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Military War Widows in Post-war Sri Lanka

Upali Pannilage and Chamalie P M Gunawardane

Abstract

This article is based on a study conducted on the post- war situation of Sri Lanka. The research focuses on the widows of fallen security personals of the Tri forces of Sri Lanka. It has examined the research problem and challenges faced by military war widows and their strategies in coping post war Sri Lankan society. The study reveals that women who have become widows at the young age were psychologically disturbed due to the sudden death of their spouse. Losing the father of a child was mainly described as the prime issue of their life. Social isolation was obvious in these widows' life and they were isolated from social relationships due to the social stigma attached to the widowhood. Though the adjustment to widowhood was socially and psychologically challenging, the widows had thought of children as a coping strategy to continue their life. Educating the children was the most prioritized and it had given the strength as a single motherhood and responsibility of these widows. The government support towards 'Ranaviru Families' could also be seen as widows' coping strategies.

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

The human relationship with violence and war is complex and paradoxical. Although no sound person would openly advocate organised killing of other human beings, there is a palpable and widespread fascination and even obsession with violence and warfare (Malesevic, 2010. p. 1). The proliferation of armed conflicts, and the high levels of military and civilian casualties, has resulted in a large number of widows in many countries. This has a major issue not only on the women themselves but on the society in general. Widowhood often changes the social and economic roles of women in the household and community. Moreover it alters the structure of the family and its impact differs according to culture and religion, however. Widowhood can affect the physical safety, identity and mobility of women and children. It can also affect their access to basic goods and services necessary for survival, and their rights to inheritance, land and property, in addition to the wider impact it has on the community. Women whose

husbands have disappeared or are missing have many of the same problems as widows but without official recognition of their status. In addition, they have to deal with the psychological effects and insecurity that stem from not knowing their husband's fate, and with direct consequences such as not being able to bury their loved ones and not being able to remarry (ICRC, 1999).

Literature reveals that possible demographic shifts and distortions caused by the war include changes in size and composition of the population, distorted sex ratio, of military personnel compared to civilian population in the affected areas in the aftermath of war, a high rate of disability in the population, and a high women headed families, a high rate of family breakdown (Silva, 2012, p.33-54). There are different dimensions of the women and war stories which appear in the existing literature. The women who have evolved their own way of coping with conflict situation demand that the meanings attached to war be reviewed and revised so that accounts war also reflect gendered experiences (Behera, 2006, p. 76).

The widows of war is common in war torn societies as one harsh reality of the war is that the every soldier killed in war leaves behind grieving relatives. Many studies already exist that address the issues of women and the military, women and war, women and peace, feminism and pacifism, feminism and militarism, gender and war, and gender and militarism (Dombrowski, 2005). Women can be left entirely without social status when they lose their husbands, especially in patriarchal societies. The death of the main breadwinner can cause a breakdown in the familiar division of labor because women take over roles traditionally carried out only by men (Nicholson, 2008). Thus, the research problem of this study was formulated as 'what are the challenges face by military war widows and their coping strategies?'

After the end of three decades of civil war (Armed conflict), Sri Lanka entered into a post-conflict situation. The major challenge in the post conflict society was to build peace and harmony in the society (Pannilage, 2015, p 15). In the process of building the peace and harmony many aspects need to be considered which include building trust among the groups, restoring lives of all affected. The women who were left widows as a result of the civil war in Sri Lanka are facing radically altered circumstances. There are estimated thousands of War widows and war-affected family members from the security personals particularly including Tri Forces (Sri Lankan Army, Navy and Air) attached to the Sri Lanka government body and they still experience grief reactions.

Many widows are in the 22 to 35 age group and with the death of their husbands; these women have become a psychologically and socially vulnerable group (Jayathunge, 2010). Studies have emphasized the need for a durable solution to the problems encountered by the war widows that ensure freedom, social justice, and social equity of war widows (Pannilage & Epa, 2016, p 21). The civil conflict destroyed the physical structures of the country while destroying the relationships and mental wellbeing of the people in the society. One of the non-repairable effects was creating widows in the society. Being a widow is disastrous situation for human especially for the women due to socio-cultural background that they live. Comparing to male widows women widows face many difficulties when they interact with the society due to socio-cultural situation prevailing in the society (ibid). Conger (2009) points out that widows are no longer wives and mothers with clearly defined gender roles within the household but rather fell within several contested sites of socially constructed gender roles. Cultural, legal, communal, and economic ideals ensured that widows would not be allowed to wield absolute power and control generally reserved for men. Moreover, at one time, the relationship of a woman to her husband was defined by law and religion; if he died, his widow was expected to exhibit certain behaviors associated with that role. Changes in women's roles, particularly the role of wife, are especially relevant for how widows cope up with it (Silverman, 2004).

Methodology Followed and the Scope of the Study

This research is based on mixed research design which included both quantitative and qualitative aspects. The quantitative data gathered allowed the researcher to understand the family structure, economic structure and their societal relationships towards the community through their relationship among various community organization of their social setting. Qualitative data permitted the researcher to identify the unique stories of each and every military war widow regarding the challenges they face as a military war widow. The recorded data highlights that there are around 29,929 war affected military service personal in the country (Samarasinghe, 2011). Although, number of other civilians and LTTE personal affected during the civil war is not known, the recorded data of government military services itself provide an insight to understand gravity of the issue. The table below has presented war affected military service personals according to their civil states.

Table -01: War Affected Military Service Personal According to Their Civil Status (Killed in and Missing in Action)

Province	Married	Unmarried
Southern Province	1154	2740
Western Province	1603	3078
Central Province	1403	3102
Sabaragamuwa Province	890	2073
North Western Province	1458	3158
Uva Province	909	2155
North Central Province	1465	2887
Eastern and Northern Province	799	1055
Total	**9681**	**20248**

Source: Samarasinghe, 2011

Out of the nine provinces of the country, this study was conducted in the southern province and the district of Matara was selected for the primary data collection. There are 16 DSDs in the Matara district and three DSDs namely Matara, Weligama and Dickwella in which 69, 43 and 21 war widows were reported respectively were selected for the study. Out of this, 43 respondents were selected using simple random sampling method to represent 2/3 of the respondents from each DSDs. Thus, 21, 13 and 09 respondents were selected respectively from Matara, Weligama and Dickwella DSDs. Questionnaire and in-depth interview method were employed to gather quantitative and qualitative, primary data. In addition to the 43 respondents selected for the quantitative data collection through questionnaire survey, 10 respondents were selected for in-depth interviews to gather qualitative data.

Table 02: Study Sample

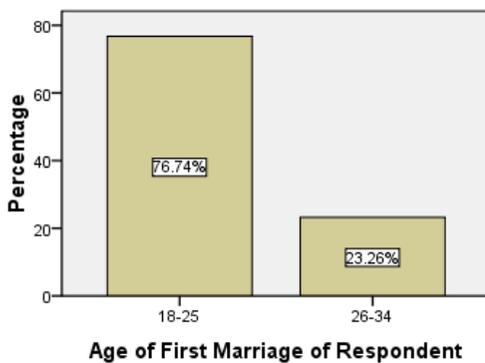| Name of the DSDs	Total population (Military war widows)	Sample	
		Quantitative	Qualitative
Matara	69	21	05
Weligama	43	13	03
Dickwella	31	09	02
Total	**143**	**43**	**10**

Moreover, secondary data (literature) was gathered on women and gender studies, war, conflict and widowhood. Statistic reports published by various institutions such as Census and Statistics department, *Ranaviru Sewa* Authority[1] were also used in order to support the study from the secondary data. Once the data collection completed, SPSS[2] and narrative analysis were employed in order to analyse the data. Meantime, the scope of the study has been limited only to the military war widows of the government forces.

Discussion and Findings

The analysis of both primary and secondary data revealed that the social and psychological challenges of widows primarily based on their age and unexpected widowhood. The majority of the respondents of the sample study were in the age category of 26-34 years old when they become a widow. This indicates that they were in their young age when they lose the husband. The following figures display the age of first marriage of the respondent and the age of being a widow.

Figure 01 : The age of first marriage   **Figure 02 :The age of being a widow**
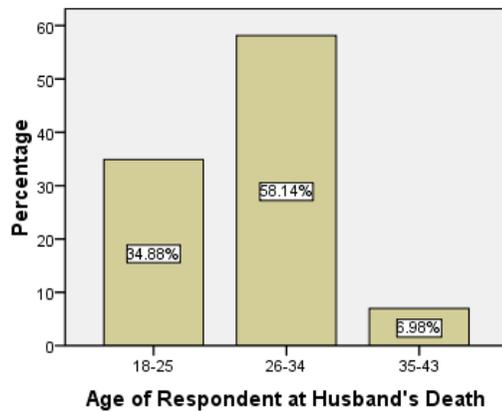
Source: Field Survey Data, 2016

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1 This organization is established under Act (No. 54 of 1999) in order to facilitate the welfare to the Ranaviru (War heroes) families to enhance the social economic and psychological wellbeing after the 30 years of war in Sri Lanka. For more details refer to the website via http://www.ranaviruseva.gov.lk/index.php.

2 Statistical Package for Social Sciences

The nature of being a single mother after the death of the ex-soldier, the widow women had gone through many setbacks in their life. The most challenging incident of being widow was the being single mother after the demise of the husband. Further, the reason of rejecting of re-marriage was the memories of the respondents attached to the late husbands. Moreover, respondents mentioned about the cultural barriers of going for a second marriage including the cultural shame. However, the most striking reason for continuing the life as a widow was the children of their first marriage. The women studied in this research had more concern on taking care of children more than anything else. The following notes verify the subject straight away.

> "How I can think of a marriage again, I have two children and if I marry again that person also wants to have kids. So there will be many differences surely for his kids and these kids that I already have. So I already dedicated my life to these children, though my in-laws also asked me to marry again" (In-depth interview 01).

The interview -01 has highlights the responsibilities that the war widows have to bear in the society. Although, she wanted to get marry again, she has fear about the future of her kids. Since culturally the society expects mothers to look after their children properly, the widow mothers reluctant to go for another marriage as the second husband's love and care for the previous husband's children can't be guaranteed.

> "My in laws and parents asked me to marry again if I want but I refused their suggestion as I have my kids who have the same features of my late husband. So I don't think that a new husband will care these kids as his own kids as it always remind him that these kids are not his even from the features. So I live for my children after my husband died and decided not to marry again" (In-depth interview 02).

The interview -02 has shown the physiological attachments   of war widows which has stand as challenges to their future family life. This widow has not remarry due to the psychological thinking of that the new husband once get married will treat the children of previous husband differently considering even the appearances of the children

The following figure illustrates the age of the youngest child when the husband dies.

Figure 03: Age of the youngest child when the husband demise
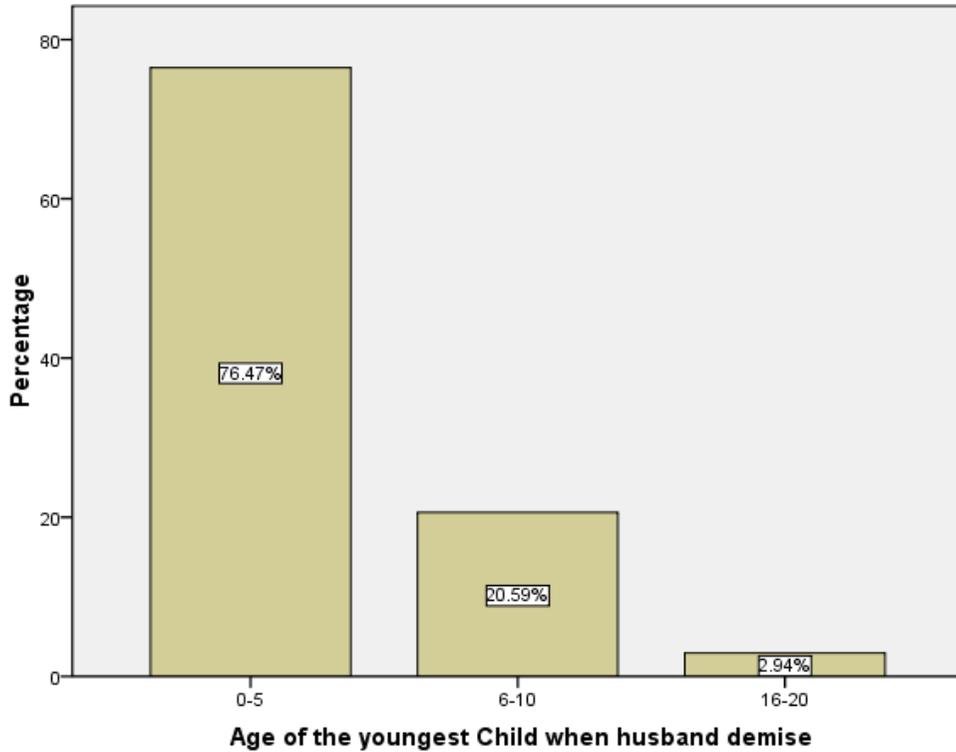
Source: Field Survey Data, 2016.

Thus, being a single mother was a colossal challenge faced by these widows and the respondents mentioned spending life without a partner and without a father to the child repeatedly. Social isolation had psychologically disturbed to these widows and stigma attached to the widowhood could be encountered as the reasons for the social isolation. For instance, parent In-laws of the respondents had complaint saying that the son of them had died due to the bad luck of the respondents. The following note signifies the statement.

> "Within a month of my being widowed, my late husband's family, especially his mother and sister, started telling me that I am unlucky and bring unfortunate to everyone. They accused me saying that I am responsible for my husband's

death. It was really hurtful. Day in and day out, they pointed the finger at me for his death and continuously harassed me. My mother-in-law and sister-in-law said that they had lost a son and a brother and but I'm lucky enough to receive all the government compensation on behalf of him" (In-depth Interview 03)

Moreover, the social suspicion of widow's character could be discovered during the study and it represented the cultural viewpoint of a widow. As literature shows, when women separated from men through widowhood or divorce, their sexuality received new emphasis and was constructed as uncontrolled, unpredictable and, thus, threatening to the community. Widowed and divorced women's sexuality, in short, was perceived as something that must be monitored or reined in. Other women in the community were often the most suspicious (Levinson, et al., 2014, p. 920). This condition found factual in this empirical study also.

