tries to understand the relationship between the overlap and the interplay of three major systemic structures of India – caste, class and the reservation system in order to buttress the argument of the students' choosing destination abroad than India for higher education. Furthermore, interplay of various 'pull' factors from the host countries abroad (like internationalization) and 'push' factors (like nationwide competitive entrance examinations, low ranking universities and exorbitant fees of private colleges) additionally supplements and bolsters the students' decisions that perpetuates their mobility to an abroad destination for higher education.

Introduction

The need for education need to meet the edgy, competitive and quickly changing marketplace has strengthened as the economies in the world have become progressively global in nature. This has consequently increased the number of undergraduate enrolments leading to the growth of 'emerging' economies mainly in Asia with many students travelling abroad for higher education (British Council, 2014, emphasis in original). While there are various factors affecting the student migration, a more recent trend has been the efforts put in from the governments and the universities from the host countries. Similarly, the universities are always in a competition to attract the best and the brightest through various internal programs, mechanisms and projects (British Council, 2014; Faist, et. al., 2017). The British Council report further highlights that the increment of such students aka, the 'massification' of higher education has led to aspiring students garnering more than a basic higher education degree. (British Council, 2014, emphasis in original). These increments in number could be vantage on various causalities that affects the international student's migration where on one hand there are numerous, essentially speaking, 'pull factors', on the other hand there are 'push factors'. The various variables in the host and the home countries act together in creating an environment for the international students to pursue their tertiary degree in countries other than their own. They do so on two major levels. First, these factors ostensibly seem to promote and attract many international students to foreign universities mainly through the advertisements of attractive programs (especially on Research and Development fields) and through promotion of internationalization and 'inclusivity' acting as major agents of pull factors. Second, the complicated reservation policies, demanding and equally competitive nationwide entrance examinations on tertiary level education coupled with growing and challenging middle class population and their demands and anxieties in India seems to be some of many push factors for the students to opt out of India for their higher

education¹. One could also attribute the growing demand of higher education in India to various economic and demographic factors. Economic factors like the liberalization of Indian economy in the 1990s and the growing trend of privatization and foreign investment in various sectors, including higher education, can be attributed as one of the major factors. However, in general, the demand for the tertiary education in India, could be attributed to demography itself, nearly 50 percent of India's population which is below the age of 25 (Jayadeva, 2016).

This article, while it tries to grapple with the esoteric concepts of caste, class nexuses in relation to higher education and quota system to underline the nuances of students opting to study abroad, it does not provide an exhaustive summary of the caste and class capital. The focus of the paper will be in understanding the interplay of factors like the advent of LPG, newer Indian education reform policies of 2000, and the competitive exams underlined by quota system in relation to the caste and class capital of middle class Indians. It will also attempt to apprehend the dynamism behind Indian students studying technical sciences choosing options to study abroad versus studying in ('elite/non-elite') colleges in India itself.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first will try to present an underlying theoretical concept of caste since the study of it in 1970 and its changing nature contextualized in an urbanising, 'modern' India. The second section will drive the focus more towards the Indian middle class. It will try to explore what it means to be a part of that constellation and the effect it has had and in

¹The cut throat competition to get through the unproclaimed but largely accepted 'elite' engineering institute in India – the IITs and the NITs–requires vehement private coaching after their schooling (for under graduation) to secure a seat in the institutes. There are 23 IITs in India, and more than 30 NITs alongside several thousand private institutions, colleges and universities that proclaim engineering to be their forte of education department in their brochures, posters, and TV advertisements.

turn is shaped by the commercialization of higher education in India. The third section deals with the commercialization of higher education, the cost of attending one in India and its relationship to the new emerging middle class's aspiration for accumulation of academic capital. Finally, the last section will conclude with a wider conceptual discussion.

Caste and reservations – two 'core' systemic institutions in India

Caste refers to endogamous groups in South Asia (mostly prevalent in India, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh) who are categorically ranked in a form of vertically idealized four-fold Vernacular system of hierarchy. In caste system, the Brahmins, the priestly caste are ranked superior to the Kshatriyas, the warriors followed by Vaishya, the merchants and lastly the Shudras, the labour caste (Roberts, 2008). In 1970s, an imminent French scholar Louis Dumont in his book, *Homo Heirarchicus*, textually informs the concept of caste as being conceptually organized primarily in a form of ritual hierarchy based on the premise of purity and pollution wherein the higher vernacular castes (Brahmins) are ranked as purer in comparison to the lower vernacular caste (Shudras) (Kolenda, 1981). However, he conceptualizes caste as having no element of social change, dynamism or even an individualistic striving (Subedi, 2013) and came under severe scrutiny by other scholars. Berreman (1971) argued against Dumont's model of caste on the premise that not all Hindus follow these principles of Brahminical hierarchy religiously (furthermore asserted by Gupta on his study of *Jats in Northern India*, 1997). Additionally, Berreman criticises Dumont's idea that 'caste power' and 'economic factors' are atypical and asserts that caste and power in the larger vernacular structure are inseparable (Subedi, 2013).

The extant literature on caste and its affiliations to socio-cultural, political and economic variants in the society, post-Dumotian views –just to name a few– (Marriott & Inden, 1974; Beteillé 1977; Raheja 1990; Guha 1997; Berreman 1971; Dirks 2001; Srinivas, 2003; Gupta

2000; Jodka 2013; Roy 2016), cannot be possibly fathomed in a semi-literature review of caste. However, what is of centrality here, is the echoing voice of scholars who, since Berreman (1971) to Roy (2016) have at large dissected and unravelled dichotomies and pathologies within the four-fold vernacular system and taking a step further to horizontal hierarchies (Gupta, 1991) to discuss and contextualize caste more than mere hierarchies sustaining on the basis of purity and pollution and as rather having severity of impact on economic, political and surrounding socio-cultural patterns.

Dipankar Gupta (2000), in his book *Mistaken Modernity*, asserts the fact that it is caste that sets India apart from the rest of the world. In linking the concept of caste to his narratives of how India has been engulfed with a sense of mistaken modernity, he states that, although at the outset, the caste system might be gradually losing its grip on society, on the contrary caste identities and assertion are still very strong. To explain the seemingly paradoxical argument he posits that while there is a prevalence of caste affiliations, it is mostly limited and asserted on realms of political manifestos and matrimonial columns (corroborating study done by Banerjee et.al., 2013). In this manner, the space of caste assertion has shifted from historically regulated judicial system based on Dharmashastras² and narrow affirmation of division of labour and ritual hierarchy to a more socio-cultural space regulated by assertion to maintain a form of status quo in society. One of the rudimentary premise on which the traditional caste system was based was on the sheer premise of vertical hierarchy where the superior caste ruthlessly and unapologetically harnessed power and used coercion quite freely on poorer caste and in this manner caste hierarchy sustained not because of ideological compliance but through use of power (Gupta, 2000, p. 118).

²Dharmaśāstra is also known as righteousness science or the law book of religion. To put forth in simplicity, is a genre of ancient Sanskrit texts that constitutes and hence governs the rules for marriage, family, kinship for Hindus.

The system of reservation was introduced to address the historic oppression, discrimination, and inequality faced by the marginalized groups in India. With the first advent of reservation in 1937 (Britain's India Act) to till date, while much has changed and one could credit the various positive affirmative actions and reservations for it, much remains unchanged too. The government of India introduced reservation system in government aided jobs and higher education institutions, firstly for the Scheduled Castes (SC, hereafter), Scheduled Tribes (ST, hereafter) and gradually for the Other Backward Classes (OBC, hereafter)³. In 1978, Mandal Commission was established to assess the standard of socio-economically and educationally backward classes in India. The commission did not have a set of data of the backward classes and used one from the 1931 census. It roughly estimated that the population of socially and educationally backward classes were nearly 52%. Two years later, the commission suggested that the quota of OBC, that of 27% be applied to higher educational institutions and service bodies operated by the union government. There was much upheaval in the state funded universities and colleges due to the recommendation from the Mandal Commission. Students protesting and staging demonstrations, to vandalism to even partaking in extreme form of protest wherein a few 'upper caste' students from Delhi University committed acts of self-immolation to protest against the recommendation of Mandal Commission (Dirks, 2001, p. 275).

Kumar (2014) questioning the quota system poses a grim portrayal of the loopholes on the ten years constitutional provision of reservation for the SCs and the STs. According to Kumar (2014), the drafters of the bill grossly miscalculated two major phenomena. One, the depth of disability of the disadvantaged was grossly misinterpreted and two, the nobility and the accommodativeness of the higher caste was grossly overestimated (Kumar, 2014). He

³In 1982, it was specified that 15% and 7.5% should be reserved for candidates from SC and ST communities respectively, for government aided colleges and higher education institutions and in public sector jobs.

assertively questions if the historic injustices and the institutionalized discriminations from the deprivation of the basic human rights can be bridged in a mere 60 years of independence. The reservation system while on one hand has advantaged the previously marginalized communities and helped in their upward mobility, on the other hand, it has created a platform of caste in society wherein caste might have lost (to an extent) the more traditional (sacred and profane) ritual hierarchy but in place has established a much stringent economic and political hierarchical lag. In a similar voice, no doubt a large proportion of increment of SC and ST population in the higher education sector can be attributed to the positive affirmation program (be it the caste based quota reservation, waiver of age, specific type of numerical advantages such as adding points to test scores, or preferences in hiring contracts), but it is still very difficult to estimate how much of a real impact it has made. The difficulty in calculating arises because of two main factors. First, scarcity of data on higher education enrolment and second, the very complexities governing the way in which reservation policies in education spheres are structured and administered increases the complication (Weisskopf, 2004).

An innocuous and an ambiguous term – affirmative action– was introduced in India with a provision of quota hiring wherein people from disadvantaged ‘groups’ and marginalized communities were appointed and employed based on their ascriptive inscriptive status– the caste. It is done with purpose of fulfilling sheer reservation seats rather than turning tables to motivate and stimulate members of target population to training programs, opportunities so as to promote inclusive growth (Hassan and Nussbaum, 2012). Through course of history, sustaining and building on the caste group ties and affiliations, the essence of quota system has been reducibly charged with bagging educational opportunities and job for the materially and politically well-offs. As a result, the essential concept of ‘merit’ and

'institutional standards' have been reduced to mere caste based affiliated quota spots (Gupta, 2000, p. 140).

Growth of middle class and commercialization of higher education

Although, there is no one consensus in defining middle class, two basic arguments are generally applied. One, defining through the individual's self-perception (subjective) and second, through consumption and income (absolute or relative) level observations and analysis (a rather objective). While the first could be applied in tracing the trend in one particular country, the latter is helpful to gauge at a general overview of middle class cross cutting it with various income countries (Brandt and Büge, 2014; Kapur et al., 2017, Krishnan & Hatekar, 2017). A leading international consulting firm, McKinsey's report of definition of the Indian middle class centers predominantly around urban educated wage earners (mainly ranging between US\$ 24,000 and \$118,000 on Purchasing Power Parity basis). The 'new Indian middle class' with an aggressive appetite for goods and services has resulted in booming of the financial sector corresponding to the increased boom in sectors of housing, education and telecommunications (McKinsey, 2007). They define the Indian middle class as bird of gold, an old term used by the merchants to describe vast economic potential. According to a report published in 2008, by Columbia Business School, they predicted that by 2025, Indian middle class will have accounted to 41 percent of India's population, that is around 583 million people (Chazen International, 2008). However, despite the increase and the growing purchasing power of the middle class, India still needs a larger stride to make sure that the middle class enjoys the standard of living that Western countries middle class have accustomed themselves to.

Gupta (2000), provides an aerial view of Indian middle class wherein he states that Indian middle class is understood mainly in terms of consumption. Additionally, the writer explains how the Indian middle class flatters and finds comfort in certain

comparative statistics (like the number of graduate and diploma holders in India is equal to the population of France). Such feeble comparisons give a moral superiority to the Indian .

elites, who are almost always threatened by the West (Gupta, 2000, p. 17). However, in comparison to the middle class of the Western world, the Indian middle class loses its 'stand-offish demeanour and all its starch' because the standard of living of Indian middle class(not the elites), is always below, the average American class. In this manner, Gupta critically assesses the 'one-off-purchases' consumption patterns in India where the people have the capacity to purchase cars, TV, watches (to begin with) for a one-time purpose but they do not have the financial power to sustain higher level of turnover (emphasis in the original). In order to elucidate his point on Indian middle class further, he condemns the middle class's attitude fuelled by the persistence to be 'Westernised' but what is preceding the reality is not the ethos and the values of westernisation but of 'Westoxication'. It means to define one's existence in the modern, Indian middle class, one needs to (out of others) wear jeans, listen to MTV, visit discotheques, and drive an Audi or a BMW (Gupta, 2000, p. 26).

The essential question to be asked here is, what does this increasing number of middle class mean? Are we to be satisfied like the Indian elites by comparing how Indian car owners are approximately double the population of Belgium (Gupta, 2000, p. 17) ? What does it mean for the Indian middle class to grow in this abundance and what consequences does it imply to the other spheres and sectors of society? How does it affect the financial and the corresponding education, and the job market?

After the 1990s regulations of Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation (LPG, hereafter) with expansion of country's economic policy by making the market more expansive through involvement of private sectors and foreign investments, zones such as higher education, jobs, service industries have felt the

boon and the bane, in due course of time. With regards to higher education in India, the LPG policies, benefitted the industry with a massive expansion phase wherein the number of private colleges and universities and the institutions funded privately have mushroomed (Kumar, 2014; Kumar 2016; Jayadeva, 2016). While on one hand the mushrooming and the booming of Indian higher education seemingly portrays an image of encompassing the growing requirement for higher education among the evolving and demanding middle class population, on the other hand, due to lack of quality control and legislative loopholes, the quality of higher education and its graduates are under scrutiny by the academicians where some have gone so far as to call the booming privatisation of higher education and its offspring coaching centres 'an education mafia' (Gupta, 2000; Kumar, 2013; Amandeep et.al, 2016).

Following the globally applied dictates of World Bank in 1990, the Indian government called for the universities to make efforts to find its own sources of funding through welcoming private donors and sponsors, and through various other out-reach programs like raising tuition fees, involving in consulting businesses and other activities (Kumar, 2014). Furthermore, as Kumar (2014) and Kumar and Young (2016) mention in their papers on critique of Indian higher education that after the suggested reforms in education sector by a government appointed two-man committee of Mukesh Ambani and Kumarmangalam Birla in April of the year 2000, the proposition presented by the two leading corporates and industrialists of India positioned higher education as a very profitable market that needed to be commodified. The consequences of the report had a linear effect on cutting down of budget of the higher education institutions and on the appointment of regular academic and non-academic staffs, which by default was halted. Kumar and Young (2016) mention that with the advent of Ambani and Birla's recommendations of 2000, the universities faced sharp budget cuts, and were compelled to give out certificates to many private run professional courses. For

example, many jobless youths of Meerut, overnight turned their mere coaching centers to professional vocational institutes with sky rocketing prices for admission and tutoring, thus further creating a lag in education system (for more refer to Kumar and Young, 2016). Within a decade, as the authors recall, more than 350 colleges (privately run) were established in the region of Meerut alone (Kumar, 2014; Kumar & Young 2016). On a mirroring voice, Gupta (2000), on education for Indians, calls the importance of the graduate degree to be that of a consumerist item. The author goes on to state caustically that the most value that the education degree holds is that of an aesthetic wall hanging on a 'mantelpiece' for it is not good for anything else. In a tone of disdain, Gupta criticises the Indian education system by stating that due to lack of quality control and poor education standards, the education system does not equip a graduate individual to 'think independently', to 'relate to other people' and to 'pursue a satisfying career' (Gupta, 2000, p. 19).