"Since I'm alone, community peeps at my home and check whether I bring men inside or not. So, I often avoided interactions with community members as a way to 'protect' myself from this increased suspicion". (In-depth interview 04)

In addition to the potential loss of support from the husband and accompanying grief, in many societies widowhood is socially stigmatized leading many widows to be displaced from their homes (as Dahal, 2007 cited in Houston, et.al., 2016). As literature of a study in 2007 on displaced conflict widows in Kathmandu, Nepal describes their own situation as "socially dead", suggesting intense feelings of loss of social ties and shame over their status as widows (ibid, p.1278). The study revealed that, the some respondents had changed the residence due to the stigma attached to widowhood after the demise of the husband. The majority of the respondents, when they change the residence, had moved to their natal house for the safety and the care which was not provided from in-laws house or the society. Moreover, the respondents who had created a recreational family with the husband had changed their residence to find somebody to take care of the children. Following figure demonstrates the percentage of the changing residence when asked the current residence is same or different after the death of the husband. Accordingly, it was found that over 60% of respondents have changed their resident since they became a widow.

Figure 04 : Changing of residence after the demise of the husband
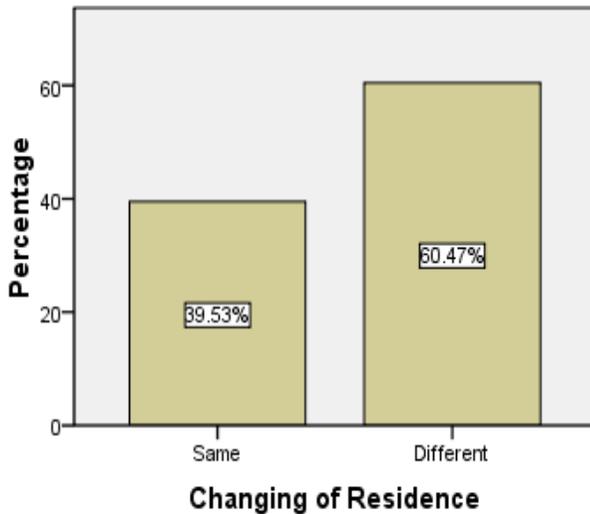
Source: *Field Survey Data, 2016*

Though the government provide the economic support to the affected *Ranaviru* families of war, as a single parent and as the agent of handling the household activities, these widows were encountering economic consequences too. The following note illustrates these facts.

> "Though people think that we are better off, it is not easy to continue the life only with the money we receive from the government. I have to manage all. I have to spend the considerable amount for the studies of my children. I'm suffering from some illnesses and have to spend for the medicine. All should be covered for this amount we receive. People think that we receive good sum of money doing nothing. But if our husbands were alive, we do not need to ask from anything. We have a right to get some compensation (In-depth interview 05).

The reason of having economic consequences mainly was due to the economic status of the women. Out of 43 respondents to the survey questionnaire only three respondents had economically active as they had some income sources before the demise of the husband and all the other respondents were unemployed. Thus, the widows had depended on the husband before the death and now also they depend on the welfare provided by the government in order to value the service rendered by the soldiers for the country. After

the death of the husband, two respondents of the sample had started being employed to add extra amount to the monthly income of the family. Thus, it is not easy to conclude that widows of ex-soldiers who are killed in the battle field economically settled due to the facilities provided by the government.

Adjustment to widowhood was socially and psychologically challenging to these widows though the government support could be visible for the '*Ranaviru Families'*. As in-depth interviews revealed about being a widow during their young age was the most difficult situations they had never expected.

> "When I was married I was 18 years old and when I become a widow I just passed 19 years old as we stayed together only around one year of our marriage life.. I was really frustrated and I actually did not want to live after that. But I'm living for my son now (In-depth Interview -06).

Though the mourning is never ended in the life of respondents, as coping strategies, these widows psychologically think of their children and the wellbeing of children and thy have given the priority to make the children educated first. As a single mother, widows believed that the responsibility of the family is the taking care of children. All women researched had not gone for the second marriage as they think of their children first and they believe that second marriage can create issues for the children of the first marriage. Though widows had encountered the economic consequences, support provides by the government also was one of the reasons of coping strategies for these widows in continuing their life as a widow. The findings of the study denote that there are significant social, psychological as well as economic challenges faced by the widows

Conclusion

This study concludes that women as victims of war takes many forms in post conflict scenario and widows studies under this research had many social and psychological challenging situations after the death of their husbands. Though there is an economic supportive system for these effected women from the government side, there are much more social and psychological as well as economic consequences attached to widowhood and it arises from the social structures as well. However, widows have their own coping strategies in continuing the life. The respondents considered taking care of children and being responsible as a single mother as reasons of living. The study has realised women perspective as widows of post war Sri Lanka and it gives the significant space of studying the widows from southern area of the country which is not directly influenced

by the activities of war. Thus, understanding the issues of war and need of addressing the challenges of women in post war situations are stressed significantly.

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Peace, Conflict and Development: Women as Agents of Positive Change

Rajju Malla Dhakal

Abstract

The last century has witnessed various types of conflict in the world. And most of these conflicts, however, are intrastate in nature. These conflicts have affected society in many ways. Its most victims, as usual, are children and women and it has been shown from many studies. The paper here explains how conflict has affected upon women and its consequences on development and peace thereof. In addition to this, it also argues that women are not solely passive victims; they are often powerful agents of change. The portrayal of women as victims not only neglects the significant roles women have played in conflict and post conflict, but also undermines their future potential as key participants in formal peace processes. Thus, the ability of national and international peace-building policy to incorporate a perspective takes on greater significance. The paper underlines that there is a need to improve women's active and effective participation in all stages of peace consolidation, and rebuilding nation from social, economic and political perspectives.

Introduction

The 20th century was dominated by wars and internal conflicts which changed the face of the regions of the world often altering the balance of power within the regions and across the globe while causing the death of millions of people. However, the early 21ˢᵗ century began to witness the challenges of hybrid form of war and conflict. Conflicts around the world have different origin, but often they are political and economic in nature. Experiences of the world indicate that internal conflicts within countries usually are the results of bad government with a few holding power and resources. There is no doubt that conflict inflicts suffering on everyone but it affects women and men differently. Women and children are often the most vulnerable and prone to being hit the hardest. Women usually do not start wars, but they suffer heavily from the consequences. They are an especially vulnerable category of civilians affected by conflict -- short- and long-term --irrespective of how each society views the role of women within its unique culture and traditions.

Women and Conflict

During armed conflict, women are often victims of targeted aggression by different warring factions. Perpetrators may range from the militiamen, regular armed forces, para-military forces, state security forces and in some cases, peacekeeping forces. War is inherently patriarchal activity and rape is one of the most extreme expressions of the patriarchal drive towards masculine domination over women (Meintjes, 2002).

Indiscriminate acts of war have a strong impact on women because women, children and people of old age account for overwhelming majority of population of the sizable number of households and villages while men go away either fighting or migrate to avoid forced recruitment. Women become the de-facto head of the household at such difficult time when social protection structures often break down in conflict situations.

Conflict experiences around the world shows sexual assault and exploitation are frequently employed as tools of war. At times there are also ethnic and racial overtones to the violence experienced by women. In some instances, rape and sexual violence perpetrated against women can also be characterized as genocide. Such crime is intentionally inflicted to destroy the group identity and ethnicity (Mugambe, 2000). Such acts results into stigma, victimization, isolation, alienation, prolonged emotional trauma and unwanted pregnancies (USAID, 2007). The degree of stigmatization and victimization varies across the societies and counties contingent to the society women belong to. However, sadly little has been researched and written comparatively about such experiences of women that vary from country to country and culture to culture within a country.

Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls in Nepal

Nepal Witnessed severe political and social turmoil due to the decade long (1996 – 2006) Maoist insurgency. Hundreds of thousands of people were affected and became victims of trauma, forced displacement and violence. However, the armed conflict was deeply gendered in its origin and impacts -- women and children were the most affected people in this conflict. Abduction and torture, rape and sexual abuse by both warring sides was widespread and so was forceful induction within the insurgent party. Intimidation, murder, terror and forced displacement was quite common. Women in conflict affected areas were forced to head the family and sometimes become the sole caretaker of children and elders as the conflict soared (Deuba, 2005).

The overall impacts of conflict have dealt unexpected and far-reaching blows on women, regardless of whether women joined the conflict as combatants, or were related to men

taking part in the conflict directly or indirectly. Their own or their family members' political beliefs, their ethnic and economic backgrounds, and/or the location of their homes in conflict affected areas, all played a part in adversely affecting women and girls.

The ten year old Maoist people's war and subsequent conflicts in the Terai and eastern hills brought to fore the issues of discrimination, marginalization and violence faced by women, girls and other excluded groups in the national political debate. In Nepal, even in the current context (i.e. after over ten years into the post conflict period) sexual and domestic violence is still identified and perceived as the biggest risk to women's security.

Women not Just the Passive Victims of Conflict

Unlike popular belief experiences of 38 countries including Nepal indicate that all women are not passive victims of conflict. In fact women take up many roles during the conflict – combatants, survivors/victims, bread winners (de facto head of the household), widows, community leaders and peace builders. They not only support conflict with services but also active fighting. Women have constituted significant proportions of combatants and combat support operations in many conflict countries of world including Nepal and Sri Lanka. Some women combatants in Nepal held important leadership and decision making positions. However, motives of many women for supporting conflict may differ from men. It is generally believed that most women combatants in Nepal sought to escape from patriarchal oppression and hierarchical structures, roles and values both in formal and informal sector. Another important dimension of the relationship between women and conflict is their involvement with combatant forces as forced participants (often as a result of abduction), as dependent "followers" of fighters, in supporting roles assisting fighters but not carrying weapons and as "shields" for combatants. Women and girls may have multiple roles among fighting forces—at times as domestic servant, cook, sexual partner, porter, guard, informant, and soldier are some common ones.

Challenges of Gender Role Change

War casts a shadow on everyday lives in profound ways. Many changes in societal gender role practices take place during war and conflict. Women are often forced to assume many responsibilities traditionally undertaken by men in addition to their normal responsibilities as men go to fight and/or temporarily move to escape forced recruitment. They are faced with the daunting task of keeping families together after displacement, providing food, clothing and shelter in what is in most instances, destroyed infrastructure, for their children and their families. They often take responsibility for

family income, becoming head of household, take up farming responsibilities, and new roles in the informal sector. Breaking the gender role taboo often becomes a necessity than a choice for women for the survival of their family and their own. In Nepal only men are allowed to plough the land. However women were forced to plough the land in the absence of men risking the "curse of the god".

Changed roles during the conflict are very demanding on women. It requires them to be competent and flexible not only to survive, but also to make the small difference to keep conflict from sliding back into open hostilities. In addition, the new role as primary provider often exposes women to further abuse and exploitation, although it also presents some with opportunities. Such unconventional responsibilities burden women both physically and psychologically (Goldstein, 2001).

Women and Post-Conflict Peace Process

Despite the active role in war, women too often are neglected in the post-conflict situation --in peace negotiations, demobilisation programmes and post-conflict reconstruction. In 2008, UNIFEM estimated that women account for less than 10% of members in formal peace negotiations and less than 2% of signatories to peace agreements. A study of the Congo, Sudan and Uganda concluded that recognizing and supporting the role of women was a minor afterthought (Mugambe, 2000).

Likewise, in Nepal, women were simply excluded from all processes leading to peace and development. Women were neither represented nor consulted by both sides in peace negotiations despite their important role and significant contributions as combatants as well as in their many incarnations in the society -- as breadwinners, peace and rights advocates, peace- builders and political agents. Sadly the designers of negotiations and peace processes simply overlooked or did not think about the importance of including women (deliberate or ignorance?).

The gender role transformations that take place during war rarely have lasting effect on the gender division of labour in the society. Transformation is not just about conditions and structures, but also about internal processes of consciousness that will provide women with sense of their own agency and men with sense of acceptance of the changes (Mladjenovic, 2002). In reality, conflict-torn societies struggle to deal with the gender role transformation. Gender based violence intensifies in the aftermath of conflict because women have changed and they want to keep the autonomy while men's stereotype of femininity and womanhood bears little or no relation to the masculine roles that circumstances have forced on women. Their definition of "normalcy" is restoring

the pre-conflict traditional roles where men have control over wealth and resources. Men's. Experiences of the post conflict countries show that men in the society expect women to resume the pre-conflict role in the household and community. A new form of gender role conflict begins particularly when women refuse to resume the pre-conflict role determined to maintain their newfound freedom.

In addition, women also face problems in formal sector employment as men return from conflict. In Eritrea, women who had been barefoot doctors, dentists, administrators, teachers during the conflict could not take on these roles post-conflict. Women were discriminated against in post-conflict land settlement, farming assistance often bypasses women in extension, credit etc. (Mugambe, 2000).

What can Women do Differently?

Although women do not have a different approach than men, but some qualities, usually attributed to women, may be crucial, especially in circumstances of a conflict or a peace process. Women are perceived to be more compassionate, less threatening, willing to listen and learn, contribute to an environment of stability and morality. Moreover, intuition is a precious tool in any peace process where women may have an advantage over men as they tend to be more cautious or take fewer risks. Hence it is often perceived that presence of women fosters confidence and trust among the local population, a critical element in any peace process including negotiation.

It is believe that peacemaking comes naturally to women. They act as the "social cement" of any society (taught at an early age). Besides for women, particularly those from Nepal, social development occurs within the context of social interaction as they tend to define themselves through their relationships (as daughters, sisters, daughters-in-law, mothers, etc.). Therefore their first and foremost emphasis is on resuming basic services, medical care for their children or better food rations for their families, etc. than on negotiation on power and resources sharing.

International Provisions (Resolution 1325)

International policies and programs for peace building have paid greater attention to gender in recent years. Gender sensitive language has been widely adopted within the field since 1990s, prompted by the identification of women and armed conflict as one of the critical areas of concern at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Prior to 2000, there was growing awareness of gender- differentiated experiences of and responses to armed conflict as it increasingly targeted civilian populations. Global concern and women's activism was galvanized especially by specific offences, including

sexual violence committed against women during conflict (Pilley, 2002). Important legal development after Beijing included the landmark decision in 1998 to recognize rape and other sexual violence as crime against humanity when committed within the context of war. Also major international institutions such as OECD, the WB, ILO and UNHCR, as well as many bilateral donor agencies were establishing new guidelines for responses to conflict that included attention to gender.

In 2000, the UN Security Council adopted the groundbreaking resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. It recognizes that war, impacts women differently than men, and reaffirms the need to increase women's role in decision-making related to conflict prevention and resolution. It requires the following:

1st – 1325 underlines that just and sustainable peace can never be achieved if one ignores the needs, the concerns, the rights, and the societal proposals of women, which represent half of any given post-conflict population

2nd - 1325 recognizes the vulnerability of women in conflict, displacement, and post-conflict contexts. Particular emphasis is placed on the responsibility of states to prosecute crimes of sexual violence and to put an end to impunity for all forms of GBV (VAW is a planned means of waging war and waging conflict)

3rd - 1325 calls for consistent integration of gender perspective in peace building projects/ programs. This was intended to have a particular impact on the recruitment and training of military and civilian personnel, who are deployed in peace missions and operations.