The cost of belonging: aspirations of a middle class on accumulation of academic capital

There have been perverse consequences of the state's policy to dismantle public universities and promote burgeoning private education (refer to Ambani and Birla's report of 2000). One of the foremost areas where this can be felt is in the very facet of quality of education and social justice. Without a coherent rule, the policy (as per the recommendation of two industrialists) was passed which surmounted in opening of numerous private colleges and universities where in some, in paper, students were registered but no classes were held and certificates were distributed, in other colleges, exorbitant fees were taken and on graduation the degree was nullified by the state for the college was never affiliated to any universities. But in many of such colleges, the amount of fee charged was unreasonably inflated (including the capitation fees⁴) that only students belonging to certain economic class could

⁴Capitation fees are fees, unofficial in nature, but necessary to be paid to get through a higher education institution in India.

afford it. This has led to an aggravated inequality in education system wherein in some cases, people from the marginalized communities (majorly students from SCs, and OBCs) not having the capability to afford studying in such institutions. And in other cases, in the name of following the 'quota system', brokers (*dalal*) campaigned door to door admitting students (mainly just in paper) of lower caste in areas of discipline they did not wish to pursue (Kumar, 2014). It is here, that a mention of the status of public education needs to be considered. Guha (2007) in his article arguing for *Pluralism in the Indian University*, highlights the parochial nature of Indian public education system due to massive politicization (appointment of university staffs and professors based on political ideologies) and bureaucratization (appointments of faculty in the name of caste, region, religion along with inbreeding) of education systems and policies. He mentions how certain technical institutes like the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) during the dawn of time attracted majority of professors and 'good' faculties from 'good' engineering universities and colleges only to be sedated with bureaucracy eventually failing to deliver all that it had promised. In a similar manner, with the parliamentary act of establishing IITs, it attracted faculty staffs from colleges and universities which before the establishment of IIT were providing, if not quality education, education of sorts to people from all class, caste background without the threat of rat race competition that engulfs IIT entrances now.

The demand for higher education is a consequence of the growing middle class's requirement, out of various other variables at play (Jayadeva, 2016). Although there has been a sharp increase in numbers of higher educational institutions, very few among them are nationally and internationally reputed. This reputation coupled with India's tertiary education policy and the attempt by the Indian government to place certain universities as 'deemed/prestigious' universities (Financial Express, 2018) fuels the competition to further transcend the boundaries of the entrance

gates of such universities, colleges and best faculties therein. What is of interest here furthermore is this complicated nature of fierce competition that is fuelled and made knottier through the reservation policies, affirmative actions and quota systems⁵. As mentioned above, with nearly 50 percent of the seats reserved in public and government run higher education institutions, the fierce competition that follows is complicated with the privatisation of higher education and quota system. While it holds mandatory for the state and government funded universities to have specified quota seats, the same does not hold true for private higher education institutions. Additionally, with the state of India headed towards commercialization of higher education, the exorbitant fees charged by some of the private institutions fuels educational inequality and quality control becomes difficult. At the same time education institutions have increasingly been beyond the reach of middle class Indians. India has about 700 universities and 35,000 colleges out of which none of them ranks in the top 100 in the world (Financial Express, 2018). While ranking systems are viewed differently by different stakeholders and are consequently affected by it in various dynamics, they have become a standard feature of higher education system to an extent that they seem to be the brokers of 'quality assurances' (Thakur, 2007, emphasis in the original) by providing 'consumer-type' information (OECD, 2007, emphasis in the original).

With no consensus in what constitutes quality education in higher education, ranking can be seen as an agent that incorporates certain facets of higher education institutions more than the other for ranking, which does not and cannot measure the eminence and excellence that precedes the larger higher education arena (Thakur, 2007). However, with India emerging as one of the

⁵The government of India does not allow the reservation seats to surpass 50 percent (with 12.5 percent, 7 percent and 27 percent allocated to the SC, ST and OBC category respectively), certain states like the state of Tamilnadu, and other North-Eastern state with higher population of such marginalized communities have reservations up to 60 percent.

biggest global economies of today (Jayadeva, 2016; Faist et.al., 2017), the recent decision of the government⁶ to name twenty (10 public and 10 private) universities as ‘deemed’ universities of India has caused a spark among the educationalists and academicians primarily due to the incoherency in how the ranking system will be established. The current government’s desire of ‘world class’ universities comes with a heavy socio-economic cost, especially in an already socio-economically fragmented country. The operational budget to be a world class university comes close to \$1 billion a year (Financial Express, 2018; OECD, 2007). This would require many higher educational institutions to skyrocket their overall funding and this as a result will adversely affect many social and economic nuances in the society. In other words, with the privatisation of higher education, many private run colleges and universities have fees that general Indian middle class cannot and would not be able to afford. However, the government funded colleges and universities are mandated to be under operation as non-profit making institutions hence their fees structure falls linearly below the ones from private institutions. While the state funded colleges are considered to be esteemed and are relatively on a lower budget, the structuration of transcending into the colleges for higher education is a daunting task with exceptionally competitive entrance examinations further coupled with reservations. Passing the exam alone does not guarantee a seat in the colleges. One has to rank a certain rank (within the applicants’ quota) among nearly millions of applicants nationwide to be able

⁶The ruling party of India, Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) leader Mr. Narendra Modi as the Prime Minister of the country has ruled that 20 universities in India will be given ‘deemed’ status. The PM while speaking at Patna University’s function mentioned a grant of 10,000 crores to 10 private and 10 public universities for a period of five years “to demonstrate their potential to be world class universities” (Hindustan Times, October 14, 2017). Furthermore, he added that one of the biggest incentives for such grant has been the increasing Information and Technology (IT) industry of India which has changed the country’s perception in the global world from ‘snake charmers’, ‘exorcisms’, ‘superstitions’ and ‘black magic’ to a country with serious IT revolution.

to secure a seat in the public institutions (like the IITs and the NITs).

One may ask, what does caste, middle class, reservation system have to do with burgeoning private higher education in India? Well, the math here is fairly simple. To begin with, first and foremost, one needs to understand the aspiration to be termed middle class. As mentioned above, middle class can be mapped through various vantages out of which, self-perception is one. What it means, in other words, is the aspiration that people hold to belong to the middle class. Krishna and Agarwal (2017), states that, striving for a middle-class status arises from the need to be free from vulnerability and a real chance towards upward mobility (Krishna & Agarwal, 2017). The authors define social mobility in the broadest sense and make it an all-encompassing notion which, in their opinion can be influenced by a number of factors in a person's life, like the innate and the ascribed life chances, better healthcare, better infrastructure, acceleration of economic growth and (especially) by raising the quality of education (for further discussion on caste class association and social class mobility, see Vaid, 2012). Furthermore, literatures point towards believing that education – school quality learning and high dropout rates – are one of the major factors that affects social mobility. In other words, the higher the (quality) education reach of a person, the more the social mobility which is followed by a gradual concurrency increment in social status because rural slum kids do not have either the reach or the luxury of attaining quality education. As a result, they are barely the ones making it big in the service (occupation) industry populated with IT experts, engineers, business managers, high class civil servants and other high-paid professionals (Deshpande & Yadav, 2006; Krishna & Agarwal, 2017).

Roles played by 'soft skills' (Heckman & Katuz, 2012) and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) have been much talked about on referring to notions of upward mobility. To go back to answering

the question, one is required to follow the leads of ‘them aspirants’ and their need to be a part of the larger socio-economic and political⁷ middle class of India.

In a study conducted by Kapur, et.al., (2017), they found that the concept of belonging to an Indian middle class was a status marker wherein approximately 40-60 percent of a study’s respondent claim to be from the middle class⁸. The study concludes by asking a vital question that in a status conscious society like India (BBC, 2017), is middle class a status marker that the poor aspire to reach? In an attempt to categorically place middle class aspirants, the authors clarify that the Indian middle class is less vested in ideology and is driven mainly by the achievement of socio economic status in country where there is a ‘tremendous amount of churn taking place’ (Kapur, et. al., 2017, emphasis in the original). While, achieving and maintaining the status quo of a middle class could come with certain reaches (quality education, healthy lifestyle, income and expenditure brackets), the voracious viciousness with which more and more sizable population are entering the middle-class cohort on one end could signify more if not equal amount of people wanting upward mobility on the other end of middle class spectrum. This mobility from middle class to upper middle cohort or even further up comes bearing higher costs. Here too, education, out of all other factors,

⁷In 2014 election, the middle class of India had a huge role to play in securing the win for the now, right wing political party of India – BJP. BJP was able to secure abundance of vote because the party had offered strong narratives of hope in terms of socio-economic development and a (physically and mentally) cleaner India. (see, Torri, 2015).

⁸Kapur et.al., (2017) in their paper on Indian Middle class try to map the aspirations of nearly seventy thousand Indian people, with an area spread across twelve different states. The study found that 40-60% of the sampled population, ranging across all income, age, rural-urban sites, and occupational groups claim to be from the middle class. More people from the urban regions affiliated themselves to be from the middle class as compared to the people from the rural areas (which is inhabited by 75% of the total Indians, ironically).

will play a crucial role for a quality higher education that outshines the fear of an unstable financial future.⁹

Medicine and Engineering – the two *supremoof* middle class's education investment return – have since the 2000s become expensive for an ordinary middleclass person to aspire, reach, and to study. A study published by Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) and the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India (ASSOCHAM 2014) reported that Indian students spend about 6-7 billion annually to study in foreign universities wherein a sizable number of such students came from middle class backgrounds. The report critically analyses the enrolment, teaching, research and development facets of IIT to report that much needs to be done, if Indian students are to be retained back in the country, especially the growing upper middle-class echelons of the society who invest sizable income to send their children to countries abroad resulting in very few student migrant returnees. While there have been abundant studies conducted on other international students in general, like Chinese students and their lives as a student in America (Hansen et. al., 2015), Korean students and their aspirations to go to America for higher education (Kim, 2011), literatures, researches and studies pertaining specifically to Indian Students and their education migration to tertiary level of studies is sparse (Guha, 2007; Bass, 2009; Jayadeva, 2016; Faist, et. al., 2017).

⁹This nexus has also gained prominence in Bollywood. A noteworthy mention would be a coming-of-an-age Indian dramedy movie called 3 Idiots. The movie showcases the nuances of friendship and life decisions between three friends in an elite engineering college in India. It is a social commentary with a pinch of dark humour on the dysfunctionality of engineering colleges in India and the lives of the students therein by tackling issues of upward social mobility, the grand narrative middle-class dream of an engineer son in a three-piece suit while also tackling the issue of students' suicide, and the hegemony of Engineering as a subject in the psyche of mass Indian middle class over other professional disciplines.

What one needs to understand is the complicated nexus formed in the so-called elite engineering institutes in India on grounds of students from poor education quality vying for rat race competition of entrance examinations coupled with a rigorous and mandatory quota reservation system in place. This complication is fuelled further by the 2000's Ambani and Birla's report on commodifying higher education for business and profit where following the report many private institutes and colleges mushroomed but only few garnered the status of nationally reputed universities and colleges. Nevertheless they have not stopped charging and admitting students at an exorbitant capitation and tuition fees resulting in furthering the educational inequality among people of various castes and classes. With the upscaling of financial and economic status of middle class, the choice of pursuing one's higher education abroad (USA, Canada, UK, Australia, Europe) as against pursuing it in a two-tier university in India gradually found prominence leading to mass student migration (previously to more traditional student destinations like). The UK, now, has new found reputation, with universities vying for internationalization, to other parts of Europe as well, like Germany (Jayadeva, 2016). Studying abroad as against in a two-tier university in India comes with a form of upward social and economic mobility wherein one's very own achieved sense of cultural capital (education degree and exposure with the west, so to speak) rests on the previously stationed, and to an extent internalized symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It in turn further enhances the chances of accumulating social capital through perks of matrimonies and entrances to elite groups via existence of networks of connects that are, otherwise, not conjugal or even socially given, like the entry to the affine kinship groups. Given these pretexts of upward mobility, which while are connected with the grand schematic dots of education that are used as an object of monetary exchange (following what Bourdieu called "the conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital") is

usurped either by concurring deliberation or through sheer state of unconscious accumulation of social capital. The example could be the entry to an elite affine kinship group through matrimony based on one's cultural and economic capital (for further discussion of caste based matrimony, refer to Banerjee et.al., 2013).

While notwithstanding issues of caste and class association of an aspiring student, other aspects that have attracted students for education in abroad are of attraction internationalization of universities, fostering international partnerships and exchange programs, competitive scholarship programs that have led to improvising in the desirability of Indian students wanting to study abroad (Jayadeva, 2016). Along with the policies and programs that fosters internationalisation, the government of various countries are encouraging young, bright graduates to stay back in the host country after their graduation by promoting and providing offers like the blue card (in Germany). This aspect could further be propelled to the rising middle class, aspirations of students' as the prosperity and the workforce demand for more advanced skills.

Conclusion

The burgeoning tertiary education in India, while, might tell a different story, Indian universities still remain at the bottom of the global rankings with three universities in the list of top 200 in the year 2018 (QS ranking, 2018). To answer the question, why is it that the Indian students, despite having numerous options of colleges and universities in India still opt out to pursue their higher education abroad it can be argued that while there are number of private higher education institutions, very few are nationally, let alone internationally recognized and renowned (Jayadeva, 2016). Furthermore, as has been discussed in the earlier sections, these private institutions, colleges and universities charge an exorbitant fees. This phenomena skyrocketed after the Ambani and Birla Commission report of 2000 to commodify and commercialize higher education. They made such recommendations because they viewed higher education sector as an industry and as yielding

excessive profit. It needs to be asserted here that, universities and colleges despite not having a rank or providing the best quality education, before embracing the 2000's report on commercializing higher education, were still providing a platform for many students, from different socioeconomic backgrounds to pursue their higher education. After the commencement of the report, many of these smaller institutes, colleges increased their fees, charged high capitation fees to reserve seats (Kumar, 2014) but did not improve their infrastructure or the quality of education whatsoever rendering them the names like, teaching shops (A Welcome Report on Higher Education, 2009). However, they ended up engraving cleavages on the basis of economic and financial standards where only the ones who had the reach could afford higher education degrees from these private institutes.

The 'new Indian middle class' is quite different from the old one. In the new middle class people from 'lower' castes households form a substantial group leading to more diverse choice of occupation away from hereditary caste based occupational choices Krishnan & Haterkar (2017). In this backdrop, with an increasing number of people from diverse socioeconomic background wanting to be identified as middle class, it comes with value laden choices, one that primarily begins with attainment of higher education primarily for the purpose of social class mobility. Coupling with these factors, in India, competitive entrance exams, fewer nationally reputed universities and colleges, desire to belong to the upper echelons of middle class stratum, along with the financial choice of studying in a two tier Indian university versus an abroad education forces students to go to study abroad. Other factors pushing students for abroad studies are complicated nature of reservation policies for higher caste Indians, creamy layer OBCs and the new constellation of middle class Indians has prompted Indian students from one of the two *supremo* education backgrounds to chose for higher education abroad. This drive is further facilitated by the pull factors- burgeoning internationalization of foreign universities with attractive advertisements through virtual platforms. Educational

fairs of advanced degrees in Research and Development (R&D) in technical fields that promises not just a university degree but much more such as an advanced job placement and an upscaling in social mobility also motivates students to chose foreign universities.

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Disaster Preparedness in Public Schools : A Study on Earthquake Affected Schools

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Abstract

The earthquake of 2015 severely damaged schools around the country which were in urgent need for reconstruction. This study based on observation of practices of disaster preparedness in select schools in Nepal aims to explore how the schools that were destroyed or damaged during the earthquake are preparing against the disasters. The objectives are to understand the measures undertaken to deal with the disaster and understanding of the people about disaster preparedness, and the gap between understanding and practice. The study found that schools are slowly getting re-built and there is significant gap in understanding and practice.

Key Words :Disaster, Disaster Preparedness, Schools in Nepal

Introduction

Nepal is highly susceptible to natural disasters. It is among the 20 most disaster-prone countries in the world. Globally, Nepal ranks 4th and 11th in terms of its relative vulnerability to climate change and earthquakes respectively. Nepal's geographical location exposes it to extreme precipitation, seismic activities and landslides that cause loss of lives and damage to property and infrastructures every year (Government of Nepal, 2017).

Earthquake is of frequent occurrence in Nepal and the last great earthquake of Nepal was that of April 2015. This devastating earthquake killed 8891 people, 198 people were missing, and 22,303 people were seriously injured. It is estimated that more than

six hundred thousand households were completely damaged and another three hundred thousand households partially damaged (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2015). It also destroyed or damaged nearly 9000 schools and 30,000 classrooms disturbing studies of almost one million students most of whom did not get to go to schools for a long time.

One of the most vulnerable groups during the period of disasters are children. The data shows that they are one of the most vulnerable groups in society and are more prone to become victims of disasters, particularly while attending school (UNISDR, 2007). A study by the World Health Organization estimated that out of total fatalities from natural disasters children comprises of 30 to 50 percent (WHO, 2011).

Disaster preparedness can be referred to as the measures taken to prepare for and reduce the effects of a disaster. It means prevent disasters whenever possible, mitigate the impact on vulnerable populations, and respond to and effectively cope with the consequences (Prepare Center, n.d.). Disasters are often unpredictable leaving little time to prepare which makes preparatory measures all the more important. In disaster-prone countries and areas sound disaster preparedness plan is essential to lessen the impact on a vulnerable population.