The resolution incorporated aspects of gender mainstreaming, highlighted by the five year review of the Beijing Platform for Action, and established a political framework making the pursuit of gender equality relevant to all elements of peace-building and reconstruction. Resolution 1325 has decisively influenced security policy debates in political and academic fora and has become one of the most important instruments for women's rights and gender mainstreaming in peace building.

In 2013, more than half of all peace agreements signed included references to women, peace and security. But the pace of change is too slow. The subsequent efforts to monitor progress toward gender mainstreaming have included two major assessments of policies, programs, and outcomes conducted within the UN system and evaluations by NGOs. According to UNWOMEN, from 1992 to 2011, women comprised fewer than three per cent (2.5%) of signatories to peace agreements, only 3.2 percent of peace mediators and less than ten per cent (7.6%) of negotiators at peace tables. Likewise, in the peace

negotiations in <u>Nepal</u>, Indonesia, Somalia, Ivory Coast, the Philippines and the Central African Republic, <u>women were completely excluded.</u> Moreover In the UN DPKO, only 2.7 percent of UN military personnel, 7 percent of UN police officers, and 30 percent of civilian personnel were women

National Action Plan (NAP) on UN SCR 1325 & 1820, Nepal

On February 2011 the Government of Nepal adopted its National Action Plan (NAP) on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820. It is the first country in South Asia, the second in Asia (the Philippines being the first), and the 24th country globally to adopt a NAP for UNSCR 1325.

The adoption of Nepal's UNSCR 1325 and 1820 come at a challenging time of post conflict transition for Nepal as a key instrument in ensuring transitional justice to conflict affected women. The decade long armed conflict (1996 to 2006) deeply affected the country and women and girls still bear the brunt. Many have been victims of conflict-related sexual violence. Those who have survived are still suffering from the stigma that society places on such forms of violence.

The national action plan presents the contextual framework and analysis of the peace and security situation in Nepal, as well as provides insight into the impact of conflict on Nepali women. The NAP aims to contribute to the Nepali people's particularly that of the conflict affected women and girls' overall goal of achieving sustainable peace and establishing a just society. It is structured around following five pillars:

Pillar 1: **Participation;** aims to ensure participation of women at all levels of decision making, conflict transformation and peace processes.

Pillar 2: **Protection and Prevention**; focuses on ensuring the protection of women and girls' rights and prevention of violations of these rights in conflict and post-conflict situations.

Pillar 3: **Promotion**; the objective is to promote women and girls' rights and mainstream gender perspective in all aspects of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building.

Pillar 4: **Relief and Recovery**; addresses the specific needs of and ensures participation of women and girls in the design and implementation of all relief and recovery programs.

Pillar 5: **Resource Management and Monitoring and Evaluation**; the objective is to institutionalize monitoring and evaluation and ensure required resources for the implementation of the National Action Plan through collaboration and coordination of all stakeholders.

The Nepal Government with the active support and involvement of donor community established a basket fund, National Peace Trust Fund, to support the peace building process and ensure transitional justice. As part of warrant of transitional justice to CAWs, MoPR, the lead agency, took a deliberate decision to fund projects that are developed within the strategies stipulated in the NAP 1325/1820. The project was implemented through selected government agencies with direct and strategic role in peace process and gender including law enforcement, security agencies, Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare and Women Commission among others.

A number of positive outputs were discerned in relation to individual NAP projects. In summary, there was a wide ranged awareness raising program on NAP 1325/1820 conducted by all implementing agencies with different stakeholders in almost all districts of Nepal. In addition, the infrastructure was developed in many law enforcement agencies, such as NP, APF and Nepal army to enable a gender friendly and conducive environment and ensure increase of female cadres. The expectation was that the enabling gender friendly environment would reduce the gap in trust between CAW and Nepal police and other security agencies.

Although NAP 1325/1820 is very comprehensive, a review of its implementation of projects revealed some gaps and room for improvement. Some Key Findings are as follows:

- Lack of central focus on CAW/G and SGBV as stipulated by NAP (all victims of conflict were the target group of the projects with assumption that CAW/G and SGBV will be there)

- No clarity on the project beneficiary group selection and no effort made to search for and ensure benefits to conflict affected women

- LPC is involved but in identifying the beneficiaries (a political body). DDC's verification lists are not completely inclusive of all victims

- Conflict affected women are treated as homogenous group while SGBV victims are totally ignored and not included in verification categories

- Not much efforts made to bring different affected groups together and build peace, *a missed opportunity*

■ Less awareness on UN 1325 /1820 among CAW and training given to "mero manche"

The review team reported that due to the fear of social stigma CAW and SGBV victims are reluctant to come forward for justice. In addition, they (CAW and SGBV victims) were largely unaware of the processes and provisions of getting access to justice. Younger women victims were found to be facing double barriers. Apart from the government red-tape, families restricted them to get relief funds as the wife of the deceased. It was observed to become real problem if the marriage is not registered, which is often the case in the villages (review report, 2015).

Example of one victim: She faced lots of difficulties to access the fund especially because her name was not recommended by the task force. She thinks the government process is not only rigid with many layers of red tape but also not clear and user-friendly. It lacks human approach and is not "sewa grahi" she shared.

Women as Change Agents

Although women represent a population that is severely and distinctly victimized by conflict experiences of Nepal to Sri Lanka and Georgia to Colombia indicate that women play critical roles during and after conflict. Their role varies from combatants to supporting roles to combatants and head of the household to community leaders, as well as survivors to helpless victims. They also emerge as rights advocates and peace-builders at local to regional level. However, the tendency to disproportionately portray women as helpless victims (that need to be protected and kept safe) perpetuates inaccurate assumptions about their contributions to war and peace.

Women are not solely passive victims; they are often powerful agents of change. The portrayal of women as victims not only neglects the significant roles women have played in conflict and post conflict, but also undermines their future potential as key participants in formal peace processes. Thus the ability of national and international peace-building policy to incorporate a perspective takes on greater significance.

Women individually and collectively contribute to peace-building and in many ways. Yet their contributions are often overlooked. One of the reasons may be because they take unconventional approaches and forms and may occur outside the formal peace process. There are also tendencies to consider such efforts as extensions of women's existing gender roles.

In the decade long conflict in Nepal women broke many gender stereotypes and myths and proved that they are not meek spectators. For example, women combatants took up the arms alongside men and broke the gender stereotype that women cannot serve in the armed forces. They paved the way for inclusion of women in Nepal army. Likewise, rural house wives lived up to the challenges by assuming multiple roles – many assumed to be masculine – and helped emerge the dependents members of the families and communities at the most testing time which not only needed skill but also tact and perseverance.

Many women organized themselves into CBO and worked with humanitarian NGOs to play important role in bringing and maintaining peace (women's group, NCARD, and other coalition of NGOs, etc.). Loose networks of women comprising urban and rural women bound by common cause sprang up to voice their concern about exclusion of women from the peace-talk table. However their voice failed to get the desired attention. Later they united to educate and raise awareness of women (urban and rural) across Nepal on CA election in an attempt to institutionalize the gains of the conflict.

Missed Opportunity

Although women (combatants and non-combatants) stood up to the challenges during the toughest of times and proved their potential to be positive change agents, society and the state failed to recognize their worth once the peace prevailed. Their hard earned and new found confidences were stifled in the pretext of returning to "normalcy." They were faced with two choices -- silently resuming the docile way of life or fighting to sustain the new found role – either way they were at the receiving end (was there really an aftermath for women?).

It can be speculated that the symbolic and strategic value women combatants added to the Maoist party far outweighs their contribution to the party in the war field, though important. It earned the party silent respect as a group that believed in equity and justice. Nonetheless, ten years down the peace process the women combatants who broke all the myth of women being weak to take up arms, sadly, are still struggling to convince their fellow combatants to fulfill minimum quota representation in the party's central committee.

Takeaways of Conflict

By and large, the overall impact of conflict on women is devastatingly negative. It renders women acutely vulnerable to poverty due to the destruction of assets such as

homes and infrastructure (agricalutural, communications and and schools). Essential health care services crumbled underlined by a higher maternal mortality rate. According to UN WOMEN MMR in conflict and post-conflict countries is <u>2.5 times higher</u> on average (2015).

It is also true that conflict opens up intended and unintended space for empowering women and producing new social, economic and political realities that redefine gender hierarchies (Manchanda, 2001). In case of Nepal, not all gain of conflict including shifts in gender roles were consolidated and sustained, yet it did improve women's rights situation in the aftermath. The decade long conflict fast forwarded some positive gender outcomes in Nepal. It contributed towards involvement of women in non-traditional roles, increased decision-making powers (some), provision of 33 percent quota for women in the Constituent Assembly (2008) and inclusion in the security forces.

Way Forward

There are few but significant takeaways of conflict that need to be consolidated to rebuild the foundation of democracy to ensure equity and justice to all citizens including women. Although most of them are reflected in the new Constitution ensuring their implementation will be very important. Following are some of the critical steps that should go hand in hand to ensure consolidation of the gains of conflict:

- Concrete action to improve women's active and effective participation in all stages of peace consolidation, rebuilding nation (social, economic and political) and implementation of provisions of constitution

- Increasing women's active involvement in all processes -- crisis response, protection, peace building

- Increasing women's political participation (not just representation in terms of number) and improving access to public decision-making

- Building alliances, networks, cross-movement solidarity to increase collective power and to create a critical mass of women's rights advocates

- Research and knowledge generation as a basis for effective advocacy

- Using media, communications, and ICTs for awareness, campaigns, advocacy and pressure building.

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Role of Civil Society in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in Nepal

Hem Raj Subedi and Meena Bhatta

Abstract

Civil Society plays an important role in resolving conflicts and peacebuilding. Civil Society in post-conflict situation can reduce violence, facilitating necessary conditions for dialogue amongst the conflicting parties and thereby establishing sustained peace. However, despite the significance of civil society, the peace process can largely be hindered if the civil society organisations are not loyal in delivering their duties. In case of Nepal, the peace process though is achieved in papers, Nepali society is still mired by the problems pertaining to instability, deprivation and segregation of various forms. The role of civil society has been limited to securing interest for their own personal and organizational well being and is largely captured and dominated by the elites. In this regards, this papers attempts to analyse the the Nepalese peacebuilding process and the way civil society has been affecting it. It further also highlights the challenges and prospects of civil society in Nepal in establishing sustainable peace and investigates how civil society can play a proactive course in minimizing the future courses of conflicts that might probably erupt given the current political chaos. In order to establish a relationship between civil society and conflict, the article discusses the theoretical implications for civil society.

Introduction

Civil Society adheres to the proper functioning of state by initiating, promoting and strengthening a dialogue between the government and its people. Through this very medium of dialogue, it can contribute in multiple ways in the management of conflict and thereby building peaceful societies. Scholars are of the view that the impact of civil society can be largely felt in the process of democratization, maintaining power balances (Burnell/Calvert 2004; Whitehead 2004) as well as promoting governance (Richmond 2005; Burbridge 1997). The significance of civil society is of far more prominence in the contexts marked by conflicts because conflict societies are primarily manifested by higher degree of politicization and structural and institutional impediments. However, prospects of the involvement of civil society is negatively affected during

conflicting times, as conflict largely destroys physical infrastructure, limits potential for communication and disperse community members (Fischer, 2006). Further, it also weakens the ability of the state actors' to govern; disrupts the security, creates a sense of lawlessness; suppresses basic human rights, limits activities of civil society; and limits access to media and communication. Moreover there are also high chances that conflict erodes trust and destroys the existing communal feelings. According to the experts, as opposed to peaceful contexts, in conflict situations the existential nature of politics and the securitizations that follow, generates different societal incentives to mobilize (Buzan et al, 1998). The cross-sectional nature of existential or securitized politics thus yields a quantitatively higher degree of public action spanning across different sectors in society. The different understandings of the causes of conflict and the adequate responses to them may in turn lead to the formation of civil society actors and proceeding actions that can fuel conflict, sustain the status quo or promote peace. Within this context, the aim of this article is to analyse the role that civil society can play in minimizing conflict as well as sustaining the peace efforts. The paper considers analyzing civil society in the context of Nepal. It further tries to investigate how can civil society play a proactive course in minimizing the future courses of conflicts that might probably erupt given the current political chaos. In order to establish a relationship between civil society and conflict, the article discusses the the theoretical implications for civil society. In another section, we analyse the dynamics of conflict in Nepal and the challenges and opportunities for civil society.

Civil Society in Theory and Practice

The term 'Civil Society' in itself is a complex concept primarily because it has many facets and faces. Though the idea is used widely and in different context "the big idea on everyone's lips" (Edwards, 2004, p.2), there is no any commonly agreed definition of civil society. The notion that civil society is the arena of voluntary collective actions around shared interests, purposes and values (Merkel and Lauth 1998, p.7) however is widely accepted. To understand civil society it is of utmost importance to analyse the space it operates in, its functions, relationships, location, nature, structure composition and association with respect to other societal components. However, various scholars have observed civil society from their own perspectives. The theoretical and empirical study of civil society – from Hobbes to Habermas, up until the recent literature on global civil society – are shaped by analyzing these various certain contexts.

Analysing all the theoretical concepts, we can assert that civil society is both an independent agent for change (Putnam, 1992) and a dependent product of existing

structures (MacAdam,1996). While analyzing the different concepts on civil society, it is also important to understand the specific contexts in which civil society in conflicting times functions. One of the most general contextual distinction is whether civil society operates in a state or non-state context, or more widely in a failing or failed state context. When a state does not exist or when it is weak, fragmented or failing, the already blurred lines separating the state from civil society become even fuzzier (Marchetti and Tocci, 2009). In these situations, civil society comes to occupy part of the space normally filled by the functioning state. Yet in the absence of laws and rules governing society, civil society organizes alternative systems of self help and tribal justice; informal forms of governance that civil and uncivil society actors alike establish and are shaped by. In case when states are weak or failing instead, Marchetti and Tocci argue that patronage and corruption are likely to influence the nature and role of civil society. This is because civil society is induced to fill the void left by the state by providing services to the population, yet doing so by interacting with underground and illegal channels of the 'shadow state' (Transparency International, 2005). Finally, where a recognized state exists but lacks sovereignty and independence, civil society is often disempowered and is irresponsible because of the absence of a sovereign interlocutor at state level (Belloni, 2001). Despite the differing nature and functions, civil society needs to be both permitted and protected by the state. It's existence, nature and role is also determined by the degree of democracy, defining the extent of associative freedom, as well as by the existence of other basic rights and freedoms normally enshrined within democratic states. When these rights and freedoms are curtailed, then civil society is likely to develop beyond legal boundaries, often aiming to subvert the state rather than interact with it and thus problematizing further, the distinction between civil and uncivil civil society actors. Even within the confines of formally democratic states, the shape of civil society is affected also by the specific nature of the democracy in question. Furthermore, the presence and involvement of external actors and the prevalence of socio-economic underdevelopment also largely shapes the nature of civil society. In some places however, (i.e. war-torn societies in the global South) these ideas are not at all relevant and any effort to impose these values would amount to social engineering. Despite all these ideas, civil society remains an ideal type concept. In reality, the boundaries between state and civil society are often blurred. States may play an important role in shaping civil society and vice versa, and the two organisational spheres may overlap to varying degrees. It is, therefore, useful to make a further distinction between civil society, political society and the state, as Gordon White (2004, 12) and Laurence Whitehead (2004, 29) suggests.

Current Political Challenges of Nepal

Ten years long Maoist conflict in Nepal left almost 17,000 dead, caused disappearances of over 1,300 individuals, displaced over 90,000, destroyed country's physical infrastructures, and tarnished its peaceful image. Establishing lasting peace, maintaining law and order, strengthening capacity of the security agencies and other state institutions, and promoting democratic norms and values, therefore, has emerged as the most important needs in Nepal. Nepal's peace process which began with the signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2006, in principle, vouches to address the core issues that led to the emergence of conflict and carry forward peacebuilding initiative. But even after the signing of the CPA and promulgation of the new constitution in September 2015, -seventh in a row during the last seventy years situation in Nepal still remains precarious. Promulgation of the constitution has however concluded an important component of the peace-process- at least in theory. The constitution, in principle, lays down foundations for the formation of an egalitarian society based on social justice and the rule of law. However, to our dismay even after more than a year of constitution drafting and with the final date by which the constitution has to be fully implemented, coming closer and given the extant political squabbling – all these hopes are wearing thin. Strong resentment has been expressed by the Madhesis, Tharus (living in the Southern belt) and other marginalised groups blaming that their demands were not duly recognised in the new constitution. At the meantime Nepal has been gathering mixed response on the new constitution from the International communities and ,neighbouring countries. China and the European Union welcomed the constitution, however, Nepal's immediate neighbor, India, imposed embargo (though unofficial) on essential goods citing violence and instability in Nepal's Madhes/Terai region stating that Nepal needs to amend some of the clauses of the new constitution. Relationship with the neighboring India ever since has reached to its lowest ebb in recent time.   Provided the current havoc, the chances of drafting the constitution in time looks an arduous task. In addition to this, there are also fundamental problems in implementing the constitution. Along with the constitution lies the issue of federalism that has been constantly poising a problem to the attainment of durable peace. The constitution of Nepal promises to demarcate the country in seven federal states, however, there is no clarity among the political parties on the number, names and sizes of the states. This uncertainty has made federalism the most contentious among many other political issues in Nepal. Apart from the issue of federalism, there are other unsolved problems like that of the transitional justice and rule of law which is one of the most essential component to redress the victim's concerns. Despite of the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and

Commissions (TRC) on Disappeared Persons to look into the issues, there are many victims who are still denied justice. Likewise, the issue of identity appears to have taken the centre stage in Nepali politics in recent years. The inclusion/exclusion on the basis of caste and ethnicity has created more divisions in society. Such a debate even led to the collapse of first constituent assembly.The identity politics has created tension between the nation and the state and *vice versa*. The emergence of multiple identities and failure to develop common national identity has generated multiple conflicts in society. The current constitution, for its part, further reinforces primordial identities and divides people along various lines that do not necessarily promote the notion of citizenship. The constitution has 31 various types of fundamental rights and only three duties explained for the citizen. (Constitution of Nepal, 2015). Nepal's constitution laid emphasis on group and primordial rights (ethnic and regional) and there is a danger that too much of focus on such rights would jeoparadise individual rights and promote ethnos at the cost of demos. At the same time, Nepal is embroiled in high geopolitical dynamics, the economy is in tatters and the post-earthquake reconstruction is in limbo. Given the current state of affairs, it becomes very difficult to ascertain whether Nepal has really moved onto the post-conflict phase or not.

Civil Society in Nepal: Challenges and Prospects for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding

Civil society, in the Nepali context, has been identified as the new avatar for conflict resolution. Many civil society organizations (CSOs) have been involved in conflict resolution activities ever since the signing of the peace talks in multiple ways. As a result of which every (I)NGO/CSO and in some cases individuals as well, irrespective of their knowledge in this field, have projected themselves as conflict resolution expert(s). They seem to be interested in the peacebuilding fray for the attainment of some sorts of gains be it in the form of monetary or identification than building peaceful societies. By and large conflict has been projecticised and this clearly shows that the engagement of civil society organisations in the process of conflict resolutions was and is not voluntary in nature. This could be the reason, among others, why professional civil society organizations in Nepal have no consensual voice in terms of conflict resolution and peace-building. Many civil society organisations are donor dependent and do not have their own position on conflict resolution. Some of the civil society organisations are also found to be exclusionary and promoting illiberal and undemocratic values (despite their liberal orientation) to maintain their status-quo in the society through containing conflict in various forms (Bhatta, 2006). In the same vein (Bhatta, 2006), Nepali state has also

been witnessing the emergence of 'extractive' civil society organisations that are interest in upholding poor state capacities so that they can exploit and profit form the inability of the state to establish control and public order within its territory. Likewise there are many 'urban based' civil society organisations that are divided along party interest and adhere to the agendas that are anti-state and anti-system (Bhatta, 2007, p4.).These kinds of the civil society organization which do not particularly espouse to the civic values cannot facilitate the peace process when they thrive on conflict. Therefore role of civil society in impacting Nepal's peace process positively has remained rather slim. Hence, civil society in the context of Nepal should be given a new orientation and direction so that they can facilitate in the peacebuilding process.Despite the dichotomous presence of civil society in the context of Nepal, it has greater role to play in establishing lasting peace. For that civil society in Nepal should be geared towards stronger advocacy for restoring and sustaining democracy, peace and social justice. It should play a crucial role in mediating between the needs of special interests and those of the common good between political and economic sectors for the welfare of the citizens who are poor, powerless, deprived, and, due to the decade-old conflict, alienated from the mainstream democratic and development process (Bhatta, Dahal, 2008). Looking at the immense challenges that have been listed above, civil society seems to have a special role in contributing its unique role in overcoming it. For example, civil society should act as a 'gate-keeper' on each and every action of the political leadership and government rather than serving its own vested interest (Bhatta, 2006). It should educate and advocate the rational nation/state building process rather than prescribing an unaccountable and state disintegrating formula (Bhatta, Dahal, 2008). The Nepalese civil society has to invent a language and revive its image to communicate the problems people faced and outline a number of overlapping programs people had to contend with and exert pressure on all the actors to end the underlying conflicts in the society (Dahal, 2006). There is a need for the civil society to influence state policy making and to help shape public opinion in order to articulate the collective and rational proposal. It should provide the critical spark and energy to the ongoing chaotic political development by encouraging the consensus/cooperation based politics than competition. By and large it should also re-orient the bottom-up approach to peacebuilding by creating forums for inclusive multiparty dialogue to address all stakeholders' concerns (Dahal, 2006).

Conclusion

Civil society has important potential for resolution of conflict and building peaceful societies. It is rather a key actor that can foster development and peace politics in

post-reconstruction and peacebuilding. However, to attain these goals it is of utmost importance to include civil society actors from the very beginning in all phases of war-to-peace transition – from peace negotiations and implementation of agreements to post-conflict peacebuilding. Such inclusion of civil society is a means of reaching a broader political and social consensus that is necessary to make peace agreements sustainable. In general, civil society has strong potential to promote citizens' identification with the polity and create social consensus. In the field of dealing with the past they are often the first ones to give important impulses that influence the discourse on issues of truth and justice. In order to generate effective peacebuilding potential CSOs need to communicate among themselves so as to avoid doubling or dispersing of efforts. But they also need to search for alliance partners in parliaments, governments and administrations. The challenge is to forge peace alliances "horizontally" between civil society actors on the local, regional, national and international level – and at the same time create vertical alliances of individuals and groups on different levels of society. As John Paul Lederach (1997) has outlined, there is a need to build peace from the bottom up, the top down and the middle out and civil society should be active partners towards this move.

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Resource Conflicts and Conflict Management: Practices and Challenges in Nepal

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Abstract

Nepal has witnessed various types of conflicts over the period. Some of the conflicts are structurally rooted while others are merely for power relations. This paper analyzes conflict management practices in Nepal by critically reviewing existing policies, laws and literature on the topic particularly focusing on conflict of natural resources. It concurs with previous findings that the existing formal conflict resolution mechanisms are administratively complicated, expensive, elitist, non- transparent, heavily influenced by wealth and power, making them inaccessible to the poor and disadvantage. Likewise, informal systems are also distorted and biased favoring elites, wealthy and powerful. The paper argues that existing formal conflict resolution mechanisms need to be revised to provide equitable access and just services to the entire population of Nepal without any discrimination. In terms of natural resources conflict management, the process need to be more participatory, transparent and inclusive to avoid elitist decisions that privilege certain economic groups and ideologies over other. Eliminating systemic, institutional and judicial corruption and practices of abuse of authority is required for a transformative change in conflict mechanism practices in Nepal.

Introduction

Conflict is an inevitable and pervasive aspect of human life. Conflict originates from social, cultural, religious, professional, economic and political environment. Conflicts are the result of multiple causes, differences in perceptions, values and their manifestation in human behavior. Conflict occurs in the form of disagreements, grievances, problems and tensions between two or more parties, regions, and countries. The earliest phase of conflict is a problem on an issue. In the second phase, conflict turns to be a dispute and the third phase is the actual recognition phase of conflict. John Dewey (1916, p. 188) engraved, "Conflict is the gadfly of thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates invention. It shocks us out of sheep like passivity and sets us at noting and contriving. Conflict is a "sine qua non" of reflection and ingenuity". Conflicts may

interfere or favor public policies, development of policies and plans but they often carry a message to society indicating the need for change.

Conflicts have been pervasive and integral part of Nepalese history and society (Upreti 2004; Dahal and Bhatta 2008). Horizontal and spatial inequality, degeneration of the system of redistribution, domination of decision making by a small group of elite and continued development failure have fuelled discontent and provided space for conflicts (Dahal 2006). Conflicts over hierarchical power, authority, regime, regime change, and patron client social dealings were overwhelmingly important characteristics of Nepalese history since the establishment of the unified Nepal in 1769 by the then King Prithivi Narayan Shah. Furthermore, overlapping laws and policies, conflicting interests and priorities, perceptions, faiths and beliefs, resource capture and allocation, overlapping authorities and responsibilities, varied interests on social, economic, political and technological changes and abuse of public office power and authorities have also become deep-rooted characteristics of modern Nepalese societies within the domains politics, public policy and civil society.

This paper examines existing conflict management practices in Nepal by critically analyzing existing policies, laws and literature on the topic. It positions that existing conflict management practices are inadequate as the customary and traditional practices are becoming elitist, politically influenced and biased and the modern rule of law system is slow, expensive and corruptive. The paper argues that existing formal conflict resolution mechanisms need to be revised to provide equitable access and services to the entire population of Nepal without any discrimination. In terms of natural resources conflict management, the process need to be more participatory, transparent and inclusive to avoid disproportionate elite capture of resources and biased decisions that privilege certain economic groups and ideologies over other. Systemic, institutional and judicial corruption and practices of abuse of authority are required to be discouraged and abolished for the transformative change in conflict mechanism practices.

The second section of the paper provides the historical background on conflict management policies and practices in Nepal. The third section provides natural resource conflicts and resource conflicts management practices focusing on water resources in Nepal followed by the conclusion.

Conflict Management Policies and Practices in Nepal

Conflicts have come to be an integral part of Nepalese society and there are two recognized categories of conflict management practices in Nepal. These two categories

are broadly distinguished as formal or legal conflict management mechanisms and informal or community conflict management mechanisms. Formal practices originate from the fundamental laws of the country and must follow official procedures, guided by constitutional rules, regulations, ordinances and by-laws. Informal practices are locally engineered indigenous, traditional and customary practices, adopted by communities, which often do not fit within the government's legal framework or formal conflict management mechanisms (Upreti 2004).

Informal Practices

Informal conflict management practices are historical in usage and many conflicts at the local levels or remote areas are often resolved through informal practices. According to Upreti (2004; 2001) socially respected and elderly people, traditional landlords, teachers, faith healers (*jhakri*), and priests (*purohit*) are the principal agencies in managing a wide range of conflicts at local levels. These people are respected highly and the decisions they make usually resolve the conflicts. The decisions are not based on official procedures rather these practices are a blend of local customs along with a sense of justice and religious feeling (Upreti 2001; Khadka 1997).

The criteria for conflict management do not come from legal evidence but are rooted in pragmatism, historical and customary development, and cultural and religious faith (Oli 1998). These practices are based on cultures, values and customs therefore all these practices may not promote justice and equity. Kaplan (1995) and Khadka (1997) observe that local conflict negotiators inspect conflict locations and consult eyewitnesses including neighbors; listen carefully to both conflicting parties, and investigate previous records of conflict between the parties prior to passing the verdicts. The negotiators often call meetings in public places and invite the villagers/neighbors to get their opinions for making decision process participatory with implications that decisions are valid, and reliable as they were taken after wide and participatory consultations. Once the consultations and inspection components are over, verdict is made on the basis of negotiators' individual and joint assessment and judgment. Disputing parties are more likely to accept such decisions made in the presence of conflicting parties and the villagers. The negotiators often use many cultural, religious and political proverbs to highlight the importance of resolving conflicts locally rather than going through a formal process to convince the disputing parties (Upreti 2001; Khadka 1997).

However, the informal/community conflict management practices had been badly affected during the Maoist insurgency in Nepal from 1992 to 2006. The bloody armed conflict undermined the relevance and significance of traditional informal practices

accusing such mechanisms as elitists. They banned informal conflict management practices for imposition of their own decision-making mechanisms based on the judgment of individual commanders of Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) Maoist army. Maoist accused the prevailing judicial system of being an instrument of ruling class, they created People's Courts to adjudicate disputes and effect systemic transformation of societal norms, values, attitudes, laws and institutions (Dahal and Bhatta 2008).