Research Problem

The earthquake of 2015 damaged thousands of houses and other structures. Some of these have already been rebuilt and some are in the process of reconstruction. Schools are places where reconstruction is essential. As mentioned earlier children are one of the most vulnerable groups during natural disasters and schools are the places where children spend significant amount of their time which makes it essential to examine the vulnerability they face and the preparedness mechanism school has in place during the disaster to keep them safe and unharmed. Hence this study was guided by the objective of understanding the disaster

preparedness in public schools of Kathmandu that were affected by the earthquake. The research aimed to find answers to following questions :

- What measures are undertaken by the public schools to prepare against disasters?
- How does school authority understand about disaster preparedness?
- Is there a gap between understanding of disaster preparedness and practice and why?

Literature Review

In a study done in Kenya on level of disaster preparedness and policy implementation, it was found that even though more than 70 percent of the school principals knew about occurrence of disaster, they were unaware about steps to be taken in the aftermath of the disaster. There are guidelines but they are not in practice. No matter how good the preparation or guideline is, unless students and other staffs are aware of it, it is useless. Ad hoc and uncoordinated measures do not work. Schools must be prepared for in all four phases of emergency management comprising of prevention/mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery (Dube & Orodho, 2016).

Fatma Ozemen (2006) study on level of preparedness of schools to disasters based on interaction with principals of schools concluded that high level of preparedness could not be achieved due to some factors such as insufficient and ineffective training on gaining leadership qualities, attitudes, approaches of the officials, lack of resources, and hierarchical structure in educational system. A hierarchically structured education system where every decision comes down from the National Education system was hindering to take timely and appropriate decisions. The study recommended that to create a disaster-resistant culture at schools, all staffs should know how to act during and after the disasters and for this obligatory courses must be there in the school curriculum(Ozmen, 2006).

Muttarak and Pothisiri in their study found that formal education can increase a person's level of disaster preparedness which can result in a decrease in vulnerability to natural hazards (Muttarak & Pothisiri, 2013). However, a study conducted by Tuladhar, Yatabe, Dahal, & Bhandary (2015) found that some of the teachers do not have enough knowledge about disaster and risk reduction issues in the educational sector. Thus, it was recommended that DRRM education be promoted to communities through well-groomed school teachers.

The study done by Lopez, Echavez, Magallen, and Sales (2018) came to the conclusion that the schools cannot achieve the level of compliance with risk reduction and disaster preparedness program mainly due to financial, technical, and human aspect. Financial aspect was ranked first where limited funds, training materials and space for training were cited as major hurdles to achieve a level of compliance. Similarly, the technical aspect was another where factors such as unavailability of handbook/guidelines on preparation was cited as major hurdles to achieve the level of compliance. And lastly, on man power aspect the lack of training among members of the faculty, faculty's lack of interest and knowledge in the subject, and their reluctance to give priority to topic related to disaster was cited as major hurdles to achieve level of compliance (Lopez, Echavez, C, & Sales, 2018).

Sutton and Tierney (2006) in their study define disaster preparedness as an intersection between pre-impact where risk and vulnerability analysis and mitigation measures are defined and post-impact where activities such as response and recovery take place. These activities are done to ensure that there are resources available to respond effectively. These days emphasis is placed on recovery to navigate challenges linked with short-term and long-term recovery (Sutton & Tierney, 2006).

Policy review

The Comprehensive School Safety Implementation Guidelines is developed by the Government of Nepal to assist development of schools and implement activities that will ensure the safety of the students. The students are the main intended beneficiaries and the key actors of comprehensive school safety. They should be involved in every step of implementation of comprehensive school safety. The guideline presents nine following tasks for the safety of schools ;i) Institutionalize comprehensive school safety in schools, ii) Develop the capacity of schools in comprehensive school safety iii) Carry out structural and non-structural assessments of schools iv) Identify minimum structural safety v) Plan comprehensive school safety activities vi) Implement structural, non-structural, mitigation, and preparedness activities, vii) Build the resilience of students, teachers and schools viii) Hold interaction sessions on comprehensive school safety between school families parents and local communities, and ix) Coordinate with local stakeholders and relevant authorities(Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2019).

The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 (SFDRR), which was adopted at the Third United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction in 2015, also clearly supports a comprehensive school safety (CCS) framework. The proposed framework is made up of following three pillars: i) safe school facilities; ii) effective school disaster management, and iii) disaster risk reduction and resilience education. The SFDRR fully integrates education into the overall goal of disaster risk reduction (DRR) through the disaster management cycle which extends from prevention, mitigation and preparedness to response, recovery and rehabilitation. Minimizing loss and damage to educational facilities is one of the global indicators of SFDRR (Global Target D), therefore, investment in disaster-resilient schools is emphasized in addition to disaster education to build a culture of safety and resilience as prioritized in the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) 2005-2015. The key indicators for measuring the Global Target D of

SFDRR have been set for later years to reduce the number of destroyed or damaged educational facilities (indicator D-3) and the number of disruptions to education services (indicator D-6) attributed to disasters (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) and Global Alliance for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2017).

This is be a qualitative study done in line with evaluation methodology in three schools of Kathmandu Valley. The study site for this study are two public schools- Vishwa Niketan and Tika Vidyaashram. These two schools were chosen on the basis of convenience. The principals of the schools and disaster preparedness focal person were interviewed for this study.

As far as data collection technique is concerned an open-ended in-depth interview (IDI) was conducted with the principals and teachers on the basis of convenience. A checklist was used as a tool to cover all the possible dimension of this topic. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed manner to allow interviewees to provide answers openly without any hesitation. The interviews were recorded in some cases and in some cases, notes were taken. The author tried to be exact in translation of the interview depending on verbatim meaning of the words by the respondents. Each of the translations was verified multiple times to make sure that there is no loss of data during the process of translation.

This research had certain limitations. The sample size of interviewees was small. Similarly, the interview was taken only with the principal and disaster focal person which made it difficult to observe the disaster preparedness of each school.

The following section discusses the findings of this study.

Reconstruction: From the study, it was found that several buildings of both the schools were reconstructed partially or completely. Some were reconstructed and some were retrofitted. One building

in our study site was neither reconstructed nor retrofitted. The following responses from our respondents clearly shows this:
“Two buildings were damaged badly which were not in a state to run classes. Both of these buildings were constructed with funding from JICA.”IDI

“Almost all the buildings were damaged. The older one was completely destroyed and another was partially damaged. One has been reconstructed and other has not even been retrofitted. It will be done within this year”IDI

All the construction work is going according to the government’s plan to reconstructing damaged school. These newly constructed buildings are in compliance with government prescribed criteria.

Compliance: The study showed that the schools are in compliance with one of the policies made by the government.

“We have appointed two teachers as focal persons for disaster management preparedness. They have received training. And one of them went for a residential program in Nagarkot for 3 days. These training take place regularly” IDI

“There is a teacher as a focal person and she goes to all kinds of training. Recently, she went to a training given by ADB” IDI

The schools are in compliance with the Comprehensive School Safety Implementation Guidelines. It is a guideline developed by the Government of Nepal to assist schools develop and implement activities that will ensure the safety of the students. Appointment of focal person is the first task under Comprehensive School Safety Implementation Guidelines which has institutionalized comprehensive school safety in schools. Along with the appointment of a focal persons, committees and the task forces have been formed in these schools.

Preparedness: The principals were asked about their understanding of disaster preparedness.

“Disaster preparedness for me means to be ready in every capacity to face disaster. In the case of a school where there are children, it means that they know what needs to be done. It means to be calm, not to run or jump from the building. It means to educate them and through mock sessions prepare them” IDI

“It means to cope with disaster. How resilient we are and how fast everything can be normal.” IDI

Their understanding of disaster preparedness is different shows that whereas one emphasizes pre-disaster preparedness, the other understands disaster preparedness in terms of recovery and response. This finding is similar to that of Sutton and Tierney (2006) where they found that these days emphasis is placed more on post-disaster recovery.

Even though the Principal’s understood what it meant to be prepared and the measures that must be undertaken, there was lack of practice. They knew what must be done but were not able to practice. The reasons for this were the hierarchical system, negligence, and lack of resources.

Factors impacting disaster preparedness

Hierarchical System: It was found that in both schools the buildings were recently constructed at the time of visits by the researcher which is actually four years after the earthquake. The fund had to be approved from the Ministry of Education and there is a long process for approval for this.

“Yes, the keys for buildings were handed over in June. It took two years to get the approval and another one year for construction. We had to visit the ministry several times to get the funding.” IDI

This finding of this study is consistent with that of Fatma Ozemen (2006) where more than half of the total respondents of 589 Principals and teachers were of opinion that National Education System is hierarchical in nature and bureaucracy makes it difficult to implement the plans.

Negligence: It was found that negligence also played part in not practicing disaster preparedness properly. The respondents said that they get used to the way things are.

“You know you get used to things with time. We planned to conduct sessions and give classes but we did not do at that time. The focal person went for training and that’s it. Nowadays, students themselves know about these things.” IDI

This finding is consistent with that of Lopez, Echavez, Magallen, and Sales (2018) in which they found that humantendencies to enjoy the status quo stops them from proper disaster preparedness. The lack of interest from the faculty and their reluctance to give priority to topic related to disaster has been factor obstructing the disaster preparedness.

Unavailability of resources : During the time of study, it was found that unavailability of resources was a major reason why principals could not practice what they preach or understand.

“We have not been able to practice what I was trained for. The building has been completed recently before that there were all sorts of construction materials. And after that, it started to rain. There is no space to conduct drill or conduct sessions for all the students. Hopefully, after it stops raining, we will start training students. Sometimes we teach during class though and one drill was conducted within the classroom.” IDI

In their study Lopez, Echavez, Magallen, and Sales (2018) found that financial aspect is the number one factor that hinders

compliance to disaster preparedness. Unavailability of funds, training material, and space were the main resource deficits. There in this study it was found that lack of space to conduct drills and mock sessions was stopping the teachers from educating children on preparedness.

Conclusion

The study was conducted in two public schools of Kathmandu that had been damaged in the earthquake. The major finding of this study was that reconstruction had recently taken place and they were trying to comply with the plans and policies put forward by the government. They had a good understanding regarding disaster preparedness, its importance and necessary measures that must be undertaken. However, in practice that was not the case. Public schools are funded by the government and big decisions cannot be taken autonomously. Ministry of Education must be consulted and only after that decisions can be put into action. This hierarchical system had delayed reconstruction. The fact that, construction of buildings completed after 4 years of the earthquake shows the delay due to bureaucratic causes. Other reasons were negligence and unavailability of resources. Negligence from the school authority was an important impediment on taking measures for preparedness. Focal persons were trained by the government but lack of priority placed on educating has been a hurdle. Another hurdle is the lack of resources mainly the open spaces. Reconstruction was taking place and students were being taught in makeshift classrooms. Now as the reconstruction has been completed and open space is available, necessary activities for disaster preparedness may take place .

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State of Newar Dalits and in Nepal

❖ Barsha Shrestha

Introduction:

The Newars are the historical inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley and its surrounding areas in Nepal, and the creators of its historic heritage and civilization (Furer-Haimendorf, 1956). Newars form a linguistic and cultural community of primarily Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-

Burman ethnicities following Hinduism and Buddhism with Nepal-Bhasa as their common language (Levy, 1991). Newars have developed a division of labor and a sophisticated urban civilization not seen elsewhere in the Himalayan foothills (Gellner D. N., 1986). Newars have continued their age-old traditions and practices, and take pride in themselves as the true custodians of the religion, culture and civilization of Nepal (Tree, 2008).

Caste system and Newars

Newar caste system is the system by which Newārs, the historical inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley, are divided into groups on the basis of Vedic Varna model and divided according to their hereditary occupations. It was first introduced at the time of the Licchavis (A.D. 300 - ca. 879), and it assumed its present shape during the medieval Malla period (A.D. 1201 - 1769) (Whelpton, 2005). The Newar caste structure resembles more closely that of North India and Madheshis than that of Khas and Parbatiyas in that all four varna (Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra) and untouchables are represented. The social structure of Newars is unique as it is the last remaining example of a pre-Islamic North Indic civilization in which Buddhist elements enjoys equal status with the Brahman elements (Gellner D. N., 1986).

The residents of the Kathmandu Valley were for the first time codified into a written code only in the 14th century in the *Nepal*

arastrasastra by the Maithil-origin king Jayasthithi Malla (1354-1395 A.D.) (Levy, 1991). Jayasthithi Malla, with the aid of five Kānyakubja and Maithili Brahmins whom he invited from the Indian plains, divided the population of the valley into each of four major classes (*varna*) – Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra which was derived from the ancient Hindu text Manusmriti and based on individual's occupational roles (Fisher 1978).

The four classes *varna* encompassed a total of 64 castes (*jats*) within it, with the Shudras being further divided into 36 sub-castes. Various existing and immigrant population of Kathmandu Valley have assimilated among the four *varnas* accordingly. It is believed that most of the existing indigenous people were incorporated under the Shudra *varna* of farmers and working-class population. Similarly, notable examples of immigrant groups being assimilated include the Rajopadhyaya Brahmins, who are the descendants of the Kānyakubja Brahmins of Kannauj who immigrated to Kathmandu Valley as late as the 18th century CE. The dozens of noble and ruling clans (present day Chathariya Shrestha) who came along ruling kings or as part of their nobility (most notably with Maithili Karnata King Hari Simha Deva (c. 1324 CE)) were also assimilated in the Newar nation in the Kshatriya *varna*. The Khadgis (Nāya/Kasāi), Dhobis (Kapali), Halwais (Rajkarnikars) among other caste groups are also believed to have immigrated to Kathmandu valley from the southern plains (Newar caste system, 2017).

The Newar caste system has various untouchable castes, some of them are now extinct. The Muluki Ain (Legal Code) of 1854 classified Newar low castes into “impure but untouchables” and “untouchables.” Caste has no legal status since the Muluki Ain of 1963, and the state has identified untouchables of Nepal as Dalits. Additionally, Newars also are involved in ethnic activism, and the state has identified Newars as an ethnic group. The debate on which Newar low castes are Dalits, and also whether there are Dalits at all in Newars, has ensued because Dalits and Janajatis

have been considered, arguably, mutually exclusive identities (Maharjan, 2012). Due to their simultaneous ethnic activism and caste system with untouchables, Newars can be considered as a unique case of intersection of ethnic, caste, and Dalit identity.

According to Toffin, Newar society was formed by the “process of ethnicization of a culturally and economically highly differentiated group of people who had initially different origins but settled in one special region, the Kathmandu Valley and then they started to adopt the same language, the same cultural features, and the same civilization” (Toffin, 2007, p. 361).

A sense of Newar identity originated with the threat of Gorkhali conquest in the 17th century. According to Gellner (Gellner D., 1993, p. 289) strong awareness of Newar identity was consequence of establishment of Shah Rule. Gellner (Geller, 1997, pp. 153-154), attributes the modern awareness of being Newar as a large part to “a feeling of difference from, and resentment at the dominant Parbatiyas, a feeling which seems to be shared by all Newars, despite all the other factors of caste, religion, dialect, and locality which serve to keep them apart.”

The Parish (Parish, 1993, p. 113) notes, while discussing social mobility and identity, that in Newar lower castes even multiple ethnic identities are possible, to avoid being attributed their low status, and this is possible because a person is not fixed in social space at the bottom of Newar caste system. Also, Gellner (Geller, 1997, p. 164) observes that even today the lowest castes such as Khadgi and most of the Sweeper castes of Dyahla and Chyamkhalak do not consider themselves Newars. Nor do the Newars' Brahmans identify themselves as Newars.

The identification of Newar low castes with Dalit although the term Dalit was not used then can be traced to the Nepali Dalit movement itself. The leadership and participation of Newar low castes in Nepali Dalit Movement can be identified from the

beginning of such movements (Kisan, 2005). SaharshanathKapali founded Tailor's Union in 1947, one of the first Dalit organizations, mainly to enhance tailor profession of Kapalis but also to teach about caste discrimination (Kisan, 2005, p. 91), and continued forming and reforming organizations into the 1960s. Kapalis and Khadgis were in the forefront and leading role in struggle to enter Pashupati Temple in 1952 (INSEC, 1993). Many Kapalis were leading the Dalit movement in the 1980s, although the bulk of Dalit leaders were from the Hill and Dalit castes (Kisan, 2005, pp. 82-111). Moreover, the membership, albeit low, of Newar low castes in Central Committee of various Dalit organizations (Kisan, 2005), both party-affiliated and non-affiliated, after the 1990 People's Movement can be regarded as an important role played by Newar castes in the Dalit movement and hence their identification as Dalits. Of note, there was also a Dyahla member in the National Dalit Commission from 2011 to 2012.