This interference gradually descended to an end when Maoist joined the mainstream parliamentary system of politics in 2006 and fought the elections in 2008 becoming one of the major political parties of Nepal. Ever since the society is reverting to traditional informal system of conflict resolution practices incorporating new mechanisms such as Youth Clubs (Yuba Sangs) and Mothers' Groups (Amma Samuha) who are also assuming substantial roles in conflict resolutions at local level in post-conflict Nepal. Recent studies noted that there are a few good examples of community managed conflicts in various ethnic communities. For example, in Kaski district of Western Nepal, *Tamudhin* or Gurung-samaj, Magar-samaj and Thakali-samaj were still active in resolving conflict in their communities. Similarly, 'Mukhiya System' in lower Mustang and 'Raja system' in upper Mustang and 'Dhapa system' in Manang district were found to be common arrangements of local conflict resolution at village levels. Furthermore, Majhi, an indigenous fishermen community along Tamakosi River elects a leader known as Mijhar for taking care of the community, settling disputes, and guiding younger people. Majhi community is one of the most organized communities in terms of leadership and dispute resolution and Mijhar decisions are supposed to be respected by all members of the community.

Yet, social transformation since 1990 and decade long Maoist conflicts generated political consciousness and awareness among people about their rights, exposing existing discrepancies in informal elite driven conflict resolution practices and often encouraging them to seek formal conflict resolution mechanisms in lieu of informal ones. The credibility of informal conflict management practices has been eroding quickly, a result of social and political transformation (Khadka 1997). The revolution of 1990 for the reintroduction of the democracy generated overt but narrowed political consciousness in the mindset of the people. Most people affiliated to a particular political party do not wish to settle a conflict by a negotiator/mediator who is not a member of his/her own political party. People also started to interrogate the impartial roles of local conflict negotiators mentioning the potential biasness of the individual conflict negotiators against supporters of the particular political party with whom the individual is not associated (Upreti 2014).

Formal Practices

Formal conflict management practices engage government's rules and regulatory provisions and the state's representatives/agencies to cater conflict management practices as prescribed in the constitution and laws of the land. Historical reviews of conflict management practices reveal that formal practices existed since the *Kirat* period in Nepal. It might have even existed prior to the Kirat period but no concrete evidence has been found yet. During the Kirat period, the country was divided into many districts known as *Thums*. Each district used to be governed by a governor whose main task was to maintain law and order and settle disputes within his jurisdiction. Under the governor, the *Thums* had Panchayat, comprising five locally elected members. Their functions were supplementary to the district governors. Below the *Thums*, there were villages and each village elected a *Subba* (Headman) and an *Upa Subba* (Deputy Headman) to look after the affairs of the villagers (Shrestha 1989). These village Subbas and Upa Subbas were responsible for the settlement of local disputes besides collecting the tax. They were anticipated to be impartial, fair and just while resolving the conflicts (Shrestha 1989).

According to Bazracharya (1974) during the Lichchhavi period, Gram Panchalies were given authority to look after the five heinous crimes known as *Panchaparadh* which were theft, robbery, murder, adultery and divorce. *Panchalies* also provided services to the people within their territory besides resolving the conflicts at local levels. If the *Panchalies* were incapable of settling disputes or decide upon the complex cases, those were submitted to the inner court of the kings through government offices (Sharma 2010).

Shastri (1982) writes that the kings were the source of sovereign power during Malla period. Although they did not have faith in decentralization or devolution of power, the Malla kings continued with Panchalies as Panchayats. The Panchayats were the platforms where local disputes were taken first for resolution because they were well respected and recognized by the people. The Panchayats were even asked to serve as mediators in matters, which concerned only the royal family, especially if it was a conflict related with property allocation (Shastri 1982).

After the unification of Nepal in 1769, the king and his central administration did not suspend the administration of the conquered principalities rather sanctioned them to continue their systems under the supervision of an area military commander of the central administration. The central government did not interfere with resolving local conflicts according to the prevailing norms and practices of locals. Even Rana regime

(1846-1950) allowed the primacy of local customs over national Civil Code for the settlement of local conflicts. The application of the principles of subsidiarity often played a role in helping people get instant justice however, the social code based on caste/class system was discriminatory towards Dalits, women and poor peoples' participation and, therefore, the methods of conflict resolution were coercive rather than collaborative due to imbalance in the negotiating strength of these groups during Ranarchy. Enormous inequalities in wealth, status, education, and skills between rich and poor made the conflict management system extremely elitists keeping it far away from the outreach of the frailer sections of society to ensure fairness and justice in any decisions. Although those dissatisfied had the right to appeal to the courts of Rana regime, the regime was incapable of catering impartial decisions over conflicts as it highly monopolized the functions of conflict management mechanism.

With the collapse of Ranarchy and the introduction of democracy in 1950 along with the development of constitutional system in Nepal, conflict resolution became subject to readjustment with democratic norms and values to reflect the political change. It was anticipated that the greater reputation granted by social power and moral obligation to rulers and village elites would be transformed into sacred law backed by the national Constitution. However, laws and regulations had yet to be attuned with the spirit of human rights, humanitarian laws and changing power equations between different gender, groups, social classes and castes (Dahal and Bhatta 2008). Feudalism under the Ranarchy persisted and democracy could never become a part of the thoughts of the village people and that the democratic structures and democratic local leadership did not replace the village structures and local officials. In fact, ten years of democracy did not have much impact in the life and thoughts of the local people. That was the fundamental reason when democracy was abandoned in 1960 the people at the grassroot levels ungrudgingly accepted the new Panchayat system.

During Panchayat regime (1962-1990) the Village and Town Panchayats were given some judicial power to exercise authority to mediate local disputes in their respective jurisdictions. Thirty-year long Panchayat system introduced periodic election every four year in 1963 to give rights to local people through the practice of self-governance after the long period of Rana regime (Acharya 2010). Yet it appeared to be unable to bring equality and social justice because the central administration was kept so powerful that it could impose and order the people as it wished.

In 1999, the government of Nepal introduced the 'Local Self-Governance Act' with some important provisions of conflict resolution mechanisms at local level. It provides some judicial power to local bodies for rule adjudication, arbitration and mediation

through the medium of representation, pleas and arguments before an arbitration tribunal. Accordingly, Municipalities and Village Development Committees (VDCs) can settle some minor conflicts through the formation of an Arbitration Board consisting of three persons, as agreed between the parties to a case, from among the persons enlisted in the list of arbitrators of the VDC. In case the conflicting parties do not agree with this arrangement, they can provide the names of two persons who are already enlisted in the list of arbitrators to the VDC. The VDC adds a third name and makes one of them chairperson of the arbitration board to hear, negotiate and settle the case. The arbitration of a conflict is possible if disputants accept the formal authority of the arbitrator to make decisions that is going to binding on them (Dahal, Uprety and Subba, 2002). The VDCs and Municipalities can punish the perpetrator with a specified and moderate amount of fine. The discontented party has the right to appeal to the District Court within thirty-five days of the hearing of the decision.

As Nepal is transitioning from unitary system to federalism, the New Constitution of Nepal 2015 stipulates that Nepal shall have one Supreme Court in the country, one High Court in each state and one District Court in each district (Constitution of Nepal 2015, p. 85). According to this provision of the Constitution, there will be 1 Supreme Court, 7 High Courts and 75 District Courts in Nepal to interpret laws and provide justice. The Constitution of Nepal 2015 also stipulates that judicial bodies may be formed at the Local level to try cases under law or other bodies as required may be formed to pursue alternative dispute settlement methods. However, prior to implementation of Federal Judiciary system, Nepal still has one Supreme Court, 16 Appellate Courts and 75 District Courts having the authority to protect 'public interest' and cope with state, public criminal and civilian cases. The Supreme Court of Nepal has jurisdiction over all courts and cases involving legal and constitutional questions of public interest and the power of judicial review. Besides the three tiers of court systems, there are also quasi-judicial agencies, such as District Administration Offices (DAO), district line agencies, such as health, forestry, education, revenue, etc. and district and area police officers which handle cases under their respective jurisdictions.

Judicial conflict management mechanisms are the formal instrument in settling conflicts in communities, societies and countries. Judicial conflict settlement mechanisms involve the formal courts, laws of the country and a properly constituted judicial tribunal, applying rules of law for which the conflicting parties express interest for settlement. As this system is formal, it is time consuming and expensive and often far removed from access to poor and disadvantaged groups. Informal, easy and simple methods designed for local levels according to local requirements can be more useful, less expensive and accessible. International laws recognize informal methods and traditional communities

are adapted to these practices in Nepal because they are based on traditional practices and indigenous laws. These alternative methods of managing conflicts bestowed to community levels including arbitration, mediation, and negotiation supplement the formal system of conflict management practices. However, prevailing public perceptions and several studies demonstrate that the existing, legally engineered formal conflict resolution systems are administratively complicated, expensive, elitist, heavily influenced by money and power, non- transparent, and inaccessible to the poor, and are therefore hardly adequate to address growing conflicts in Nepalese societies. Likewise, since 1990, informal systems are also distorted and inherently biased towards those with power (Upreti 2004).

Conflicts of Resources

Karl Marx propounded the conflict theory claiming that society is in a state of constant conflict due to competition for limited resources (Marx 1867/1887). Marx conflict theory particularly focused on class conflict between rich and poor over resources, which are limited and distributed discriminately. He contends that domination and power maintains social order rather than consensus and conformity as those with power and wealth capture most of the limited resources attempting to cling on to power by suppressing the poor and powerless. Marx and Engels (1848) narrowed all types of existing conflicts into class struggles. Marx and Engels' conflict theory spins around concepts of social inequality in the division of resources and focuses on the conflicts that exist between classes. Charles Darwin also stressed on 'the competitive struggle for existence' and 'survival for the fittest'. Darwin inscribed, "All nature is at war, one organism with another or with external nature. Seeing the contented face of nature, this may at first be well doubted; but reflection will inevitably prove it is too true" (cited in Hyman 1966, p. 29).

The relation between natural resources and conflicts is perhaps as old as humankind. Conflict over renewable and non-renewable natural resources such as minerals, forests, land, and water is pervasive (Anderson et al. 1996; Ayling and Kelly 1997; Buckles and Rusnak 1999). Natural resources are the sources of humankind's lifelines to ensure and enhance their livelihoods, luxury and lives but unsustainable use and competition over dwindling natural resources for enhancing human wellbeing is found to be taking place ubiquitously however, the dimensions, level, intensity and time line of conflict may vary from place to place (Homer-Dixon 1999; Burnett 2016). Natural resource conflicts refers to situations where the allocation, management, or use of natural resources results in violence, human rights abuses, or denial of access to natural resources to an extent that significantly diminishes human welfare (Schweithelm, Kaanan and Yonjon 2006).

Resource conflicts often originate in situations of scarcity wherein the demand for land, forests, water and other resources far outstrips the supply, a situation made worse by demographic pressures, natural disasters, climate change and social inequality (Burnett 2016). Resource conflicts may have class dimensions, political dimensions, social dimensions and cultural dimensions (Buckles and Rusnak 1999). Buckles and Rusnak (1999) elaborate that a class dimension of conflict refers to the conflicts between those who own the resources and those whose labour makes the resource productive but has no ownership. The domination of the state in a public good such as for conservation or in maintaining the political alliances to remain in power falls in the category of political dimensions. Differences in gender, age, and ethnicity may disproportionately inform the use of natural resources, bringing to the fore cultural and social dimensions of conflict. The contestations exist even to identify natural resource conflicts in light of different information sources, world-views, and values.

Conflicts of natural resources can be classified into renewable natural resources and non-renewable natural resources (Homer-Dixon 1999; Watson & Pandey 2015). Renewable natural resources include water, forests, and land whereas the non-renewable resources are minerals, petroleum, coals etc. Although preliminary scoping studies have identified several whereabouts of non-renewable finite resources, the renewable resources are found to be major conflict areas in Nepal. Resource conflicts can be divided into two broad types in Nepal. Firstly, conflicts resulting from competition over resources among various groups and conflicting interests and secondly, conflicts encompassing situations where violent armed conflict is financed or sustained through the sale or extra-legal taxation of natural resources. Conflicts over forests, land, and water are the most dominant conflicts of resources in Nepal.

Land Conflicts

Land conflicts are one of the most contentious issues in Nepal. The most frequently reported land conflicts are boundary and demarcation separating fields, tenancy rights and tenant eviction, development infrastructure on particular sites, and obstruction of existing paths (Upreti 2004). Other major sources of land conflicts often relate to encroachment, public land encroachment and control, biased land quality assessment by surveyors, redemption, fraudulent sale, inheritance allocation, order of succession, gifts of parental landholdings, and ownership rights. Many ownership rights disputes originate from the failure to register land and failure to demonstrate land transactions

that "up to half of Nepal's landholders have no legal entitlements to their land" (Wily, 2008, 72).

Land reform has been an important area of contestation between political parties ever since the 1960s. Land issues became central point of focus during Maoists insurgency as they targeted large landowners as a symbol Nepal's exclusionary, patronage-based state. Now in the post-conflict period, land reform remains contentious, attracting attention from politicians, academics, advocacy organizations and NGOs (Adhikari cited in Stein and Suykens 2014, 1).

Forest Conflicts

Nepal's forests resources have always been contentious and important livelihood resources—providing food, medicine, building materials, and animal feed for rural families. Traders, smugglers and villagers collect herbs, smuggle other forest resources and illegally harvest large trees also exploit the same forests. Terai lowlands contain commercially valuable—but rapidly dwindling—tropical hardwood forests; hill forests largely occur as small patches that provide important subsistence resources; and mountain conifer forests are scattered, but locally valuable. Community forestry has been touted as Nepal's natural resource management success story. Approximately 13,300 users groups have been formed, whose members comprise 35% of the nation's population and manage 1.1 million hectares of forestland, one-quarter of the national total. Research indicates that socially dominant and relatively wealthier villagers capture most of the benefits from community forests for political and economic gain, while poorer Community Forest User Groups (CFUG) members bear a disproportionate share of the management costs (Schweithelm, Kaanan and Yonjon 2006).

The landless poor are often excluded from using forest resources that were more available to them under previous open access regimes. In the majority of CFUGs, management composition and benefit distribution reinforces rather than reduces social inequality. This led to severe conflicts among users and within the community. Forest conflicts were related to ownership, identification of users, access to forest products, payment of royalties, illegal collection of non-timber forest products by outsiders, hunting and poaching of wild animals, and collection of medicinal plants by commercial traders in high-altitude forests managed and used by communities. Forest encroachment by non-users, unauthorized collection of firewood, use of trees to build bridges and cremate the

dead, and competition for leadership of forest user groups (FUGs) were also frequently reported (Upreti 2004).