The outward manifestation of this identity controversy began in 1997, when the Ministry of Local Development included the Newar castes of Khadgi, Kapali, Dhobi, Dyahla, and Chyamkhalakin in its 22 Dalit caste list. Some leaders of these groups as well as Newar activists and intellectuals protested against this listing as Dalits and asked for removal from the list, but some activists, mostly of Dyahla and Chyamkhalak castes, and Dalit leaders lobbied for inclusion as Dalits. Both pro-Dalits and anti-Dalits have been battling this issue, and as of now, Khadgi, Kapali, and Dhobi have been removed from the list and are hence not Dalits. Presently, the Nepali state has identified the only two newar castes of Dyahla and Chyamkhalak as Dalits by their inclusion in Dalit list (Maharjan, 2012). Brief descriptions of those groups are given below.

Dyahla

Dyahlas are the principal and more numerous, group among the untouchables, with population of less than 3% of the total Newars. They live outside the old city walls, with no agricultural land. Presently, most of the Dyahlas do cleaning job in municipality

garbage collection centers and public and private offices. Economically, they were the poorest sections of Newars, though mainly due to these cleaning jobs they are now not so poor. They were fishermen and basket makers, used to rear pigs, and were executioners. They also serve as guardians at shrines or temples of Mother Goddesses. They have important “ritual” functions as accumulators of pollution. Most Dyahlas use “Dyahla” or “Deula” as their surname; some use “Pode” and “Pujari”; and some use “Matangi” (Levy, 1991, pp. 84-85).

Chyamkhalak

Chyamkhalak lie at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. They are also sweepers and do cleaning jobs like Dyahlas. They are considered to be lower than Dyahlas as Chyamkhalak take their death offerings. They, like Dyahlas, live outside the old city walls, with no agricultural land of their own. The major difference between them and Dyahlas is that they do not serve as temple guardians, and they have no ritual function in Newar society. Also, the function of Dyahlas as temple guardians makes them higher than the Chyamkhalak. In SawalBahal, Dyahlas invariably regarded Chyamkhalak as lower (Maharjan, 2012).

The term “Newar Dalit” has been used by many Dalit scholars and activists like Ahuti (2010) to differentiate it from Madhesi Dalit and Hill Dalits in classification of Dalits. The term indicates that there have been, and are, Dalits in the Newar society and there is discrimination. Since Newar activists strongly dislike the term and insist that there are no Dalits among Newars, they refrain from using the term “Newar Dalit.”

Untouchability in Newar society

According to Maharjan (2012: 16-17), untouchability is the hallmark of Dalit identity, and all scholars studying Nepali society and Newars agree that there is caste system with untouchability in Newar society. Both pro-Dalits and anti-Dalits, experienced some form of untouchability and discrimination in their lives. For example, Dyahlas have both polluting and non-polluting roles.

Ritually, as god-guardians and during jatras, they are considered non-polluting, but at all other social and cultural occasions they are taken as polluting. People of all castes take *Prasad* from their hands while they are inside the temple and are honored as Dyahla and Dyahpala, but once just outside the temple they become untouchables.

Both pro-Dalits and anti-Dalits, agree that untouchability has diminished markedly in the Kathmandu Valley. The ex-soldier from Kirtipur reported that it has decreased by 95%. Anti-Dalits see this as a prelude to reject the Dalit identity. In contrast, pro-Dalits, and Dalits in general, offer several conceptual and empirical evidences that it exists.

Pro-Dalits provide examples of untouchability and discrimination against them as evidence of prevalence and persistence of discrimination. The pro-Dalit leader from Tilganga emphasized that even if untouchability is eradicated in other societies, it will not be so among Newars because it is embedded in Newar culture and ritual. Anti-Dalits consider them as anecdotal cases and argue that discrimination in Nepal will take far more time to be eliminated if it has not been eradicated from India even after more than half a century of reservation, and hence they reject the Dalit "label." Moreover, in 2008, during "Newar Day" (Newa Divas), organizations of different Newars castes, including Dyahla organizations, declared that all Newars are equal; that there is no caste hierarchy and untouchability and discrimination in Newar society; that Dalit is not defined in Newar society; and there is unity in diversity. Whereas, pro-Dalits maintain that, though in the Kathmandu Valley untouchability and discrimination may have been reduced, outside it Dyahlas suffer unabated, so they have a duty to speak on their behalf. NDC(NDC, 2010), reports show the evidences of various such discriminations outside Kathmandu Valley.

Newar activists and intellectuals argue that Jayasthiti Malla imposed caste system on Newars and that he divided Newars into occupational castes not vertically along a hierarchy but horizontally, and untouchability was imposed later, mainly by the Rana regime. This is obviously not true, as there is general agreement among scholars on Nepal that caste system, and by extension untouchability, was present in the Lichhavi period and became more rigid after subordination to Shah rulers, and hence their cultural conservatism (Maharjan, 2012, p. 17). Colin Rosser (1966), the main proponent of economic materialist theory of caste in relation to Newars, considers caste as a form of social stratification whereby the poor are of low caste and the rich are of high caste. He showed this by examining the social mobility of Jyapus to Shrestha status. But there has never been a direct correspondence between caste and occupation, neither in India (S.N. Eisenstadt, 1970, p. 21) nor in Nepal. The correspondence of low caste status with poverty, however, is evident in the case of Dyahlas and Chyamkhalak, as in non-Newar low castes (Ahuti, 2010, p. 111). Dyahlas are relatively poor, with no agricultural land, very small houses, and, until some decades ago, no secure occupation. Currently, Dyahlas and Chyamkhalaks, both men and women, have the highest proportion of salaried employment; in their traditional cleaning job (Gellner D. , 1995). Nearly all Dyahlas in Kirtipur and most in SawalBahal are sweepers. But dwindling prospects for their occupation is a major concern. Now, they do not have monopoly in the cleaning business as they face fierce competition from other Newars and ethnic groups, and they do not have quota reserved in municipal rubbish collection work. Dyahlas and Chyamkhalaks agree that no one should be discriminated on the basis of occupation, but they have ambivalence about their traditional occupation. Most of them are now middle class (Maharjan, 2012, p. 19).

They feel threatened with gradual loss of their traditional job and hence livelihood. Yet they lament that they have not been able to abandon their 'polluting' job. Yet again, they say that there is so

much cleaning job that, if left only to them to do, they could not be done. But their concern is that cleaning job has been transformed into a contract business, and public and private offices nowadays do not recruit sweepers as a permanent staff, and most of them claim this is the main reason for them not having stable jobs. This has led to a high demand for permanent cleaning jobs. Being a contractor to clean toilets and floors is booming enterprise in Kathmandu. Many Dyahlas are making and have made fortune this way (Maharjan, 2012, p. 20).

This gradually non-poor status has been utilized to argue against the Dalit identity. In their view, only beggars, who have nothing to eat and who are oppressed, are Dalits. Yet, their ambivalence revealed immediately when they said that Dalits are also humans and there are rich non-Newar Dalits. Interestingly, the entry of other castes into their traditional occupation has also been utilized to attack the Dalit identity. Anti-Dalits argue that Bahuns and Chhetris and other Newar castes should also be labeled as Dalits because they are now sweepers and latrine cleaners if one identifies Dalit on the basis of their occupation. Now many Dyahlas have stopped doing the cleaning work themselves but are contractors and employ people of other castes also to do the cleaning work (Maharjan, 2012, p. 20).

Caste and Jajmani System

Dalit activists also point out the vestiges of jajmani system as an evidence of caste system and hence discrimination in Newar society (Ahuti, 2010, p. 111). In Sawal Bahal, it is no longer practiced, and in Kirtipur, until few years ago it was practiced in some form. Jajmani system, based on economic and socio-cultural interdependence encompasses, if not integrates, untouchables and other castes. Dyahlas used to be invited to feasts by their patrons regularly. This non-economic system of commodity exchange, if measured in terms of money, seems highly in favor of the Dyahlas. There used to be several patrons for a Dyahla family (Maharjan, 2012, p. 21).

In exchange, they needed to provide, only a few baskets, duck eggs, and fish for one or two times a year, for jatra and Swanti festival. Pro-Dalit rejects this system stating that they were provided leftover food, which is certainly not true, as meals are allocated separately for them when they are treated as jajmans as opposed to beggars.

Eating leftover food, as described poignantly by Levy (Levy, 1991, p. 385) and also shown in the Newari film “Pakha,” is a different context than that of poverty. However, Dyahlas were served separately as untouchables. Moreover, a pro-Dalit leader from Kirtipur said that they are only invited the day after the feast when the food was “cold and stale” and it is a form of discrimination: “Had we been treated equal, we would have been invited on the day of the feast, along with others.” Dyahlas are served on the same day also, and they are sometimes employed for cleaning after a feast.

Another form of jajamani relationship is collection of leftover paddy and other grains in the fields after harvest. Some of my informants from Kirtipur reported that collecting leftover paddy for a fortnight would provide rice up to six months during some years. At past they used to go as far as Thankot, the westernmost part of the Valley, to collect paddy. Dyahlas also used to “beg” paddy (wa pho wanegu) from their patrons (ista) while harvesting and would be provided with half to one pathi (a volume measure of approximately 4.5 liters, or 4 kg) of paddy. Farmers also use to employ Dyahlas to shift the hay and spread for drying (kaki dayegu), and Dyahlas would take the fallen and leftover paddy to their homes. By begging with several patrons, it is no wonder that they would have enough to live by for several months (Maharjan, 2012, p. 21).

But since 1990, as they had job opportunities at various public and private offices and thus were no longer poor, they abandoned it. An elder Dyahla said that they were ashamed (“laaj”) and

abandoned collecting after they were rebuked by the Jyapu farmers after the farmers saw Dyahla women wearing gold ornaments while coming to collect paddy. Therefore, it appears that the jajmani system is profitable for the Dyahla in an economic sense. It may not be overstatement to say that Dyahlas, at least partly, survived because of such a system (Maharjan, 2012, p. 22).

Origination stories

There is no evidence yet on the origin of Dyahlas and Chyamkhalak. According to Gellner Dyahlas came from Ponde, in Bengal, hence the word "Pode" (Gellner D. , 1995, p. 283). Scholars trace their origin at least to Lichhavi period. Some activists believe that they were Kirati courtiers, who were defeated by Lichhavis and then outcaste. However, some believe that they were Lichhavis and defeated by Mallas. Some Dyahlas referred themselves as children of Harishchand (Gellner D. , 1995, p. 286). These reveal a tendency to trace their identity to pre-Hindu tribes, which is a feature of Dalit activism (Gellner D. , 1997, p. 310); yet they claim Kshatriya status, a protest for their lower ranks in caste hierarchy. Some people believe that Chyamkhalak, literally "four lineages," were former courtiers along with Dyahlas. Dyahlas and Chyamkhalaks were marginalized in the past as they were required to live outside the city wall.

Some pro-Dalits argue that, they should have separate identity, along with Jyapus and should be identified as *Adivasis*, the indigenous tribe. As the pro-Dalit leader from Tilganga warned high-caste Newar activists, "their (high-caste Newars') identity will be revealed (that is, will be in danger) when true Newars come out." Tracing the origin of Dyahla and Chyamkhalak to pre-Hindu tribe has been used to prove their subordination. However, conversely, the identity can be used to prove that they are aborigines, not Dalits. This is in line with the evolutionist theory of Indian Dalits, who view themselves as a race apart, tribal in origin, now dispossessed, unlike the Parbatiya untouchables (Gellner D. , 1997, p. 310). This tribal origin of Dyahla is refuted

by Gellner (Gellner D. , 1995, p. 291) on grounds that in low castes in India and Parbatiya low castes in Nepal, and even Newar Khadgis, have been “agents of Sanskritization,” whereas Dyahlas have not been so. Contrasting marriage pattern between untouchable Chuhra caste of India with Dyahlas is also cited as evidence in such arguments.

Dalit identity has been contested by Newar activists on several grounds. First, some of these have been possible due to the complexity and ambiguity of the Dalit identity itself. Second, there are differences between the Parbatiya and Newar caste system in terms of history, religion, and society; some due to the socioeconomic changes in the lives of Newar low castes themselves. And third, due to the rise of Newar ethnic movement after the 1990s, the Newar has been constructed almost as a single ethnicity.

Dalit is not a singular identity but one of many identities such as that of a specific caste and/or an ethnic group. These dual or multiple identities at times conflict against one another. This is exactly the case with Dyahlas and Chyamkhalak. Anti-Dalits give more importance to the Newar identity and do not want to be identified as Dalits, whereas pro-Dalits emphasize Dalit identity and regard Newar identity as secondary, and sometimes even insignificant or reject them.

However, some of my anti-Dalits respondents found the term to be stigmatizing. Although many anti-Dalits did not say explicitly that the term “Dalit” was offensive and derogatory, their resistance to identify themselves as such implies that they consider it stigmatizing. On the other hand, Dalit activists have not found an unambiguous definition of Dalit.

There is controversy on whether to include so-called the water-acceptable groups (*Panichalne*) untouchables (Khadgi, Kapali, and Dhobi) as Dalits. NDC, many times does not seem to be clear on the

number of Newar low castes. There was a sign of extreme irresponsibility and negligence when it listed Kapali, Kusule (same as Kapali), Dyahla, Pode (same as Dyahla), Khadgi, Kasai (same as Khadgi), and Chyame (Chyamkhalak) in its Dalit list in draft bill of NDC of 2002. Moreover, the fluidity of the definition, regarding who constitute Dalits, seems to be determined by the identity politics of groups wanting to be included or excluded in the Dalit list played the vital role. Of note, NDC itself updates the Dalit list periodically. Although initially the NDC included Newar castes in its Dalit's list, it removed them all of them due to protest of Newar ethnic and caste activists, but it later included Dyahla and Chyamkhalak submitting to protest of these two caste groups. To further complicate matters, different government bodies have defined Dalits differently, as have different aid agencies and NGOs and INGOs and Dalit scholars. This seems to have major implication for Newars.

Benefits vs. dignity:

The whole politics of identity between pro-Dalits and anti-Dalits in the case of Newars, and to some extent in the case of Dalits themselves, boils down to one thing: benefits versus dignity. All of my anti-Dalit respondents link Janajati identity to dignity and consider pro-Dalits as seeking benefit rather than dignity. However, they are ambivalent about the perceived stigma of Dalit identity.

Although anti-Dalits link Dalit identity to poverty, shabbiness, uncleanness, homelessness, they also concede that there are many rich Dalits and Parbatiya Dalits are becoming richer due to their activism. All anti-Dalits maintain that only Khas people can be Dalits (many have no idea that there are Madhesi or Tarai Dalits), and Newars cannot be Dalits. On the other hand, pro-Dalits accept their seeking of benefits as legitimate. They demand not only benefits from government policies in the form of quotas for education and employment but also privileged rights from the state as a

compensation for their historical oppression. They regard Dalit as a respected term and a respected identity.

Conclusion

There is no doubt in the fact that caste system and untouchability practice prevail in Newar community. Although many improvements have been made, still many Newars from these so-called lower castes are facing inequality and humiliation in their day-to-day life just because of the caste they belong. If people want to bring all Newars under a single umbrella of ethnic identity then, they must eradicate all forms of untouchability practice that prevails within the community. For this, there is a need to create an awareness among its own people. It could be a long journey to achieve the theme of the slogan "all Newars are equal". In my personal opinion, an ethnic Newar identity and Dalit identity need not be mutually exclusive. Depending upon historical and social practice, a person could be both and deserve both type of benefit from the state. The state can certify that one is Dalit even if one is a Janajati or Madhesi.

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Genealogy of Resilience: From Inherent Ability to Community Capacity for Disaster Preparedness

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Abstract

Before the Gorkha earthquake 2015 discussions about "Resilience" was limited in the reports and debates of development agencies. Hardness of life, simplicity, not much expectations with other agencies and smiling face described as resilience or resiliency of Nepali people. From these perspectives it could be understood that "resilience is an inherent capacity of people and group of people".

After the Gorkha earthquake 2015 resilience became a notion of public debate and it's became more powerful after the publication of post disaster need assessment (PDNA). In PDNA then Prime Minister Sushil Koirala and vice Chair of Nation Planning Commission Dr. Gobindaraj Pokharel wrote about resilient capacity of Nepali people. In context of Nepal, beginning with those debates and statements, in this article I try to draw a development of concept of resilience from inherent ability to community capacity. Article is largely based on the literature review and it tries to connect international literature to literatures produced from Nepal.

Key words: Disaster, Resilience and Earthquake

Introduction

Resilience has become a buzz word in public sphere in Nepal after the Gorkha earthquake of April 2015. In post disaster need assessment report, the then Prime Minister Sushil Koirala wrote

that 'while the earthquake has severely shaken the country, the people of Nepal are resilient and are already finding ways to rebuild their lives'. The then Vice-chair of National Planning Commission Dr. Govinda Raj Pokharel also in his message wrote 'Nepalese are proving their resilience to the world'. The author got interested to know about the use of concept of resilience not only in Nepal but also elsewhere after reading those two statements. After the Gorkha earthquake rattled Nepal, political leaders, people in government agencies and academicians alike started saying that 'Nepali people are resilient or Nepali communities are resilient'. This article is the result of search for actual meaning and concept of resilience. Hence, this article will try to explore literatures that would help to answer some questions. What is resilience or what does it mean to be resilient? Does this transfer terrible situation into easier one? How does community resist and survive in the time of crisis? What factors make a community resilient and what makes it vulnerable?

This article is all about the development of the resilience and is focused on notion of resilience in sociological theory, disaster and resilience from sociological view point, socio-economic factor for resilience and resilience in community level.

Resilience in sociological theories

One year after the Gorkha earthquake 2015, the author started searching for literature pertaining to resilience. Initially the author got only few articles on disaster resilience study from sociological perspective. I went mainly through Barbara Lucini's PhD thesis on 'Disaster Resilience from a Sociological Perspective (2014)', Community and Regional Resilience Initiative's Report and Betty Hearn Morrow's 'Community Resilience: A social Justice Perspective' (2008). Kathleen Tierney's 'Disaster Response: Research Findings and Their Implications for Resilience Measures' (2009), Martin Endress's Article 'The Social Contractedness of Resilience' (2015), Wolf R. Dombrowsky's short article (2010) 'Resilience from a Sociological Viewpoint' and Philip Buckle's article (2006) 'Assessing Social Resilience' are some other important

literatures. However, the link between sociological theory and disaster resilience is rare even in those articles and book. Barbara Lucini wrote on her book, "...sociological area of disaster research has focused on many different domains of resilience, and no specific consideration has been presented in connection with sociological theories and approaches(2014: 51)". Thus, she linked her thesis with social construction theory. In 2010 professor Martin Endress suggested disaster resilience researcher to link with the social contractedness.

Then the author turned to research on the history of resilience and about the origin of the terminology and theory of resilience. There are two main views regarding this. Some have written that resilience theory emerged from 1954, when Emmy Warner, an American development psychologist and Professor of University California at Davis, started to work on a longitudinal research and later published a book 'The children of Kauai' in 1971. Others have written that resilience theory was established by clinical psychologist and professor of University of Minnesota, Norman Garmezy, when he published his paper to explain about resilience theory on 1971 based on mental illness such as Schizophrenia.

From the history, resilience theory focused on child psychology and medical science. It was conceptualized to understand unexpected and undesired responses of children brought up under disadvantageous and discriminating condition (Dombrowsky2010). Resilience theory became issue of discussion in psychology, medical science, environment and ecology for a long time and came to mean as an inherent quality of person and system to face, deal and overcome unpleasant events and ways of life. But at present, it has almost been a buzzword in several branches related to development and even in academic disciplines. Wolf R. Dombrowsky (2010), a visiting Professor of University Siegen Germany described resilience as a buzz-word, which is used to define various ways and in various discipline (such like, psychology, ecology, sociology and medical science). Adrian DuPlessisVanBreda, a Professor of Johannesburg University, South

Africa, in his review article 'Resilience Theory: A literature review' (2001), identified different types of resilience, such as in individuals (both children and adults), families, communities, work places and policies. He also discussed about resilience-based policy, resilience theory in social work, cross-cultural perspectives on resilience and deployment resilience (VanBreda, 2001).

Buckle (2006) categorized level of resilience according to its existence in individual, family, tribe or clan, locality or neighbourhood, community, social association such as clubs and faith congregation, organization (such as a bureaucracy or a private sector firm), systems such as environmental systems and economic systems. Resilience can even be used to define a theory. Fred Weston wrote an article titled 'The Resilience of the Idea of Karl Marx' on 'Socialist Appeal' 2013. All of these different types and levels of resilience analyse the resilience existing in these different entities differently. It would be easier to understand the concept of resilience in comparison with vulnerability which could largely seen as being opposite of resilience. If people, family, community cannot exhibit resilience during particular unpleasant events and ways of life, they could be called vulnerable.

According to the literatures available, resilience can be defined as a capacity or ability of people, families, groups, communities, systems or nations to feel better quickly after something unpleasant such as disaster, shock, injury, and so on (Buckle 2006, Endress 2015, Lucini 2014, Frankenberger et. al 2013, Iversen et.al 2008, Dombrowsky 2010, Marrow 2008). These literatures also show that resilience is studied in various disciplines and in connection with response to different hazards. However, most studies of resilience Buckle (2006), Endress (2015), Lucini (2014), Frankenberger et. al (2013), Iversen et.al (2008), Dombrowsky (2010) Marrow(2008) attempt to explain, how people deal with unpleasant events or ways of life? Hence they have defined resilience as positive adaptation in unpleasant situations. In various fields and branches of academia, attributes and causes of resilience are defined and understood in different ways.

Disaster and resilience from sociological view point

Disasters are generally consequences of natural hazards and they can have risks. The effectiveness of responses to disasters depends on the potential economic, social, political and environmental management of the communities and states. Many natural hazard prone countries have risk reduction, preparedness and management programs and strategies. These countries invest heavily in terms of knowledge and social and human capital for disaster risk reduction programs. Therefore, communities with risk reduction capacity and preparedness against disaster can manage and recover from the disaster on their own. This can be a resilient community. Lack of disaster risk reduction programs and lack of preparedness to face disaster and inability to face the disaster in local level without external supports can make communities more vulnerable.

From the sociological point of view disaster vulnerability and resilience are socially constructed phenomena. Disaster is not only natural phenomena and they can have different impacts on different people and communities. The impacts of disasters are felt differently by people of different levels in a society with high degree of disparity. Young children, old people, sick persons, pregnant women or new mothers, persons with disability can't face disaster as normal adult do. Similarly, natural disasters also can have different levels of impact on people with different economic capabilities and people of different castes. For example, the impact of disasters felt by people of so called upper and lower castes and house owners and people living in rented rooms may differ.

Though Emmy Warner and her colleagues started to work on resilience around 1954 specially in child psychology, now resilience become a wider issue. Resilience helps to analyze the conditions of people, community, society and nation from different academic

discipline. It has now become an important disaster management tool for development agencies and governments.

Iverson et al. (2008) cited the Kroll-Smith's (2001) analysis in their article "About Hurricane Katrina and New Orleans" that "disasters are always more than physical catastrophes with social consequences; they are also the outcome of a complex and long-running interplay of power and geography that works to shield some people from the whims of nature or the negligence of dangerous industries while exposing other to the unwanted fallout of these acts of nature and man(Kroll-Smith, p. 175, 2001)."

About resilience Barbara Lucini on her book *Disaster Resilience from a Sociological Perspective* defines disaster resilience as, "...resilience has been defined as capacity, ability, or competence to cope with stress, a crisis, or a disaster and bounce back to the pre-existing condition of life(2014: 31)". So the community which able to face particular disaster and manage the situation can be called a resilient one. Philip Buckle who is a sociologist and consultant of World Bank, in his article ' *Assessing social resilience(2006)*' writes about vulnerability and resilience; , "resilience and vulnerability are not inherent characteristics of a particular individual, group or locality. They indicate relationships between appropriate skills, resources and knowledge and the risks generated by an actual hazard (2006: 99)". He again specifies the issue as "resilience and vulnerability can only be properly understood as constructs (not as inherent attribution) that arise from a particular set of circumstantial social, economic, political, historical and cultural conditions and understand the cause and consequences of a particular vulnerability or capacity(2006:100)".

Buckle (2006) categorises the low resilience people who can be vulnerable and they are poor, marginalised, disabled, indigenous and minorities. Similarly, Betty Hearn Marrow, a Professor of Sociology at Florida International University, Miami, Florida, on his article "Community Resilience: A Social Justice Perspective (2008)" categorises the factors which promote social vulnerability

with related historical evidences such as poverty, minority status, gender, age and disability, human capital and social capital.

Socio-economic factor of resilience

Based on analysis of Buckle(2006), Marrow(2008), Tierney (2009), Anthony D. Redmond (2005) we can say that there are multiple socio-economic factors which make the society resilient or vulnerable. Economic Status is major factor which determines the resilience and vulnerability of community. Professor Anthony D. Redmond who is an expert on catastrophic and life-threatening injuries, on his article "ABC of Conflict and disaster Natural disasters" wrote "poverty is the single most important factor in determining vulnerability: poor country has weak infrastructure, and poor people cannot afford to move to safer place. Whatever the disaster, the main threat to health often comes from the mass movement of people away from the scene and into inadequate temporary facilities."(2005:1259).

Marrow(2008)'s view is not different from that of Redmond in that he wrote, "the communities that has sufficient resources to meet their basic needs can be resilient and community with poor population with daily risk and insecurity can be counted as vulnerable community. Economic insecurity helps create and sustain prejudices against the poor, particularly minorities and immigrants. Public attitudes make it difficult to develop policies and programs to address social issues, including affordable safe housing, public transportation and other resources that contribute to resilience". He cites work of Peacock et al.(1997) titled "*Hurricane Andrew: Ethnicity, Gender and the sociology of disaster*" where thousands of people were left homeless, living in tents and then trailers. Years later they had not been able to find affordable housing. Ten years after the storm some were living in unrepared houses, where condition was not different after Northridge Earthquake in California. He gave another evidence of New Orleans where rebuilding process were driven by profit interests than those who suffered from the earthquake. Affordable housing was

not the priority among the decision makers and policy makers and even those who advocated sustainability of the city. Tierney on the condition of New Orleans wrote, "taking advantage of the window of opportunity afforded by Katrina, gaming interests in Biloxi moved immediately to obtain permission to rebuild casinos on land, rather than returning to the pre-disaster river boat gambling pattern that proved so vulnerable to hurricanes". Buckle (2006) writes that poor people with limited resources to meet essential needs, people with large families and need to manage multiple needs within one household, families with single parent with limited resources and low coping capacity found very difficult to cope up with addition of small amount of extra expenditure or loss. People with inadequate accommodation who were already under stress were made more vulnerable.

Political power :Political power is an important determining factor to make community more resilient. Marrow (2008) adds in Cutter's(2001) explanation about political power and its impact on resilience. According to Marrow, landfill sites, toxic waste depots, and hazardous industries are most often located in areas inhabited by those with the least power in the political process, such as minorities and the poor. Marrow (2008) also gives the evidence of findings by American Lung Association(2007) that death rate for African Americans from asthma is twice as much as that of whites. There is evidence from New Orleans, lower income groups and minorities were unable to return to affordable housing in their old community. Buckle (2006)wrote that non-dominant language speakers who had difficulty accessing information and services, socially marginalized indigenous groups and poor were more vulnerable. Marrow (2008) also gave the evidence of Hurricane Katrina of New Orleans, where African Americans were over represented in every age category related with death and amongst those who did not receive adequate insurance payout, public services, including emergency responses were also more likely to be inferior. The foreign born people, for whom English is a second language, encounter greater difficulty when interpreting warnings,

understanding alternatives and seeking information and assistance. New resident Hispanics who did not understand English properly, didn't own vehicles, lacked hurricane experience and were fearful with Government became more vulnerable.

Gender status : **Gender** is another important factor determining of resiliency and vulnerability of any society. Social and cultural conditions make women weaker than men in most societies. Marrow (2008)wrote "men and women are vulnerable in different ways. Differences have less to do with physical attributes than with social structure and culture. Women's abuse during the time of disaster increases their vulnerability. An increased incidence of women abuse has been documented after several disasters including Hurricane Katrina. Women-headed or women alone household are more likely to be poor. Women have more life expectancy at birth than men and thus are over-represented in the elderly population, especially among the poor elderly. It can be argued that the most vulnerable group in the United States are elderly African American women, and many bear responsibility for raising grandchildren". Tierney gave the evidence of Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004 where Sri-Lankan women were dead because of traditional dress. She writes "because of cultural norms for proper womanly demeanour and dress in Sri-Lanka, women were less likely than man to know how to swim, and when they were trapped by the tsunami waves; their traditional garments weighted them down (2007)".

Human Capital also features importantly in consideration about resilience and vulnerability. Society with active, physically strong and young members is certainly more resilient than the one in which there are relatively more ill, disabled, very young and old people. Marrow (2008)writes that "human capital refers to the stock of productive skills and technical Knowledge in the labour force. In the disaster context it can be used to describe personal abilities and skills that promote resilience "

In disaster resilient community, family, friends, relatives, neighbourhood, formal and informal group of society are the most important parts. We can say social capital is another important factor. Marrow (2008) adds that social connection and social network, families, friends can be important source of information. They can give an advice and assistance. Minorities, including recent immigrant who do not have a network can be vulnerable in disaster. As a social capital, membership in social networks such as Churches, social clubs, parent groups and other community organization provides connection that can be called upon when needed, whether for job opportunities, recommendations, guidance or resources.

Literatures of Buckle (2006), Tierney (2007), Marrow (2008), Lucini (2014) help to understand how society might be resilient or vulnerable? Based on these literatures, we can say that societies with more disparity on the basis of economic class, political access, age, gender, race, language can be vulnerable. On the other hand, societies with more equality and stronger familial and communal values, with more number skilled human capital, proper communication about disaster risk and preparedness can be more resilient.

Resilience in community level

Disaster and resilience can be analyzed in multiple levels-individual, household, institutional, community, society, and national or also in the level of theories or ideas. Tim Frankenberg et. al (2013) adopting the definition of Walker et al. writes that resilience is , "the general capacity of a community to absorb change, seize opportunity to improve living, standards, and to transform livelihood systems while sustaining the natural resource base. It is determined by community capacity for collective action as well as its ability for problem solving and consensus building to negotiate coordinated response(Walker et al. 2010)". So, we need to be clear about what community needs to do to be resilient.

1. According to Marrow (2008), in order to be resilient in the face of hazards following are the requirements-Knowledge of the hazard,
2. Accurate perception of the risk
3. Understanding about available alternatives
4. Resources and flexibility to respond successfully

Marrow adds, these factors are not spread equally through societies. Rather, their distribution is largely determined by social and economic forces, many outside the control of much of the population. Buckle (2006) also wrote about support elements of community level resilience. He argued that communities which have knowledge of hazard, shared community values, established social infrastructure (information channel, social network and community organizations), positive social and economic trends, Partnership between agencies, community group and private enterprises, resources and skills can be more resilient.

Thus, we can say resilience is not an inherent capacity of community but rather a socio-economic phenomenon. We can even analyse before the disaster and can make community resilient. It can be a part of risk reduction process of community, government and development partner agency. Resilient community can defined as sustainable community that can self-sustain and deal with any types of disaster more successfully. Thus, disaster resilient community promotes sustainability. Resilient community manifests in knowledge of hazard and it's preparation, strong economic condition, well skilled people and resources and social capital. Social capital mainly accounts for social network, good social relation between the communities member.

Knowledge of hazard and preparation against disaster

Knowledge of hazard and its proper preparation against it can make the community resilient. Buckle (2006) wrote in his article based on his experience and research, '...disaster relief and recovery program for both natural and non-natural disaster could

only be developed where there was a good understanding of the losses and needs and strengths of individual, families and community'. Lalene (2012) summarises the previous literature on disaster resilience in community as "overall the literature on community resilience on disaster is consistent in conceptualizing the issues and needs to be addressed as falling into three categories or stages: (a) vulnerability and disaster preparedness, to be addressed through pre-disaster planning and hazard mitigation effort (b) disaster response and (c) disaster recovery. All three stages should be addressed in disaster planning whenever possible.'