Water Conflicts

Water resource conflicts is also one of the most contentious concerns in Nepal although is it is the second richest country of the world in water resources. It has the high potential of producing large quantities of hydropower because of the steep gradient flows of the rivers. However, only a fraction of the hydropower potential of Nepal has been materialized and the few systems that exist have produced significant local social and environmental impacts during construction and operation, creating conflict with people at the dam site and downstream. Competition to use the same water source for mutually exclusive purposes is a localized problem, involving conflicts between drinking water, hydropower, irrigation, and industrial use. Private landowners, local governments and even communities are often unwilling to provide or share water sources while people (water users) are becoming outspoken in their demands for safe water (WaterAid in Nepal 2012). The increased awareness of the people about the right to water is resulting into more water conflicts. A study conducted by WaterAid Nepal and Federation of Water and Sanitation Users in Nepal (FEDWASUN) in 12 districts found that water scarcity was the major cause of conflict although disputes were also perceived in areas where there was an abundance of water (WaterAid Nepal 2012). Political disputes, negative use of legal frameworks and the increased influence of urban societies on rural communities with a strong emphasis on the economic and political benefits of access to water are some other reasons of water conflicts. The study found that 29% of conflicts arose because empowered communities did not want to share their water sources (WaterAid Nepal 2012). International water conflict is related with transboundary water use agreements, which generally favor India, increasing the potential inter-states conflicts over water.

The importance of rights to water has been exhibited in the Constitution of Nepal 2015. The Constitution stipulates that "Each citizen shall have the right to access to clean water and hygiene", signifying a political and financial commitment to augmenting access to water in the country (Constitution of Nepal 2015, Article 35.4). However, it is ironic to point out that the capital of the world's most water abundant country through which about 6,000 rivers and rivulets flow is in acute water crisis. Also, many of the rivers that flow through Nepalese cities are not clean, wells are drying up, the groundwater table is dropping and the water distribution system is poor, and inefficient. The transformation

of country from unitary state to federal state has also serious implications for resource usage, allocations and distributions.

Our own research on Climate Adaptive Equitable Water Management Plans for Cities in South Asia (CAMPS- 2016-2019) under the initiative of 'Cities and Climate Change' being conducted in Dhulikhel and Dharan in Nepal and Mussoorie and Haldwani in India identified four fundamental water related concerns which revolve around drinking supply management, irrigation, industrial use and ownership conflicts. The preliminary study and several rounds of stakeholders' consultations conducted in Dhulikhel and Dharan identified that major water conflicts are related to upstream downstream conflicts; conflicting ownership claims over water sources, sharing of drinking water, water for irrigation to address the need of water intensive agricultural practices and industrial production, and exponential expansion of national demography, city size and number of households. Other frequently reported conflicts were related to non-compliance with maintenance of irrigation and drinking water systems, the ambiguous roles and responsibilities of water users' committees, and uneven treatment of different water users by government technicians and officials (Schweithelm, Kaanan and Yonjon 2006; Upreti 2004).

Conflict Management Practices

The discussion above on conflict management policies and practices illustrated that there are two different types of conflict management practices in Nepal. The first one is informal or community managed conflict management practices. The informal practices involve calling the respected members of the village together to hear and adjudicate the dispute – often called *bhadbhaladmis* or *bhalomanavs*—and the verdicts may base on customary and religious law, as well as local norms and customs (Meinzen- Dick and Pradhan 2002) or even through community mediation program.

Conflict management literature identifies six stages of managing conflict in community level (WaterAid Nepal 2012). First stage is the analysis of cause and effect of conflicts; Second stage is to identify and mobilize key social and political leaders who can play the role of impartial negotiators; third stage is to hold consultations for finalizing conflict management strategy; fourth stage is to adopt a compromising but win- win strategies for conflicting parties; and the fifth stage is to develop and adhere to code of conduct; and the last stage is to resort to legal system in case the conflicts are not managed at community levels as the last option of conflict management. Dewey's

conflict management sequence comprises of six steps: 1. Define the conflict; 2. Examine possible solutions; 3. Test the solutions; 4. Evaluate the solutions; 5. Accept or reject the solutions; and 6. Exit with conflict managed or seek for legal action. The legal method is usually the last option adopted when other means had been tried but had failed.

Thomas-Kilmann (2010) Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI) is a widely used assessment for understanding how different conflict-handling styles affect group dynamics. This mode describes a person's behavior along two basic dimensions: assertiveness and cooperativeness. These two dimensions of behavior can be used to define five methods of dealing with conflict. These five conflict-handling modes are: accommodating, collaborating, compromising, competing and avoiding. Accommodating is cooperative and unassertive—the opposite of competing. When accommodating, an individual neglects his or her own concerns to satisfy the concerns of the other person; there is an element of self-sacrifice in this mode. Collaborating is both cooperative and assertive. When collaborating, an individual attempts to work with the other person to find a solution that fully satisfies the concerns of both. Compromising is intermediate in both assertiveness and cooperativeness. When compromising, an individual has the objective of finding an expedient, mutually acceptable solution that partially satisfies both parties. Competing is assertive and uncooperative, a power-oriented mode. When competing, an individual pursues his or her own concerns at the other person's expense, using whatever power seems appropriate to win his or her position. Avoiding is unassertive and uncooperative. When avoiding, an individual does not immediately pursue his or her own concerns or those of the other person. He or she does not address the conflict. Avoiding might take the form of diplomatically sidestepping an issue, postponing an issue until a better time, or simply withdrawing from a threatening situation.

However using these models for managing resource conflicts always require mediators or negotiators and the process involved manifest questions of procedural justice and outcomes fairness. The mediators are often associated with political parties and verdicts they pass are likely to be influenced by their ideologies favoring a certain group more than the other. Since the methods of arbitration and mediation do not seem very practical since the arbitrators are not well trained to understand the problems of the affected the existing community managed mechanisms of conflict management keeps the affected outside the ambit. If the victims are not satisfied with the decisions made at informal and/or local forums, they can file the lawsuit in the formal system of conflict management. The legal method is usually the last option adopted when other means

had been tried but had failed. Yet, lack of knowledge about formal conflict management mechanisms on the part of most conflicting parties, complicated judicial administration of the litigation process, high cost of hearing process including hiring of lawyers for litigation, lack of transparency resulting into corruption, domination by elites and the influence of power discourage many vulnerable disputing parties to seek justice through formal system of conflict management (Upreti 2004; Pandey 2002). The legal orders also encounter challenges in translating them for implementation. For instance, relating to water resources, despite a national legal framework declaring state ownership of water resources, there are challenges in translating these legal frameworks into practice. There is an increasing trend of buying and selling of water sources in rural areas, as well as increasing demands from communities sharing sources (WaterAid Nepal 2012).

Tenure rights clarity on land and water, strengthening legal frameworks on water source ownership to avoid conflicts caused by misunderstandings around who owns a water source, establishment of legal payment for ecosystem services (PES) system in local and national levels may significantly address resource conflicts including upstream downstream water conflicts and improve resource governance. Land tenure-related issues such as unequal access to land and associated tenure rights are clearly major issues in rural areas and are rooted in social inequality. Much of the property rights literature focuses on rights to land but, as water rights are now receiving increasing attention from scholars and policy makers in developing countries and it is useful to examine the differences, similarities and linkages between land and water rights. Clarity on land and water rights can be an important means to reduce long-term resource conflict over land and water use rights.

The CAMPS research also found that community members were taking steps to manage water source conflict but the process often excludes women, who play the most dominant role in water management. The CAMPS methods emphasize on participatory and collaborative approaches to solve resource conflicts in the communities. The CAMPS has already identified stakeholders and water champions for consultations to figure out the causes and effects of water conflicts in the study sites to define compromising strategies and a code of conduct. The CAMPS engages locals to develop best practice solutions to address water scarcity. However, the lack of local elected council for the past 13 years is affecting badly for making public accountable decisions to improve water governance challenges in tackling fundamental drivers of water scarcity.

Conclusion

Conflicts have been an integral aspect of human beings. They have been in existence ever since human beings life began on the earth. Several thinkers including Marx and Darwin identified conflicts in human societies as class struggle or survival for the fittest for competition over resources. Conflicts over power, authority and resources have also been an inevitable aspect of Nepalese societies and history and there are two recognized categories of conflict management practices in Nepal. The informal or community managed conflict management practices have been recognized as an important, accessible and quick service to the conflicting parties. These informal practices were highly regarded in the past but ever since political consciousness and rights based awareness increased after 1990, people started to doubt about the impartiality of the judgment made by the mediators. Informal conflict management judgments are often accused to be elitists and biased. Formal or legal conflict management practices are superior as they are considered as the last resorts when local community managed decisions are not accepted by any of the disputing parties. However, formal conflict management practices are time-consuming, and complex. Many poor and disadvantaged are not even able to receive this service, as it is expensive and inaccessible often favoring rich, powerful and elites. Power and money seem to be playing an important role in imparting impartial and corruptive decisions.

A more participatory, inclusive, discursive and fair procedures for informal or community managed conflict management practices is required to avoid elitist and partial decision making practices. Dewey's problem solving stages can be very useful for informal conflict management practices. Formal conflict management practices require to ensure that the poor and disadvantaged also have access to legal system to avoid elite capture in formal conflict management practices. Clarity on tenure rights of land, water rights, and other resource rights is inevitable for reducing resource conflicts. Implementation of the resource related policies are also equally important. For example, Water Resource Act 1992 clearly stipulates that the ownership of water resources available in Nepal is vested in Nepal which means all water resources within the country belongs to state but because of fragile implementation of this policy, individuals, and businesses are selling and buying state's water resource property without paying any amount of tax to state rather creating more and more conflicts between different users and often generating unwarranted nuisance even for state when the state makes decision against the interests of different types of users.

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Of Populism and Misrepresentation, or the Problematic Relationship between Political Parties and Social Movements in Bulgaria

Valentina Gueorguieva

Abstract

The paper explains the relationship between political parties and social movements in Bulgaria. It argues that the relations between the political parties and the movements is not always harmonious. There are problems which do not lead to productive changes inside party structures. In the context of Bulgaria, one may witness oppositional parties borrowing the rhetoric of the movements and same being employed it their electoral campaign. But once they are elected to the parliament, they do not necessarily implement the program of reforms with which they promised in the past. In many occasions, they get co-opted with the others. Apart from this transfer of rhetoric from movements to party, in Bulgaria we did not see the consolidation of the "people" represented by a new party, nor any attempts to reform the existing parties from within. Against this background, the paper argues that populism is a rhetorical figure often used by right-wing political parties, but it also provides a valuable resource for mobilizing the collective identity of the "people" by the new parties of the populist left. Unlike party populism, the misrepresentation is found on the other side of the political relation between voters and their representatives. Populism can be reduced to a rhetorical figure or an element of language used by politicians, while misrepresentation is deeply felt by those they are supposed to represent: voters, participants in movements, citizens in general.

Introduction

In a small book published in 2014 under the title *Le parlement des invisibles*, the French political theorist and sociologist Pierre Rosanvallon writes: "A feeling of abandonment exasperates and depresses today many French. They are forgotten, misunderstood. They feel excluded from the legal world, that of the rulers, the institutions and the media"(Rosanvallon 2014: 9). This impression of having been left behind in the citizens of the republic is, according to the same author, a symptom. The symptom of a problem that is excessively serious to be ignored, a problem that lies beneath the surface of social

and political life. With the tendency of the political parties to become professionalized and "to operate in a vacuum", to direct their efforts first at securing a position in power, these parties have thus lost the urge to be the representatives of the citizen. "There is a gap between society and the elites who are supposed to represent it."(*Ibid.,* p.14) The disenchantment with politics, the feeling of being excluded from the political process, comes from this gap between citizens and political elites. "The country does not feel represented," concludes Rosanvallon in the introduction to his small book, and chooses to name this problem *la mal-représentation,* or misrepresentation (*Ibid.,* p. 10).

The problem is not isolated to France. The same symptom is felt in other European countries. The German political scientist Claus Offe makes the same claim: "Both in new and in old democracies, apathy, cynicism, and a sense of powerlessness are on the increase. Many of the terms that have been used to describe the situation of widespread political alienation start with a 'dis': dissatisfaction, disenchantment, disappointment, the sense of the people being disempowered by elites, depoliticisation, and disaffection." (Offe 2011 : 458) He chooses the general term disaffection to relate these feelings in the citizenry, no doubt provoked by of indicating at a crisis of representation.

In Bulgaria, political scientists note that "there is a certain conviction shared by the society, that an elite group, often called 'the oligarchy', has taken distance from the society and exercises power in its own interest, taking advantage of the machinery of democracy"(Todorov 2014 : 208).Was democracy domesticated by its own elites? And what can the voters do to take back control over their political representatives?

The problem of misrepresentation, underlined by Rosanvallon and other political observers, poses a deeper problem: how does the main principle of liberal democracy operate, which is the principle of political representation? Who can perform this function? Traditionally, these are the political parties. But according to the thesis of misrepresentation, or of the disaffection if we prefer the term of Claus Offe, political parties are deficient since they do not fulfill this main function, "the country does not feel represented". Then what to do with political parties or ruling elites who are no longer capable of mobilizing support on behalf of the population? Who no longer offer strong mechanisms for identifications to the voters? Even more, it seems that political parties no longer function on behalf of a collectivity. They do not develop or enact concurring political programs, but get along in the realization of neoliberal policies.

The protest movements from the last decade in Europe and in Bulgaria can be interpreted as an attempt on behalf of the citizens to regain control over the exercise of power, or better to bridge the gap between rulers and ruled, between political representatives and

those they represent, between the ruling elites and "the people". In the south of Europe starting from 2011 – the year of the big protest waves around the world – we saw the rise of what is now habitually called the parties of the populist left. Having their origins in the movements against austerity from 2011, *Podemos* in Spain and *Syriza* in Greece are being qualified as populist parties by their political adversaries or the parties of the traditional left.

The Problematic Pelationship Between Social Movements and Political Parties: Theoretical Approaches

Political analysts such as Dan Hancox and Luke March (Hancox 2015; March 2015) claim that political parties like *Syriza* and *Podemos* are the intellectual heirs of Ernesto Laclau, and underline the links between these parties and his conception of populism (Laclau 2005). The political parties in question are populist in the sense that they rely on, deepen, use and abuse of the split between "the people" and the ruling elites. These latter elites are referred to as "the oligarchs", the corrupt political class, the professional politicians or simply *la casta* in Spain. Different terms can be used to designate the enemy, but no matter the name it is always the ruling political elites. To make a difference with these older political elites, the new populist parties, such as *Syriza* and *Podemos*, insist on having their social base in the movements against austerity from 2011, and take their rhetorical resources from the opposition between the population who experiences the problem of misrepresentation, and the ruling elites; between "the people" and traditional political parties. And no doubt using this rhetoric the only enhance the gap between the people and the elites, between rulers and ruled, representatives and represented. The political bond established in representation is thus undermined by the very rhetoric of these new parties. We can refer to this phenomenon under the heading of populism or misrepresentation, in both cases we are dealing with the same problem – the problem of growing distance or gap between the population and those who represent it.

But who is "the people"? An "empty signifier", after Laclau, when we use this term we are working on the construction of the subject of collective action, or of a collective identity. This work is operated with the aid of "chains of equivalence" (Laclau, *Op.cit.*). In the protest movements, we can find these chains of equivalence when different social actor get along on their respective definitions of the situation. Participants use expressions, rhetorical figures or images to identify problems and search for solutions, to designate the enemy or to identify with a group. All these are conceptual frames or frames of experience that are used in the explanation of the problem situation or in the motivation for action (after Erving Goffman's frames theory, Goffman 1974). At a certain point, these conceptual frames can evolve into frames of injustice (Benford

and Snow 2000), when the situation if judged not simply as "bad luck" or "unhappy coincidence of circumstances" in the language of participants, but as 'unjust' or as "a recurrent instance of injustice". It is at the moment when a situation is defined in frames of injustice that it can provoke a collective action of contestation.

Using common conceptual frames participants in social movements construct chains of equivalence. These latter can serve as mechanisms of identification and slowly evolve into the construction of a collective identity that would be "the people". "We are the 99 %", the slogan of the international Occupy movement contributes to the construction of a collective identity of protest: we are those who have suffered from the injustice of austerity policies. The construction of a collective identity of protest is not possible without the definition of an enemy – this are the ruling elites, or the political parties who have all implemented austerity policies, the professionals of politics who cannot be changed, *la casta*, etc. The protest movements who adopt this rhetoric after having found a figure of the collective subject ("the people") can transform themselves into a political party, to act in opposition of this enemy. And this newly formed party would already be in possession of strong mechanisms of identification and mobilisation, as well as a stable and numerous social base that is the movement. The old political parties are no longer related to or have a difficulty to mobilise support from strong social base, to consolidate a constituency.

Apart from the construction of a collective identity of "the people" which would form the social base of a new political party, social movements can enter in different types of relationships with political parties. The collaboration between parties and movements, or their opposition, determine the so called political opportunity structures of emerging social movements, In a recent articles Doug Mc Adam and Sidney Tarrow develop a list of six mechanisms for connecting social movements to political parties (McAdam and Tarrow 2010; the numbers in brackets hereafter refer to these six mechanisms). First of all, movements can introduce new forms of collective action or what is called contentious repertoires (Tilly and Tarrow 2015), and these new forms can infuse into electoral campaigns of mainstream parties. This is the mechanism of transfer of innovations (1) between movements and political parties. And it is the most common and most studied of all six mechanisms. For instance the movement for global justice (also called the alter globalist movement starting with 'the battle of Seattle') and the movement against the war in Iraq both have contributed to the electoral campaigns of Howard Dean in 2004 and Barack Obama in 2008 (McAdam and Tarrow 2010: 534-537). Secondly, social movements can enter in coalitions with parties, or can themselves create a political party on their own (2). Historical examples of this mechanism go back to the 19th centuries when the Republican party in the United states was founded as a

heir to the abolitionist movement (*Ibid.,* p.533). But the paradigmatic and most well-known example in this case is no doubt the foundation of socialist parties as part of the workers movements, also in late 19th century. More recently, some extreme nationalist movements have very quickly transformed themselves into political parties and – to the anxiety of analysts – obtained significant numbers of votes (Touraine 2013 : 114). Coming from the environmentalist movement, green parties in Europe do not have this electoral success, but nevertheless have a strong political influence. Having these older examples in mind, we can consider *Podemos* and *Syriza* as one more example in the long line of parties born out of social movements.

As different types of connection to electoral politics, social movements can organise proactive (3) or reactive (4) of electoral campaigns. The movement "For fair elections" in Russia in 2011 and 2012 is an example of reactive mobilisation. And different political parties choose different strategies of connecting to this movement, in accordance with their degree of institutionalisation or co-optation with power (Semenov et al. 2016). Another still different mechanism that links social movements to parties results in internal polarisation within a party, after the actions and the critique coming from a movement (5). Such instances of internal opposition to the Democratic Party in Italy, like the movement *OccupyPD*, or to the Republican People's Party in Turkey (*OccupyCHP*) have been studied by Draege, Chironi and della Porta, to come to the conclusion that the abovementioned movements have helped to demonstrated the reluctance of the parties in question to reform themselves (Draege et al. 2016). Finally, McAdam and Tarrow affirm that long-term electoral regimes have an impact on the mobilization of movements (6).

What are the relationships between Bulgarian political parties and protest movements in the period of rising and massive mobilisation between 2009 and 2013? Unlike movements in southern Europe after 2011, in Bulgaria we have not seen the processes of creating a collective identity of "the people" within the movements. Bulgarians joining protest movements have promptly identified their enemy as the ruling elites. The frameworks of injustice they have adopted refer to "cliques of oligarchs" and to "circles of lobbyists" who betray public interest. But the movement or movements have not founded new political parties in opposition to old ruling elites. The situation in Bulgaria is even more complicated: even when protesters have tried to establish new parties of their own, such as the newly formed party of the leaders of the movement from winter 2013, this action has provoked a strong negative reaction inside the movement. The leaders have lost the trust of protest participants.

How to explain this phenomenon? A profound distrust regarding the political parties has taken over the minds of Bulgarians. In what follows, the negative image of the

political parties in Bulgaria will be analyzed, from the point of view of participants in protest movements. The proposed analyzes is grounded in an anthropological research, held from January 2009 and January 204 in Sofia, on a number of movements that were active in the period. The corpus of data collected consists of 70 in-depth interviews with participants in movements. The choice of the interviewees is determined by the activity and the degree of involvement in the mobilizations. Thus, the seasoned militants of the green movement were chosen as privileged respondents, followed by students of the occupation of the University of Sofia in autumn 2013. Among the interviewees, 34 are citizens without affiliation to a particular movement. The corpus of transcribed interviews was analyzed using coding procedures with grounded theory (Charmaz 2006). The method of analysis adopted has made it possible to outline three nuclei of meaning: identification frames (by which participants determine their group of belonging or political affiliation), frames of injustice (by which they define the problematic situation and the solutions sought), and frames of democracy (by which they describe their understanding of the democratic process, citizen participation, the regime of liberal democracy).

Protest Movements in Bulgaria 2009-2013: Some Elements of Context

Some contextual elements can facilitate the reading of the analysis in the next section. In 2009 in Sofia the political party "The Greens" was founded, following a very active period of consecutive mobilizations of the environmental movement (for a detailed history of the green movement in Bulgaria, see Krastanova 2016: 381-457).This movement acts in protection of natural reserves, and against the investors in the sphere of tourism who destroy nature by massive constructions. There have been several campaigns throughout the years, by means of which environmentalists opposed the enlargement of ski zones in mountains and the constructions of hotels along the Black Sea coast. The movement has been active since 2001-2002, with two peaks of activity in the summers of 2006 and 2007, when it attracts a large number of supporters and benefits from strong and positive media coverage. The party "The Greens" is subsequently founded to run for the legislative elections of 2009. Until 2014 (the last parliamentary elections), the party has never managed to cross the threshold of 1% of votes necessary to appoint a representative in parliament.

In 2013, we witnessed three big waves of protests in Bulgaria: the protests from February-March (the so-called February protests, or winter protests); the daily demonstrations during the summer months (the #DANSwithme movement); and the student occupations that started on 23 October from Sofia University and spread over eleven other universities.

The winter protests were defined by their participants as protests against monopolies – monopolies on distribution of public infrastructure (electricity, central heating, water), but most importantly on distribution networks for electricity. The central motive were the unaffordable bills for electricity during the winter months. In February and March 2013 in Sofia, Varna, Plovdiv and other cities, tens of thousands of protesters gathered in the streets. Varna was the most active city during the winter protests, reaching 50 thousand on certain dates[4]. The protests were ignited by the economic difficulties of the population of the coastal city of Varna, whose major income depends on the tourism industry during the summer months.

During the same period and earlier in January 2013, another cause was defended in a parallel series of protests: the protection of natural reserves in the mountains and the seaside. The environmental cause was championed especially in Sofia, with significantly fewer participants. The actions took place every Tuesday and Thursday during January and February, provoked by a government act allowing for more constructions and ski facilities in the mountain of Pirin.

On 20 February 2013, Plamen Goranov, an environmentalist and former activist of the anti-fracking movement, set himself on fire in front of the municipality in Varna. He demanded the resignation of the mayor and the community council of Varnawho were suspected to be under the strong influence of a group of local businessmen (known as TIM), related to the organised crime in the past (see more in Hristova and Krastev 2014). Five more men immolated themselves during February-March 2013.

On the same day – 20 February 2013 – the prime-minister Boyko Borisov resigned a couple of months ahead of the end of his term. This was in response to the violence exhibited by police troops on the protesters in Sofia during the previous night, 19 February 2013. A small number of people were lightly wounded. Early parliamentary elections were scheduled for 12 May 2013. Regardless of the resignation, the demonstrations continued in masses till mid-March, the most important of them of Sundays, 24 February and 3 March 2013.After 10 March 2013 the numbers of participants started to descend.

The early elections on 12 May 2013 were won by the party of Boyko Borissov, who did not achieve the majority of 121 MPs (out of 240 MPs in the Bulgarian parliament) and was not willing to form a government in coalition. This led to a further deepening of the political crisis. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) formed a cabinet of experts with Plamen Oresharski as prime minister (former minister of finance in the cabinet of Serguey Stanishev (BSP, 2005-2009). New small protests took place with the

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4 For reference, the population of Varna is approximately350,000.The capital Sofia has about 1 million 250 thousand inhabitants.

appointment of the government of Plamen Oresharski on 28 May and 2 June 2013. But the second big wave of protests did not start until 14 June. It became known under the hashtag #DANSwithme[5]. The protest continued on a daily basis until the beginning of August, when the Parliament dissolved for a vacation of one month.

The incident that re-ignited the anger of the masses was the appointment of a media mogul, Delyan Peevski, suspected of having links with criminal circles, as director of the State Agency for National Security. Under the pressure from the streets, the incumbents withdraw the nomination and Peevski, who left the 42th parliament on 18 June 2013. But the protesters did not withdraw from the streets of Sofia. With the advancement of collective actions, their demands increased in number: they now asked for the resignation of the government, for changes in the electoral code, for criminalization of the presence of 'elements of oligarchy' in the current government, for 'the dismantling of the State based on the plutocratic model'.

On 23 October 2013, a group of students from the Sofia University occupied the central building of the university, demanding the resignation of the government of Plamen Oresharski and the dissolution of the 42th Parliament. The wave of occupations spread out in other universities in Sofia, Plovdiv, Veliko Turnovo, and gained the support of their professors and the citizenry. The students aspired at massive support and visibility in the public space. They embraced the same anti-government rhetoric, demanding the resignation of Oresharski and the dissolution of parliament.

The actions of the students re-ignited a sparkle in the #DANSwithme protests, with a couple of more massive demonstrations in November and December 2013. By the end of January 2014 the occupations in all the universities lost energy and support, and the headquarters of the Sofia University announced the end of the occupation. The goal – the resignation of the government of Plamen Oresharski – was not achieved. The protest activities of #DANSwithme were slowly fading away.

A new political party was formed during the winter protests, with the aim to participate in the pre-term election of 12 May 2013. It was founded by the leaders of the movement who chose the name "Movement for civic initiative". Right from the beginning, the organisation was torn from internal quarrels and pointless fights between its leading and most publicly visible members, which were met with strong negative reactions on behalf of participants in movement. In the elections of May 2013, the party receives only about 15 thousand votes throughout the country (0.43%). In comparison, the size of the street demonstrations that continued over a few weeks in February 2013 easily

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5 Where „ДАНС' is the acronym that stands for the name of the State Agency for National Security in Bulgarian, and in Cyrillic it is spelled the same as the English word 'dance'.

reached between 10 and 20 thousand only in Sofia, between 20 and 50 thousand in Varna, still more participants in other cities of the country. The number of demonstrators exceeds greatly the number of voters who supported the party.

The summer protests from 2013 did not provoke the formation of a new political party. Instead it helped consolidate the fractions of the old democratic right in a coalition under the heading "Reformist block". This coalition reunited for the first time after 2001 the heirs of the old anti-Communist front from the beginning of the 1990s. The three formations "Union of democratic forces", "Democrats for a stronger Bulgaria", and "Movement Bulgaria to its citizen" have suffered a traumatic loss at the elections from May 2013 (none of them managed to have a representative in parliament), with results under 4 % of votes. For the first time after the changes in 1989 the democratic right was not represented in Bulgarian parliament. As soon as the next wave of protests erupted on 14 June 2013, these parties managed to establish contact between themselves and sign an agreement in collaboration with two more formations: "The popular party for liberty and dignity" (a minor liberal party) and "The Greens" – the party of the environmentalist movement founded in 2009. On 26 June 2013 the five parties issue a common proclamation with a list of four demands, including the resignation of the prime-minister Plamen Oresharski and the dissolution of Parliament. This common proclamation is the first public document of what will later become the "Reformist Block". But there was a different organisation who served as representative of the protest movement – "Protest Network" was an informal gathering of active protesters who did not like to form a party, but to serve as a constant corrective to power. This protest organisation took form one month later (their first official press conference was given on 7 August 2013). As soon as the organisation took form, the political parties who signed the proclamation of 26 June entered in contact with "Protest Network", and fully adopted the protest rhetoric of the movement. At the legislative elections of 5 October 2014 the result of the "Reformist Block" is slightly higher than the cumulative result of the member parties at previous elections[6].