Community based (volunteer) organizations and their skills and resources

The communities that have united volunteer organization might be more resilient. Sociologist Barbara Lucini (2014) wrote her PhD thesis on volunteer organization as a humanitarian solution in the 21st century. She focused her work on three Italian earthquakes. Local level formal and informal organizations, their members, their skills and knowledge and community based resources makes the community resilient. And with lack of these things community can be vulnerable. Based on his experience, Buckle (2006) writes about local level initiatives as 'even more interesting are emergent groups that arise apparently spontaneously after events to provide mutual aid to their members. Predicting when and how these groups will arise, and what stimulates their occurrence is very difficult but this phenomenon has something to do with communities that are stable, have a sense of identity and have no substantial splits or enmities within them.'

Even in Nepal there were many more local to national level volunteer organizations like women's groups or mothers' group, youth club, investment groups, religious and community base organization worked for rescue and relief. In local level they help each other to make community resilient. External volunteer organization like college level students, workers, professional

organizations, political parties and businessmen and businesswomen also had helped. The main part from the government and local government institution like healthpost, police, army, school management committee, Village Development Committees also determined for the community resilience.

Social capital-relation/network between community members

After reading some literature on social resilience it becomes clear that social capital is one of the most important attributes of resilience. In sociology, people highly cite the views of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and American Sociologist James S. Coleman, and their collectively edited book 'Social Theory for a Changing Society' which was published in 1991. Bourdieu categorized the capital as economic, cultural and social. This article is extensively focused on social capital rather than on other two forms of capital. Bourdieu, gave a short and meaningful example about social capital as 'It's not what you know, it's who you know'. This one sentence gives multiple ways of thinking and analysis. This article has not delved into history of 'social capital' and does not go into searching who coined this word and how long it has been into existence..The term 'social capital' called used in social science though vaguely on many occasions after publication of political scientist Robert Putnam's work *Making Democracy* in 1993. This defined the social capital as "the intangible benefits of living in a society with well-established trust, norm, and network' (Putnam 1993)".

There are many differences between 'well- established trust, norm and network' and 'Who knows whom? These two different views of leading figures of academia show some variance in understanding of social capital. Though it would be difficult to find the exact definition of social capital it could largely be understood as a relationship between the people and synergistic effect of such relations. Young Australian sociologist Tristan Claridge categorizes the social capital from two perspectives: network perspective and Social structural perspective. From those two perspective she tries

to evaluate the type of social capital. Network perspectives have three sub-categories-bonding social capital refers to the relationship by birth such as families and relatives. Bridging social capital refers to the members of any organization and linking social capital can manifest in professional relationships. He has also divided Social structural perspective into three categories. First, structural social capital refers to well established network of society. Second, cognitive social capital is based on the norms, values and attitudes of people such as membership of political party religion. Third, relational social capital may manifest in social relations such as professional relations, friendship and neighbourhood.

The literature of sociological studies of disaster have mainly focused on social capital as one most important attributes for resilient community/society. In social resilience literature, Marrow (2008) wrote the importance of social connection and social network. According to him family can be important source of information. They can give advice and assistance. Minorities, including recent immigrant who do not have extensive and meaningful networks can be vulnerable during disaster. As a social capital, membership in social networks such as churches, social clubs, parent groups and other community organization provides connection that can be called upon when needed, whether for job opportunities, recommendations, guidance or resources.

Mary B. Lalone (2012, p. 211), professor of Sociology at the Center for Social and Cultural Research Redford University, wrote "social capital refers to the potential resources in goods, labor and other forms of assistance that are embedded in local-level social network of family and neighbors, and other groups formed through place-based, work-based, and common interest-based bonds of interaction, trust, reciprocity, and support, that people can mobilize individually and collectively to use for community resilience in the face of disaster(2012211)."

Marrow's 'families, friends..' and Putnam's 'society with well-established trust, norm and network' show that stable rural community is more valuable from social capital perspective compared to urban society with constantly changing for a social capital. After Gorkha earthquake, we saw helpful behaviors of Nepali youths, they were involved in search, rescue, relief and rebuilding process. If community norms, reciprocity in community, relationship of trust and social network are seen as important components of social capital that was evident in behaviors of Nepali youths after the earthquake. Though, social capital is one of many important factors of resilient community, its prevalence alone is not sufficient to make a resilient society.

Conclusion

Sociologically we can say that resilience is not an inherent capacity of people and community, it's a socio-economic phenomenon. We study and analyse particular community's resilience even before the disaster and we can take initiatives to make communities more resilient. It can be a part of risk reduction process of community, government and partnering development agencies. Resilient community can be defined as sustainable community that can self-sustain and can resist disasters more easily. Resilient community manifests in knowledge of hazard, preparation against it, strong economic condition, well skilled people and resources and social capital that comprises of social network and good social relation between the communities member.

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Female migration trend from Nepal: A review on the opportunities and challenges faced migrant workers

❖ Shweta Acharya

Abstract

There have been increase in proportion of female migrant workers in specific industries globally since the 1980s. While female migration trend began earlier across the world, it began recently in Nepal. The proportions of Nepalese female migrant workers in the care, domestic, and manufacturing sectors abroad have been increasing over the course of time, and have improved the agency of women. This paper seeks to understand the trend of female migration from Nepal and the opportunities and challenges associated with it through significant review of the available literatures. It has been found that migration has been an important component of women's life, and has contributed to the nation's growth and development. While female migration and participation in the labor force has created many opportunities, it has also made women susceptible to adversities and risks. These risks and adversities need to be addressed through effective policies and programs in order to receive the maximum benefit from migration and their experience. Only then, female migration would be a boon for the nation as it would help generate both economic and social capitals.

Key words: Female migration, Opportunities, Challenges

Background

There have been increase in increase in proportions of female migrant workers in specific industries or workforce since the 1980s (Yoshimura, 2007). The rapid globalization in the 1980s opened opportunities in the “care industry”, and created growing demand for migrant women’s work. Literatures show that women have always migrated in considerable numbers in the past, however, these were often limited to getting married and accompanying their husbands or partners. Migration from the lens of gender perspective became a discourse only after the early 1980s, when there was the establishment of industries that incorporated women in the labor force (Donato & Gabaccia, 2016; Momsen, 2005; Nash & Kelly, 1983). While migration is still dominated by men, studies suggest that migration and gender balance are largely dependent on cultures, age, nations, and ethnicity (Nash & Kelly, 1983; Rodriguez, 2010). A report from International Labor Organization (2017) projects that 41.6 percent of the total international migrant population comprises of female migrant workers. Women are on the move as never before in the history. GEM Report (2019) explains that women today are likelier to take jobs than join their male counterparts as dependents. Migration has thus been an important component in women's lives in this fast paced globalized world. The objectives of the study were to understand the existing trend of female migration in Nepal; to identify the reasons for the low participation of Nepalese female migrant workers in the labor force abroad and to know the opportunities created by international migration for Nepalese female migrant workers. Also it tried to look at the challenges associated with migration for Nepalese female migrant workers.

This study is based on desk review and hence the information has been derived by reviewing the existing literature. Desk research was conducted majorly to review the findings of the existing literatures on female migration and gain a broader understanding on this field of academic and policy research. Information and data presented in the study have been obtained through secondary

data available on different online portals. These secondary data are based on published and unpublished articles, published and unpublished journals, dissertations, books, documents and reports from Ministry of Labor, Security and Employment, and national and international organizations working in the field of migration.

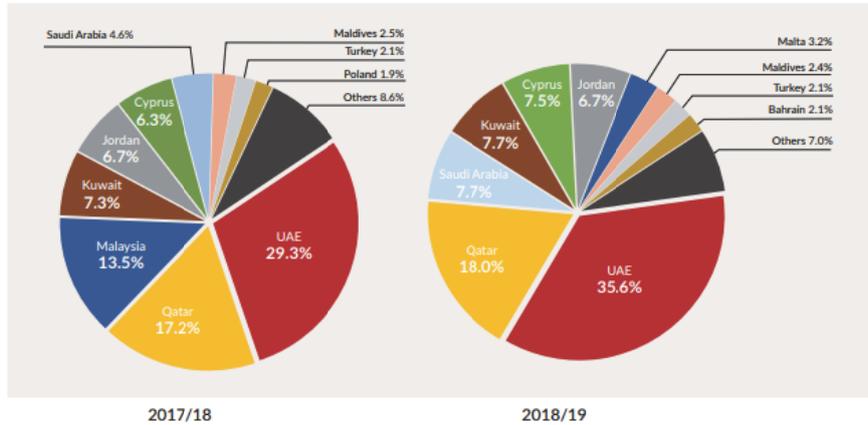
Female migration trend from Nepal

Although female migration began during the 1980s globally, it began relatively late in Nepal . We could say it has begun recently. Poverty has been the predominant factor that pushes Nepalese women to migrate to the international market for labor related work. Women from poorer households tend to migrate more for work as it seems to be one of the best if not the only way of survival for them (Adhikari, 2006). Bhadra (2008) further explains that women experience greater livelihood insecurities than men since the burden of poverty falls largely on them. Such feminization of poverty has led to the increase in female migration from Nepal. The desire for a quality life has forced women to chose informal and formal channels for migration break the barrier of mobility and go to work in abroad.

Maymon (2017) states, “women in the global south are migrating to do “women’s work” that women in the global north are no longer willing or able to do.” This has created ample opportunities for Nepalese women in the care, manufacturing, and domestic sector (Gioli, Khan, Bishat & Scheffran, 2014). Around 77 percent of the total female migrants travel to the UAE, Qatar, Malaysia, Kuwait, and Cyprus for work (Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020). The report from the ministry also explains that these female workers are mostly involved in works related to housekeeping, manufacturing, service and sales, cleaning and laundry, and a very small proportion are involved in office administrative works.

Figure 1: Major destination countries for female labor migration (Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020)

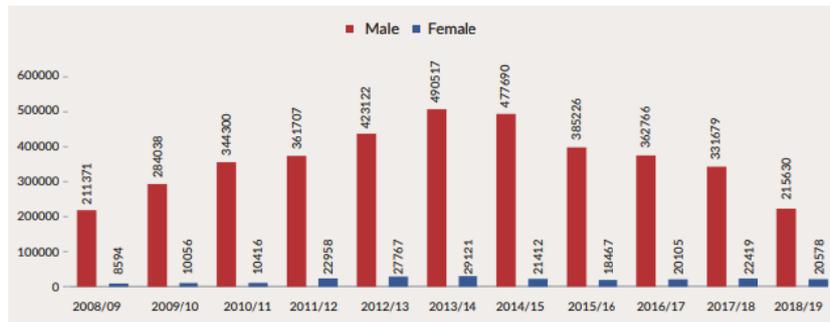
According to the Ministry of Labor and Employment (2018), there



Source: DOFE

has been threefold increase in female migration since the Census of 2001. The number of women migrating for foreign employment was limited only to 161 between 1985 and 2000. By 2016/17, the number had reached to more than 20,000 (Department of Labor and Employment promotion, 2008 as cited in Mak, Kiss, & Zimmerman, 2019).

Although the number seems to have increased a lot, migration in Nepal is still heavily dominated by men. Women have only comprised a little over 5 percent in labor migration over the last ten years (Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020). The figure below depicts the huge disparity between men and women migrating from Nepal for work in abroad.



Source: DOFE

Figure 2: Trends in obtaining labor permits by aspiring male and female migrant workers (Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020)

The aforementioned bar graph shows the huge gap in numbers of labor permits issued to men and women. From 2008 to 2019, the number of labor permits issued to females has almost tripled however, if it is compared to that of men, the number is far less. There are various reasons for such a low less participation of women in the labor force abroad. Figure 3 explains the reasons of such difference in numbers of men in women.

Causes of lower participation of women in the labor force

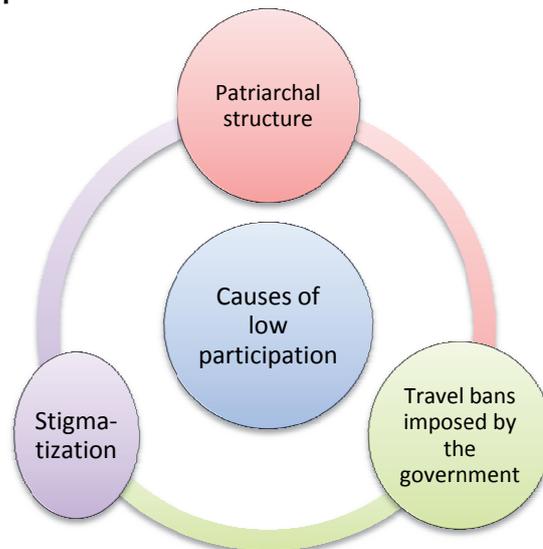


Figure 3: Causes of lower participation of women in the labor force

The patriarchal structure of Nepalese society is the most important factor contributing to the lower participation of women. “Purdah” system, which refrained women from public gatherings and expected them to cover their face with a cloth or veil in the name of honor was highly prevalent in the country in the past (Gioli, Khan, Bisht & Scheffran, 2014). This confined women to the four walls of their home and they were mostly expected to look after the family, and household chores (Rajkarnikar, 2017). Women’s work went largely unnoticed even in their own family, and they were not expected to speak or make decisions for themselves or their family members (Kelkar, 2009). Access to land and property was only enjoyed by the male members of the family, and women had no property or network to decide for themselves (Adhikari, 2006). Such inequalities in the past restricted women from developing abilities to make decisions regarding their choices leading to low participation in the workforce (Adhikari, 2006; Gioli, Khan, Bisht & Scheffran, 2014).

This patriarchal attitude also considered women vulnerable to the challenges of the outside world (Bhadra, 2008). Nepal has imposed travel bans on women at different periods of time to “protect” them from abuse and exploitation (UN Women, 2018). Getting re-approval from the state to go abroad again for work in case of returnees, getting approval from the family members, restrictions on travelling to different gulf countries, age restrictions, ban on domestic workers were some of the conditions set on women travelling abroad for work (International Labor Organization, 2015). Sijapati, Bhattarai & Pathak (2015) argue that although done with a motive to ensure safe migration, these bans have only created excuses for females to travel through informal channels, risking their lives and missing opportunities severely. While male migration is encouraged through various programs and schemes, policies with respect to female migration are very much limiting and inhibiting (Pyakurel, 2015; Pyakurel, 2016; Pyakurel, 2018; and Poudel & Pyakurel, 2018). These policies have proven to be ineffective in the long run and have only increased the chances of exploitation and vulnerabilities of women (Shivakoti, 2020). Due to this, it is difficult to find out the actual number of Nepalese female migrant workers abroad, since many of them remain undocumented (Puvar, 2015).

Another reason for the low participation of women in the labor force and labour migration is the stigmatization that comes along with female migration. Shrestha, Mak & Zimmerman (2020) have categorized stigma into “illicit work, self-stigma, stigma by association, and structural stigma.” There is a widely perceived notion that female labor migrants are often involved in inappropriate sexual activities (Kharel, 2016; UN Women, 2018; Gioli, Maharjan & Gurung, 2018). These labels and stigmatization create reluctance in the family to send female members abroad for work (Sapkota, 2020). Females themselves become hesitant to migrate due to the fear of being labeled as being of “loose” character (Kharel, 2016) which usually is understood as being

promiscuous in sexual relations among other bad moral qualities. International Labor Organization (2015) mentions that such stigmatizations create problems and barriers to the returnee migrant women since they are often looked down upon by the society (Mak, Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019). Despite women migrating in significant numbers at present, media tends to show labor migration as difficult, exploitative, and full of hardship (Shrestha, Mak & Zimmerman, 2020). The frequent coverage of bad experiences has only amplified stigmatization, creating barriers in the mobility of Nepalese female migrant workers (Gem Report, 2019; Sapkota, 2020; UN Women, 2018).

The increasing demands for workers in the domestic and care sectors have been important components for feminization of international migration (Gioli, Khan, Bisht & Scheffran, 2014). Despite the barriers set by the government and society at different periods of time, women are migrating at an unprecedented rate and government bans have only encouraged migration through informal, illegal and risky channels (Gem Report, 2019; Sijapati, Bhattarai & Pathak, 2015).

Migration has created both opportunities and challenges for female migrant workers.

The following section discusses about the opportunities created by from migration in the upcoming section.

Opportunities from migration

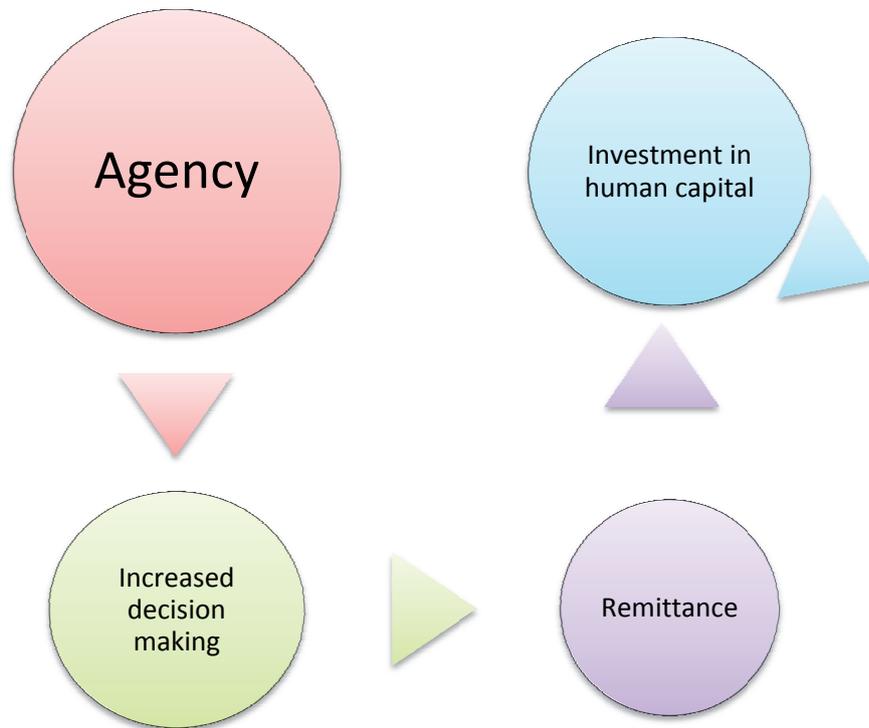


Figure 4: Opportunities for female migrant workers

In a study conducted among 1210 returnee women migrant workers (RMMWs) by UN women (2018), it was found that more than 35 percent of them had migrated more than once to the destination countries and more than 33 percent of the total were willing to migrate again if they would get opportunities to do so. Migration not only provided financial gains, but also emboldened women's agency through more influence in decision making (Neil, Fleury & Foresty, 2016). Shrestha, Mak & Zimmerman (2020) in

their research also found that such increase in the agency improved women's perception of themselves, and enhanced their self-worth and self-esteem.

Nepal is one of the highest remittance receiving countries in the World, if we see the share of remittance (The World Bank, 2020; Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development, 2019). Although the proportion of females in migration is much lower, they contributed around 11 percent of the total remittance coming to Nepal before 2010 (Nepal Living Standard Survey, 2010 as cited in UN Women, 2013). Women despite earning lesser than men are likelier to remit relatively more in order to support their children or families (International Organization for Migration, 2004; Kenny & O'Donnell, 2016). In the words of Bhadra (2008), Women, not only bring financial remittance but social remittance as well.

A case study report of 307 Nepalese RMMWs showed that many women after their return despised, opposed and at times spoke against the oppressive system and discrimination prevalent in Nepali society. Some challenged and opposed early marriage in their communities while many of them started accepting menstruation as a normal process rather than sin (Gioli, Maharjan & Gurung, 2018). The study also showed that these women understood the importance of education and were willing to send their children to school regardless of gender. Likewise, they showed interest in starting something that would provide self employment and help the family emotionally as well as financially. Fleury (2016) argues that migration not only improved women's worth and autonomy, but also improved quality of life of themselves and their families. Kenny & O'Donnell (2016) also stated that the impact of 'social remittance' was much higher when women migrated since they invested more on human capital.

Sen (1999) once wrote, "limited role of women's active agency afflicts the lives of all people, men, women, children, and adults." Migration has not only enhanced independence and self-esteem of women, but has also given them opportunities to learn new skills, contribute economically in the households and invest in the

betterment of themselves and their families (O'Neil, Fleury & Forestry, 2016; International Labor Organization, 2015; Bhadra, 2008; Adhikari, 2006). Women who migrated to countries where there are less gender discriminations, to attempt to change the patriarchal practices at their homes upon return (Kenny & O'Donnell, 2016; Gioli, Maharjan & Gurung, 2018). While migratory experiences and employments have created opportunities for female migrant workers, they also face various challenges and are more vulnerable to adversities (O'Neil, Fleury & Forestry, 2016).

Challenges faced by Nepalese female migrant workers

According to Asian Development Bank (2010), women face more and consequential discriminations in all the stages of migration- pre-departure, during departure and in the the destination.

Lack of education and access to information

The very first challenge begins in the pre-migration stage itself. There are many women in Nepal who lack access to basic education (UN Women, 2018). This limits their opportunities in the destination country and they are generally end up in low paying or labor intensive jobs (Asian Development Bank, 2010; O'Neil, Fleury, Forestry, 2016).

Women also have limited access to information regarding the processes of migration. Since many recruitment agencies and institutions are concentrated in the city areas, rural women are deprived of information, awareness and trainings regarding migration processes (Puvar, 2015; Pyakurel, 2018; Shivakoti, 2020). They have to depend on mediators who charge huge amount of money even for simple services (UN Women, 2016; Fleury, 2016). This creates a rural-urban divide among women where women from rural areas become more susceptible to adversities (Shivakoti, 2020).

Mak, Kiss & Zimmerman (2019) in their study found that many women depended on verbal contract/ agreement from the

recruiters. Out of 521 returnee migrant women in their study, many said that they were unaware about the nature of the work they would be doing before leaving Nepal. Lack of information and written agreements consequently created differences in wages, working hours and other facilities such as holidays (Sijapati & Limbu, 2017; Mak, Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019; UN Women, 2016).

“Kafala” sponsorship system

“Kafala” is a sponsorship system practiced in many countries in the Middle- East where the Visa for the migrant worker is sponsored by the employer and hence legality of the worker's stay in that country is at the discretion of the sponsor (International Labor Organization, 2017). The system restricts the mobility of the migrant workers where he/she is liable to get punished in case of fleeing away. McQue (2020) presented a case study of a woman who spent eleven days in prison after she fled to the Nepalese embassy to seek help from her employers who starved her and forced her to work for twenty hours a day. Out of the 521 returnee migrant women in a study by Mak, Kiss & Zimmerman (2019) , 90 percent of the women said that their passports were held by the employer. Out of them 74 percent said that they couldn't get it back even when they needed. Among them, 12 percent said that their mobility was restricted by the employer and they reported being locked inside the house. Kafala system without doubt has limited the autonomy of migrant women and increased the chances of forced labor with very little legal aid (International Labor Organization, 2017; McQue, 2020; O'Neil, Fleury & Foresty, 2016).

Nature of work

Nepalese women are mostly involved in domestic work (Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020). The nature of work that women are involved in has itself become a challenge in many cases. Shivakoti (2020) explains that jobs in domestic setting, entertainment industry, restaurants or hotels are considered at the

bottom of the occupation pyramid. This tends to limit the opportunities to explore and grow for the women migrant workers. Domestic workers specifically are more vulnerable to being abused or exploited since they are confined to the four walls of the household (Fleury, 2016); Paoletti, Nicholson, Sijapati & Farbenblum, 2014). Women are paid less in these sectors and are often isolated from other women working in other fields (Fleury, 2016; Nash & Kelly, 1983). O'Neil, Fleury & Foresty (2016) further argue that despite high demand of these works in the developed/affluent countries, the people doing these works do not get the respect they deserve.

Prone to various health problems

The nature of work and long working hours with no autonomy to change the place of work has affected the overall health of female migrant workers. A study conducted by Simkhada, Teijlingen, Gurung & Wasti (2018) shows that out of 1010 female returnee migrant workers (FRMWs), 88 reported having mental health problems, and 242 had other health problems while they were in work in the destination countries.. The study shows that women are prone to health problems in the destination country due to various factors like overburden, isolation, exploitation, and harassment (Puvar, 2015).

Fleury (2016) further mentions that the women working abroad cannot get better access to health care and face some serious mental, physical, and sexual reproductive health related problems. The access to health care also becomes challenging due to language barriers and other forms of discrimination (Simkhada, Teijlingen, Gurung & Wasti, 2018).

More likely to be victim of physical, verbal, and sexual abuse

A study conducted among 1210 RMMWs by UN Women (2018) shows that 32 percent of the women faced verbal or physical abuse whereas less than 2 percent of the women reported of being abused sexually. In another study, it was found that out of 1010 FRMMWs, 11 percent faced physical harm by the employer, 41 percent were abused at the work place, and 31 percent reported facing torture at workplace (Simkhada, Teijlingen, Gurung & Wasti, 2018).

Women are more susceptible to such abuses at workplace (International labor Organization, 2017; Sijapati & Limbu, 2017) due to all of the aforementioned challenges. Another reason for such exploitation is the lack of labor protection in the destination countries that Nepalese women usually migrate to (Shivakoti, 2020).

Higher chances of trafficking

The bans imposed by the government and the country's open border with India has increased the chances of trafficking of women especially travelling through illegal/ undocumented channels (Datta, 2017; Shivakoti, 2020; International Labor Organization, 2017; Mak, Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019). Trafficking is usually done by well connected groups acting as recruitment agencies (McQue, 2020). Women, especially from rural areas tend to travel through informal channels since they lack information and awareness about the proper and secure processes of migration (Pyakurel, 2018).

The government of Nepal acknowledges the challenges involved in the migration process and has introduced the following policies and programs over different course of time. These policies and

programs have been enacted to ensure the safety of the migrant workers.

The Foreign Employment Act, 2007 ensures to protect the rights of labor migrants by building proper mechanisms for smooth governance of migration. It further promotes inclusive migration practices by providing special reservations for women, minorities (Dalits, indigenous nationalities, people affected by disaster), and people from rural areas (Ministry of Labor and Employment, 2018; International Labor Organization, 2015; Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020). Likewise the Foreign Employment Policy, 2012 is the first national policy on foreign employment. It acknowledges the increasing trend of female migrants going abroad for employment and realizes the problems they face. The policy was created to “ensure safe and organized foreign employment to get people out of poverty through sustainable and economic development approaches” (Ministry of Labor and Employment, 2018; Ministry of Labor, Employment and Security, 2020).

Under the Foreign Employment Policy, 2012, a much talked "*Free Visa Free Ticket*" and "*fair recruitment and decent work*" policy are being implemented and these have received a lot of media attention. The first policy was enacted in 2015 with the purpose of removing the burden of cost of visa and airfare from the migrant workers. “Free visa Free Ticket” policy is applicable in seven different countries namely, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar. The employers of these countries are responsible for the airfare required for the migrant workers (Ministry of Labor and Employment, 2018). The government of Nepal has also come up with different programs in collaboration with the United Nations. The Safe Migration Project was also introduced under such collaboration from 2013-2018. Similarly, there was a partnership program implemented from 2013-2018 to promote fair recruitment and decent work for women migrant workers in South Asia and Middle East (Ministry of Labor and

Employment, 2018). Even these small initiatives such as fair recruitment and decent work and most of the other programmes are urban centered. To be particular they are Kathmandu centered and are without any strong monitoring and supervision. Pyakurel (2015) highlights the nexus between the government and recruitment agencies popularly called manpower agencies which eventually compel even the aspirant migrants be the part of the group which is working against the spirit of *Free Visa Free Ticket policy*. The potential worker, if he/she argues for the proper implementation of the policies, will easily be barred from getting opportunity to go to work abroad through various indirect ways.

Conclusion

The United Nations (2006) has termed globalization as the new era of mobility. In today's world, migration is often viewed as a powerful medium of getting people out of poverty. The studies and literatures above show that migration not only generates financial remittance, but high level of social remittance, and eventually contributes to the development of human capital.

Women are the active agents of change and have proven to break the barriers set by the society when either required or compelled. While the society still stigmatizes female migration, women have been on the move like never before. Migration in the contemporary society has been pivotal in uplifting the quality of life and wellbeing of the people. It is high time to challenge the stigmatization against female migration as women's participation in the labor market not only ensures financial independence and independent decision making, but also contributes to the social and economic development of the country.

Migration has been heavily male dominated phenomena and female migration is relatively recent. There is still a huge gap in the numbers of labor permits issued to males and females every year. The government's ban and restrictions over female migration at

different courses of time have also contributed to less female participation in migration.

Despite migration creating many opportunities and prospects for women, there remain many challenges that need to be addressed. Although both males and females are susceptible to the adversities, females are usually considered more vulnerable than males. However, imposing bans in the name of protection isn't the solution. It has to be acknowledged that females migrate for low end jobs because they perceive that they have less options. Restricting women's mobility in the name of "protection" has further weakened their confidence. The literature further shows that policies enforcing bans have been ineffective in the longer run and have only encouraged women to opt for informal channels. Rather than ensuring safety, this has exposed them to more risk of trafficking and exploitation.

It is also found that the existing literatures were majorly inclined towards the challenges faced by female migrant workers however most of them overlooked the positive aspects of women migrant workers. It must be acknowledged that migration has its challenges, but it has also brought a wide array of opportunities. The challenges that exist should be addressed through active state-state collaboration, and agreements between sending and receiving countries.

Finally, females need proper and substantive trainings that can help them cope with the challenges abroad. The trainings being conducted for the sake of training in the ritual basis need a thorough revision. Every potential migrant worker, including women and people of marginalized communities should be at the focus of such training. The trainings should reach to villages of potential migrant workers who have decided to leave the country for employment opportunities abroad. Only then, women and men in general can reap the maximum benefit of a connected world.

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Review Article

End of Poverty

❖ Aishwarya Rani Singh

The seminal book “End of Poverty” written by Jeffery Sachs, presents his vision on ending poverty by the end of 2025. Through his personal travel accounts and research work experience (reducing disease, poverty, armed conflict, and environmental damage) in more than 100 countries, Sachs portrays the dire state of poverty around the world. In the book, Sachs presents authentic thinking and clear, descriptive, detailed and thoughtful writing through logical arguments that have been raised in relation to poverty existing around the globe. Moreover, using an analytical tool supported through case studies, Sachs offers insight into the reasons as to why poverty exists, despite the opulence of wealth existing in the world today. Drawing from his own personal experience of working in Bolivia, Poland, Russia, India, China and Africa and consulting with their respective governments, Sachs has succeeded in making the write up believable and fact-based (using graphs and pictures). It has been done by exploring the diverse social, economic, political and environmental problems faced by countries around the world.

Sachs is an American economist, a former director at Earth Institute in Columbia University. He is also a Professor of 'Sustainable Development' at Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs and Health Policy and Management at Columbia's School of Public Health. As of 2017, he served as special adviser to the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General António Guterres on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Among

several other books that Sachs has written, “Age of Sustainable Development” and “The Price of Civilization” are some of his finest works.

In the book, Sachs envisions the world where nobody has to eke out for their living and are able to enjoy life with the availability of basic needs such as good health, education, nutrition, and shelter. He believes “extreme poverty can be ended not in the time of our grandchildren, but in our time”, through the amalgamation of efforts and concerns underpinned in the political agendas of rich nations. Sachs argues that the market can be an instrumental tool for development when preconditions of basic infrastructure and human capital are ensured. He provides a set of practical solutions for countries to march towards economic prosperity based on his intensive economics, social and environmental researches, consultation with ministers of states and national leaders about their macro-economic challenges. Through this book, Sachs has been able to guide national governments and make them reflect upon the strength of the market economy to climb the “ladder of development”. Moreover, the book works as an eye-opener and makes the reader question the role of rich countries in trying to help solve the global issue of poverty by bringing a major shift in assistance policy. He also questions the role of international communities who have often concealed the political and economic maladies and have failed to support the poor countries and hence have not been fulfilling their objective obligations.

Summary

The Industrial Revolution that began in the 18th century in England shifted the entire scenario of the economy around the globe. Of what used to be more or less of an equal society before, transformed into a society with dualistic nature in terms of power relation and resource division. As Western Europe slowly started to sail into the global trade realm, countries like China and India were still caught up in their insular approach to growth, thereby not being able to confront the breakthrough that had sparked the

entire revolution around the globe into the trajectory of economic growth and longevity. Colonization then started to get a foothold on the resources which were the heart and soul of any nation. The disparity between wealth and resource distribution around the world is conspicuous for the indication that was long ago signaled by colonization.

The rise of the inequality has played a crucial role in segregation of the world into Low-Income, Middle-Income and High-Income Countries. According to the World Bank poverty is defined as an income of less than \$1.25 per day. Three distinct types of poverty persist -extreme poverty (people who fight for survival every day), moderate poverty (people who live above the subsistence level but still struggle to make ends meet) and relative poverty (household income below given proportion of average national income. More than eight million people around the world have been dying each year due to poverty. Escapable conditions such as disease and malnutrition have been killing poor people around the world despite the advancement that has been made in science and technology.

In the book, Sachs gently carries its readers from despair to hope by presenting stories of countries one after another. After the dreadful portrayal of Malawi, the case study of Bangladesh, India, and China has been quite applaudable in the manner these countries have been able to rise in the development ladder. It is quite commendable that Sachs has identified the reason for both the success and failure of countries in regards to economic growth. His reasoning reflects a pragmatic approach and convincing situational analysis helpful for countries to reflect about their own development and identify the loop or strength in their processes towards growth.

Analysis through the lens of Capability Approach

Analyzing the aspects of poverty in the book through the lens of the Capability Approach has offered some helpful insights into a

better understanding of poverty. Capability Approach thus has facilitated the analysis of poverty by collaborating the concepts of poverty and deprivation thereby leading to the multidimensional nature of poverty analysis (Hick, 2012).

Sachs begins his book by stating, “One person’s use of an idea does not diminish the ability of others to use it as well... The essence of the first Industrial revolution was not coal, it was how to use coal’. Capability Approach which emphasizes on individual’s substantive freedom to do something they value (Sen, 1999), is very relevant in viewing this statement through the lens of Capability . Reflection of the words “ability” and “use” helps agree that despite being neutral on the grounds of the capability approach, Sachs has presented his argument throughout the book in alignment with the Capability Approach.

The traditional approach to poverty has always dealt with economic development and materialistic wealth (Schmidt, 2013) and has been found to give less emphasis on human rights, dignity and social exclusion which largely impacts capability deprivation despite having a sound economy of an individual (Kasera, 2019). However, Sachs’s books present a set of evidence which prioritizes the need to emphasize on people-centered development to help people win the battle against poverty (United Nation Development Program, 2011). Europe’s success brought by people-centered development approach followed since 1750 with strengthening institutions for political liberty, open society and individual initiatives would be the first evidence to emphasize.

The second evidence would be that of China’s successful rise from an impoverished state to being today’s leading economy in the world. The success of China can be rooted back to its commune output and communal pay system in agriculture and household responsibility system which highlights China’s market and economic reform that have always prioritized local voices and farmers for their capability enhancement. In addition to this, the

increase in China's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Per Capita Income (PCI) is related to harnessing technology appropriately and the bottom-up action of villages. Regardless of all these successes that have been achieved so far, Sachs stresses on the need for social protection and political reform, mainly heading towards Democracy in China, as he believes that in the future people would want to participate politically as economic diversity is going to give rise to diverse cultural, ethnic, linguistic, infrastructural, educational, and other needs. It is evident that Sachs associates the shift from economic freedom to social and political freedom (Fukuda-Parr, 2003) with the human development of Chinese citizens.

The failure to implement human-centered development and its ramification has been presented through the case study of India where the isolation of people from education, basic health services and economic growth during the rule of British East India Company, forced people into the face of poverty, hunger, disease, pandemic and food insecurity. Social exclusion in India has moreover, victimized rural and other social groups due to resource inaccessibility aggravated by caste based exclusion and social hierarchy despite the economic growth that was brought by the green revolution. India's example reiterates the need for social and political freedom alongside economic growth.

The requirement of political and social freedom can also be related to the case of urban slum dwellers in India. These slum dwellers have found their voice through the organization, Society for the promotion of Area Resource Center (SPARC), and have been negotiating with the government to relocate away from railway tracks to safer settlement areas facilitated with basic amenities like running water, latrines and road. It is through the agency of participating in the group activities that these people have enhanced their capability to demand their legal rights and have access to public services.

Capability and functioning

According to Sachs, for poor countries to make sustainable progress, climbing at least the first rung of the ladder of economic development is of utmost importance. This is believed to help create ripple effects of economic transformation once countries develop their own pace. Spawning economic activities within the national boundary in order to increase the PCI of the denizens can be a great remedy to prevent people from having to brook with abject poverty. It is for this reason that Sachs is found to be reiterating the need for economic growth and a rise in income level to reach the first rung of the development ladder. This clearly justifies his stand for the need for aid and donor assistance in third world countries.

Sachs different rung of development ladder can be associated with Maslow's hierarchy of needs too. In the first stage of hierarchy, Maslow has emphasized on the need for the fulfillment of basic needs such as food, water, health, rest (McLeod, 2018). Maslow believes that when these needs are fulfilled, it helps to enhance the capability of an individual who would then desires for the expansion of other hierarchical needs. Likewise, Sachs's description of the first rung of the development ladder also encapsulates the need for allowing people to have access to basic needs so that upon achieving it they can then choose to further climb the other rungs of the development ladder.

Moreover, the case studies of Malawi, Bangladesh and India help conclude that depending upon rung of the development ladder people are in, their choices to ensure capability and functioning also vary. For Malawian people, their wellbeing and capability to live the life that they valued highly depended upon having access to medicines to fight HIV/AIDS and Malaria and secure their lives. Bangladeshi women felt that access to employment and earning opportunities were prioritized accomplishments and provided a sense of independence and for

Indian being educated was highly valued. It is thus clear that the existing socio-economic realities of a country are found to have a greater influence on people's choice.

The varying capability choice will be the same for extremely, moderately and relatively poor people or for people living in America and South-Africa. It is perhaps for this reason that while defining capability approach Sen has chosen to not define capability set as he believes it to be very subjective as per time and space (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993).

Clinical economy and constraints

Sachs's experience of working in countries like Bolivia, Poland, Russia and the case studies of economic growth of China and India presents a convincing argument from his side for the need for differential diagnosis to understand the local and national scenarios that impose challenges or opportunities for country's growth. Using the analogy of clinical economy, he explains poverty as a "treatable disease", and offers seven parts of the diagnostic checklist for any impoverished country. The checklist includes parameters such as the extent of extreme poverty, economic policy, fiscal framework, physical geography and human ecology, patterns of governance, cultural barriers to economic development, and geopolitics, to be directed towards formulating better strategies. This would also adhere to understand the complexity of development in a particular society and monitor and assess the progress accordingly.

Sachs has identified, poverty trap, fiscal trap, governance failures, physical geography, cultural barriers, geopolitics, demographic trap, and lack of innovation as the major challenges and constraints (leading to deprivation) causing development impediment in a country. The existence of these multiple constraints also justifies the need for approaching poverty through the multidimensional approach (Alkire & Santos, 2010). It is while addressing these barriers or constraints that Sachs also claims the

need to shift our attention from “faults of the poor” to these constraints which is creating hindrance for poor people for using their agency thus hampering their capability and functioning (Gandjour, 2008). The absence of these constraints or reducing these constraints paves the way for positive liberty and building capacity which allows an individual to get more space to exercise freedom (have the capacity to make more choices) (Berlin, 1969 & Sen, 2000). It is in this regard that basic unmet needs (constraints or constraints set acts to curtail positive liberty) need to be delivered by all means such that capability is enhanced for better functioning through which positive liberty can be realized and exercised by poor people.

The example to support how constraints hamper capability and functioning would be that of Sauri, where the burden of disease, inaccessibility to basic needs and public health, unproductive land, climate change risk and hazard, lack of access to education, unavailability of electricity and communication and lack of connectivity due to absence proper transportation and road network have impoverished these people despite them being “capable” and “resourceful”.

Capability set

Acknowledging the fact that a country has its political history, natural and human capital, cultures and traditions it becomes quite essential to derive a proper understanding of how any society has been structurally adjusted and has been functioning to postulate a unique set of solutions to fight poverty in a unique context.

Considering that these constraints exists in multi-faceted forms, it is important to direct countries towards better stratagem through a multidimensional approach as Sachs himself states, “... there is no single remedy”. The clinical economy approach has allowed Sachs to identify these constraints and offer the solution set to solve it which we can rightly refer to as capability set as the end goal of offering such set is to give the individuals the chance and

choice to rise from the poverty status. It is during the listing of this solution set that Sachs is found to be contributing to the formulation of capability set supporting the argument of Martha Nussbaum where she highlights the need for making precise list of these capability set(Nussbaum, 2003).

Throughout the chapters in the book Sachs seems to be contributing to the list of the capability set primarily emphasizing on technology, followed by education, agriculture, fulfillment of basic needs, economy and trade, agriculture, women empowerment etc. However, towards the end he has categorized all these into 6 main categories - human capital (health, nutrition, education and skills); business capital (technology in agriculture, industry, and services); infrastructure (roads, power, sanitation, transportation, and communications); natural capital (soils and ecology); public institutional capital (legal, governmental, and police systems); knowledge capital (scientific and technological expertise). Sachs states that “the minimum amount of capital is necessary to get the foothold in the first rung of the development leader” and thus accentuates the need for aid in investing on these capitals. Along with the investment in the capitals, ensuring the use of science and technology which is locally adaptable is important to assist developmental progress by building the agency of people- skill generation through training (Crocker & Robeyns, 2009).

Interrelated capability

Through the book, Sachs also gives evidence of how an individual’s capability can affect the capability of other family members, society and nation as a whole and vice versa. For instance, the death of the younger population in Malawi due to AIDS and inaccessibility of health facilities had been the primary cause of deprivation and hindered living standard for the older population and other community members. Had this working population been alive they could have used their agency to enhancing their

economic capability to derive income as a functioning, which is not the case in Malawi, unfortunately.

On the other side, Sach's book also points out that the capability of a country is also found to impact the capability of an individual. For instance, the capability of a nation to formulate the policy addressing the social spectrum where women are given the right to be educated and have access to the market, largely supports the capability of women in making a choice to live the life she wants to. This in return re-shapes the social norm of the country and society, for instance, a lower fertility rate tends to change the entire demographic transition of a country.

However, Sachs also seems to have stressed the capability requirement of two aspects: Rich countries and the national governments in a mission to end poverty. The book depicts "being rich" to be the biggest functioning of the rich nations thus giving them the capability to recognize their responsibility towards the poor and impoverished countries. This is where he has outlined the responsibility-capability set (Esquith, 2005) for rich countries- preventing poors from getting disease, fostering tropical agriculture, installing energy systems in rural areas, climate forecasting and adjusting, technologies for water management and technical capacity for sustainable management of the ecosystem. Upon doing this the achievements for the rich nations would be national security and global wellbeing.

Furthermore, when it comes to fighting poverty, the capability of a country also needs to be considered on a macro-level perspective. Here Sachs considers various constraints to have crippled countries' capability to help its citizen and make effective use of the aid money. In order to derive the functioning of eradicating poverty, the capability set for these countries would encapsulate good governance, empowered civil society to perform the role of watchdog, transparency and accountability to fight corruption,

power funneled down to the local villages and improved technology and information system.

Analysis from the development perspective

In the second chapter of the book, Sachs has presented the historical episodes of economic growth, its initial kick start point at Europe and then its diffusion to the rest of the world. Apart from the technological advancement in England, its open society, political liberty, the scientific revolution, geographical advancement, and sovereignty is what acted as a catalyst for its growth. Sachs claims that diffusion of economic growth and its advancement is not an easy task as it brings lots of transformation in cultural and societal structure and also in of gender roles, social mobility, family structure and division of labor often dealt with lots of resistance than adaptability. It can be stated that the developmental setback in Nepal could also have been attributed due to the resistance for structural transformation in terms of politics, societal norms and cultural standard, alongside with national policies and geographical barriers that existed. However, Sachs presents hope for the poor countries to still advance their growth by claiming that “ideas” are powerful means to identify the way of capitalizing resources. It is undeniable, therefore, that countries like Nepal too should prioritize generation of new ideas (highlighting the capability approach to development) and try to channelize it in the development strategies and activities.

Using this book as a medium Sachs has tried to convince the readers that the end to poverty trap is very much achievable by the end of 2025, by offering some practical solutions. Rich countries fulfilling their promise of funding 0.7 percent of their gross national product (GNP) has been one of the most preferred solutions. USA offers only 0.15 percent of its GNP compared to other rich countries. Sachs condemns the expense of the USA on military and national security in the name of the global economy. I second Sachs's opinion on this believing that the resources that are invested in the name of national security can, in fact, be directed

towards helping countries wounded by poverty. This in the long run will help build amicable relationship with them and might in return help build stronger allies. Sachs stresses much on increasing the foreign aid budget between US\$ 135 billion to 195 billion for the next decade and properly allocate the money believing that this will have higher returns to private investments leading to market-led economic growth. The solution offered by Sachs seems quite reasonable and might help poor countries to escape the poverty trap through the availability of capital stock. Sachs's vivid presentation of activities to be conducted under investment, financial and donor plan are crucial guiding principles to create systematic coordination between policies and programs between countries and within domestic bodies. However, on what ground should rich countries truly stand by to their declaration and put poverty on their top agenda- ethical, moral or political is rather debatable. In addition to this, policies and governing bodies which should be brought into place in order to hold them accountable is another aspect that requires much attention and action plan. Sachs tries to justify his argument claiming that the initial investment in the poor countries, in the long run and in return will help rich countries. Latter they get opportunity to invest upon themselves as the poor countries would have already been self-reliant and self-sufficient.

The case of Malawi helps us to reflect back on countries like Nepal which depends upon financial resources from foreign country to run and sustain its development projects. The stock of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Nepal reached NRs. 137.7 billion (6.1 percent of the GDP) as in mid-July 2016, and increased by 13.1 NPR billion in 2019 (Nepal Rastra Bank, 2018; Trading Economics, 2009). This data reflects a high dependency on a foreign resources and high possibility of our development works being controlled by donor agencies too.

Aid, if genuinely used as investment capital could help create jobs, leading to wealth creation and income generation. However,

referring to the case of Malawi, finding out appropriate measures to be implemented in order to hold both donor countries and recipient nations accountable to ensure transparency and rule of law is challenging. A responsible and competent government needs to be structured properly. Before implementing Sachs's suggestions, it's important to have such a government on a national level. On the absence of such government aid programs can be a big failure.

Sachs also unapologetically enunciates the drudgery of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) in doing very little to enhance the economic growth of poor countries. These countries are more focused on judging a country's performance on the basis of the policy input they have rather than the output any policy is going to produce in the long run. This makes the objective and vision of WB and IMF rather questionable. Institutions like WB and IMF should actually help countries capitalize their true potential and strengths in being self-reliant and sustainable, which Sachs has rightfully argued in his book.

Sachs's overemphasis on market-led economy and infrastructural growth for poverty eradication can generate debate among the environmentalist and ecologists. He has definitely highlighted the need for promoting sustainable development and addressing industrial pollution and climate change, but in just one paragraph throughout the book. In the context of poverty where poor countries have a long march to prepare for it, is still quite unforeseeable as to how Sachs's target of economic growth through market expansion can be achieved by ensuring environmental protection when countries are already lacking in financial resources.

Moreover, Sachs could have highlighted upon the *modus operandi* of using ethical principles to draw reasoning as decision making on ethical grounds are a tough and challenging task to accomplish. The Utilitarian theory could have been used to deal with poverty by

appraising the benefit and burden of the proposed solutions (Internet Encyclopedia Philosophy, n.d). Also, the solutions that Sachs has offered for poverty reduction could have been derived out of the theoretical base of utilitarianism by assessing the best possible solution that would produce the greatest wellbeing of greatest number of people (maximizing utility).

Conclusion

Need assessment at the grassroots levels in individual countries, setting clear agenda and strategies, partnership and collective actions, and proper use of aid can lead to triggering market-led economic growth, income generation, job creation and overhead capital enhancement in countries. These measures can be driving forces in achieving the target of eradication poverty by the year 2025 which Sachs has very well justified and addressed in his book. It is quite evident that Sachs sees enhanced living standard and wellbeing as the functioning of the poor people derived through the capability of climbing the rung of development ladders. The figure below summarizes the main concept associated with the poverty reduction and capability approach in the book and has been prepared after reviewing the book.

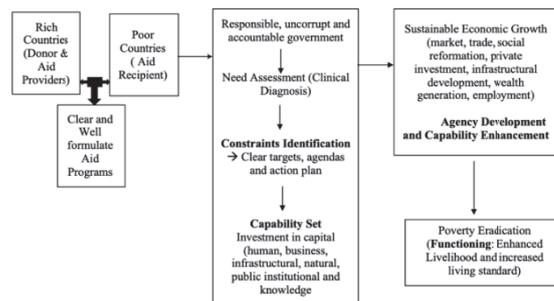


Figure: 1 Framework of the key concepts

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