The Crisis of Political Representation in Numbers

Two factors can contribute to the explanation of the general attitude of distrust towards political parties which is so common for Bulgarians. The first one is based on qualitative data from the annual European surveys. The second comes from the analyses of

6 The cumulative result of the three parties ("Union of Democratic Forces", "Democrats for Strong Bulgaria", "Movement Bulgaria to its Citizens") who ran for the early elections of 12 May 2013 is 7.54% or about 270 thousand votes. The result of the "Reform bloc" in the elections of 5 October 2014 is 8.89%, or about 290 thousand votes. Source of data: the official website of the Central Elections Commission, http://results.cik.bg/pi2013/rezultati/index.html (2013 results), http://results.cik.bg/pi2014/rezultati /index.html (2014 results).

qualitative data collected through anthropological interviews with members of protest movements. First of all, statistical data indicate the same average levels of distrust for other European countries. In the beginning of the observation period, data from Eurobarometer survey indicate over 80 % distrust in political parties in Bulgaria. The fieldwork conducted in March-May 2008 and published in November 2008 shows that 83 % of Bulgarians answered that they tend not to trust political parties[7]. This result is identical to three other countries in Europe: Greece, Hungary, and Slovenia. In France the level of mistrust is slightly higher (86 %), while in Spain it is significantly lower – only 52 % of Spanish citizens tend not to trust political parties. Almost everywhere in Europe, there are relatively high levels, with mistrust of political parties exceeding 60% in 21 of the member countries (see Figure 1). The European average is 76%. These data point to a disturbing trend: it has become the norm to be suspicious of political parties.
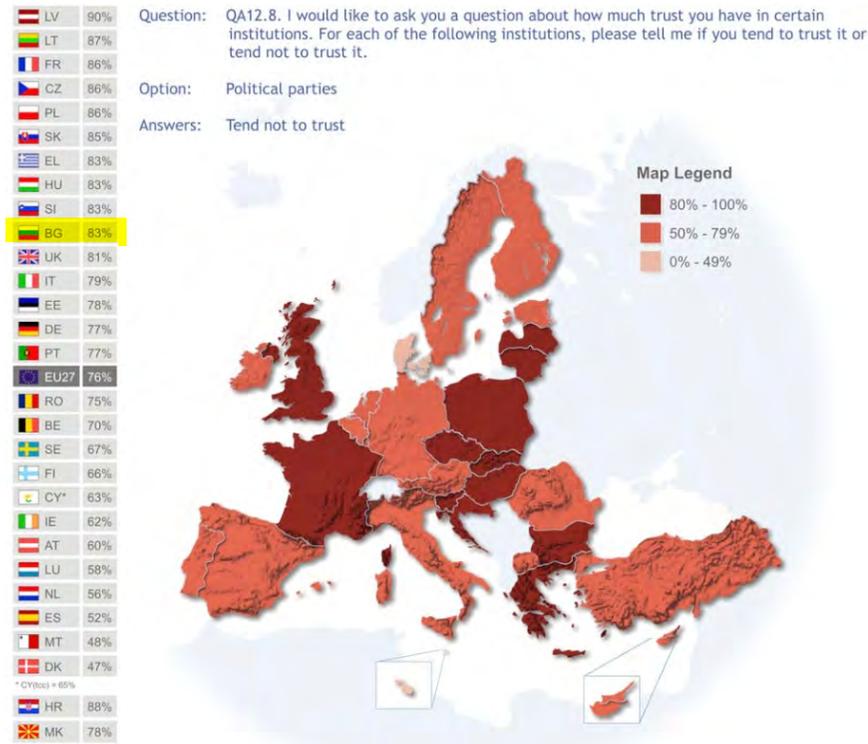
Figure 1: Distrust regarding political parties in Europe in 2008 (data from Eurobarometer Standard 69, 3. The state of mind of European citizen, p.73).

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7 Data from Eurobarometer Standard, 69, p.73, available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_part1_en.pdf (last access 13.10.2016).

At the end of the period of observation in June 2014, the data show almost identical numbers for Bulgaria. Political parties inspire confidence in only 18 % of Bulgarians[8]. The levels in Greece and Spain are even more troubling: only 9 % of the Greeks and 7 % of Spaniards trust their political parties. France is in between with 8 % of trust. Bulgaria is closer to the European average of 17 % (see more in Figure 2).

For a period of more than five years that coincides with the big protest mobilisation of 2011 in Europe and 2013 in Bulgaria that toppled the government and provoked pre-term legislative elections, statistical data do not indicate considerable change. Bulgarian political parties do not enjoy the trust of the citizen. The level of distrust for Bulgarians inscribes within the European "norm" (if we take the average to describe a norm). The problem of misrepresentation persists.

QA9 Je voudrais maintenant vous poser une question à propos de la confiance que vous inspirent certains médias et certaines institutions. Pour chacun des médias suivants et chacune des institutions suivantes, pourriez-vous me dire si vous avez plutôt confiance ou plutôt pas confiance en lui/elle.

		Les autorités publiques régionales ou locales	Diff. Pr.2014 - Aut.2013	L'Organisation des Nations Unies	Diff. Pr.2014 - Aut.2013	Le (PARLEMENT NATIONALITE)	Diff. Pr.2014 - Aut.2013	Le Gouvernement (NATIONALITE)	Diff. Pr.2014 - Aut.2013	Les partis politiques	Diff. Pr.2014 - Aut.2013
	UE28	44%	=	40%	-2	28%	+3	27%	+4	17%	+3
	BE	57%	-8	50%	-5	44%	-4	43%	-5	29%	+3
	BG	28%	-5	40%	-9	14%	=	18%	-2	18%	+6
	CZ	44%	-3	43%	-7	15%	+3	26%	+10	14%	+3
	DK	73%	+2	74%	+3	61%	+3	46%	+6	41%	+8
	DE	66%	+1	38%	-1	51%	+7	48%	+10	30%	+9
	EE	55%	-2	49%	-7	42%	+7	52%	+14	22%	+6
	IE	41%	+6	47%	-1	22%	+4	22%	+5	16%	+5
	EL	31%	+8	22%	+2	16%	+4	16%	+6	9%	+5
	ES	19%	-3	23%	-7	8%	=	10%	+1	7%	+1
	FR	56%	+4	44%	+2	24%	+5	17%	+3	8%	+1
	HR	19%	=	36%	-3	14%	+2	11%	-5	7%	-1
	IT	18%	+4	28%	+1	14%	+4	17%	+7	6%	-1
	CY	48%	+13	29%	+11	17%	-1	26%	=	12%	+5
	LV	50%	+2	43%	=	21%	+4	27%	+6	9%	+3
	LT	38%	+4	53%	+6	15%	+4	32%	+12	14%	+5

Figure 2: Trust in political parties in 2014 (data from Eurobarometer Standard 81, p.66)

Some more statistical data from surveys covering only Bulgaria can help elucidate the problem of mistrust towards political parties. A slightly higher level of defiance is registered for young Bulgarians between 14 and 27 (data collected in May-June 2014). Less than 15 % of young Bulgarians have some confidence in political parties (the

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8 Data from Eurobarometer Standard, 81, p. 66, available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb81/eb81_publ_fr.pdf (13.10.2016).

sum of answers "I trust political parties", and "I trustthem to some extend" (Mitev and Kovatcheva 2014: 155).

Another Bulgarian scholar, Dobrin Kanev, refers to a survey from 2010 and 2013, according to which the citizen are not convinced that political parties represent their interests. The biggest share of respondents (36,9 %) claim that political parties only exist to defend the interests of the party or of the party elite. "About 70 % agree totally or to some extent with the statement that political parties represent only a small group of people on top, and hence they have lost their legitimacy." (Kanev 2014 : 284) Other 30 % of the respondents believe that all political parties in Bulgaria have to be dissolved. According to this analyst, this is a symptom of a profound crisis, distrust, lack of legitimacy, even of extreme hostility towards political parties (ibid, 280-283).

However, only 6-12% of respondents in the same poll believe that it is possible to find a substitute for political parties. It seems that there is no alternative: even if the parties do not inspire trust in citizens, political parties are still considered the only actors capable of fulfilling the main function of liberal democracy that is political representation.

"The Electoral Carousel"

The second factor that can contribute to the explanation of the general attitude of distrust, or the problem of misrepresentation, is linked to the principal instrument of representative democracy – the elections. The analysis of this factor is grounded this time in qualitative data. The interviews held as part of the anthropological research described before with participants in protest movements in Bulgaria from 2009 to 2013 will be used in this section. What is their interpretation of the elections as main instrument of representative democracy?

It seems that the general distrust towards parties and politicians has also affected the very technology of representation, as exemplified in the mechanism of elections. According to data from the same survey of Mitev and Kovatchev 83 % of young Bulgarians at the age of 18 believe that the act of voting has very little or no influence on the working of parliament and government. In the next age group, between 21 and 25, the sceptics range between 79% and 75%. Although levels of distrust are considerable among Bulgarian youth, surprisingly young people participate in elections as shown by the data on voter turnout.

More light on the reasons why Bulgarians dot not believe elections can lead to a change in governance is shed from interviews with protesters. In particular, one rhetorical figure that can be found in the accounts of different movement participants, illustrates their conviction. They call it "the electoral carousel". Here is how this figure is explained:

"Millions of people come out to vote and it does not achieve anything. Once you choose one party, then on the next elections another one. Then a third one and then first one again … And this is repeated again and again. But at the end, they are all the same. And there is no change ... People just vote for the same thing each time. So nothing happens." (Interview with M.M., activist of the LGBT movement, held in Sofia, 26 February 2013, p.6 in the transcript).

According to the protest participants, during elections the voters can change the riders in the seats or wooden horses on the platform (the political parties in power), but they cannot change the politics in government. Other activists also speak about "the carousel of elections" as a model of the political system in Bulgaria, established in the last decade. Because the electoral system gives preference to the big political parties, during the last years in Bulgaria we have seen only these parties rotating in government. This have led to a system of dominant parties rotating in power. Thus the vote has lost its weight. The elections do not lead to a change in public policies, but only to the rotation of the ruling party. The final result can be very alarming, according to the interviewees. When a "group of people, parties, cliques" achieves complete control over power, this can lead to a pseudo-authoritarian government.

"The sole purpose of these three parties [earlier in the interview the respondent mentions the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Movement for rights and liberties, and Ataka] is to builda government in rotation in which certain elite circles take the rule so that they can have benefits. If this process of screaming calls for [control] on behalf of civil society re ruined now, the future of the country is not very favorable. Anyway, there are dominant parties in the electoral system, they will simply consolidate and at one point they may even stop to rotate." (Interview with V.T, student movement, held in Sofia 15 February 2014, p.6-7 in the transcript)

For this activist of the student movement and a student in political science, it is possible to stop the reproduction of this model of government in rotation with the active involvement of citizen. He sees in the protests from 2013 such an attempt at taking

back control over power. The problem, which is indicated here under the rhetorical figure of the "election carousel", can be interpreted as the consequence and intersection of two major problems in the Bulgarian party system. Both problems have long been emphasized by researchers. The first is related to the existence of dominant parties in Bulgaria and the cartelization of political parties. The second big issue is the competition between the parties.

In a small text from 2008, the Bulgarian political scientist Daniel Smilov asserts that the party system in Bulgaria has reached the stage of the cartel (after Peter Mair; Smilov 2008 : 39). This system was established with the coalition of the three ruling parties between 2005 and 2009 (the "Bulgarian Socialist Party", the "Movement for Rights and Freedoms" and the "National Movement Simeon the Second"). When they speak of the "election carousel" respondents indicate that it is the coalition of these three parties who are in power without major changes in government policies. In 2009 the newly formed party of Boiko Borissov joined in the rotation in power (the political party GERB or "Citizens for the European Development of Bulgaria ", which won the legislative elections in 2009).

Between 2005 and 2013, one of the parties in this "cartel" – the "National Movement Simeon the Second" – lost electoral support and almost disappeared from the political scene (with the exception of a few politicians who joined other parties). And yet the participants in the movements still speak of "the three or four major parties" that dominate the Bulgarian political system. It is amazing that in 2014, the leader of the "Reform Bloc" Radan Kanev used the political cartel hypothesis during the Bloc's election campaign[9]. It is in this figure of the "carrousel" that the oppositional rhetoric joins the frameworks of injustice that the protestors use for the definition of the situation.

The second problem, linked to competition between Bulgarian political parties, is also addressed by the interviewees. They find that despite the internal conflicts in the parties, in spite of the scandals that have marked the government of all the coalitions so far, Bulgarian political parties are not capable of proposing alternative political programs, all they do is "the same stupid things, damage to nature, bad policies in education, in the

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9 As underlined by the researcher Petia Gueorguieva, who demonstrates how the hypothesis of the cartelization was exploited by the oppositional parties and in particular by the "Reformist Bloc" (see Gueorgueiva 2014: 184).

health system and everywhere". (Interview with Y.B., activist of the environmentalist movements, held in Sofia, 30 March 2013, p.4 in the transcript).

If the party system does not propose an alternative, or the parties do not compete with one another, this can have a detrimental effect on the principle of political representation. Claus Offe emphasizes that there is a fundamental condition for the exercise of the so-called electoral accountability mechanism by which citizens can change their representatives (if they are not satisfied with the policies of the government),or grant them a following mandate (if they are satisfied). And this fundamental condition is competition between the parties: "if citizens have reason to believe that there is an alternative ruling elite that is capable of achieving the desired results" (Offe 2011: 456). If such a possibility is unlikely, or if voters do not believe it possible, then the electoral accountability will not work or will be seen by the electorate as meaningless, because their choices are reduced to different executors of identical policies. Elections, far from being an instrument that makes political change possible or an instrument for demanding responsibility from the elites, have become a spectacle of political life – a carousel in which we can change the riders, but cannot not change the policies.

Conclusion

Far from offering an alternative, protest movements in Bulgaria were affected by the crisis of political representation. The relations between the political parties and the movements were problematic and did not lead to productive changes inside party structures. Instead, oppositional parties borrowed the rhetoric of the movements and employed it their electoral campaign, as shown on the example of the "Reformist Block". After entering the parliament and as a partner in the ruling coalition, this party did not implement the program of reforms with which they were elected. Apart from this transfer of rhetoric from movements to party, in Bulgaria we did not see the consolidation of the "people" represented by a new party, nor any attempts to reform the existing parties from within.

Populism is a rhetorical figure often used by right-wing political parties, but it also provides a valuable resource for mobilizing the collective identity of the "people" by the new parties of the populist left. Unlike party populism, the misrepresentation is found on the other side of the political relation between voters and their representatives. Populism can be reduced to a rhetorical figure or an element of language used by politicians, while misrepresentation is deeply felt by those they are supposed to represent: voters,

participants in movements, citizens in general. Misrepresentation is indicated by statistical data on voter abstention rates, by polls that show very high levels of mistrust in political parties, and by the widespread skepticism of the effectiveness of elections as means of holding politicians accountable or of changing public policies. Misrepresentation is felt by the social basis of movements and parties alike. It is a state of mind that translates into action. From the negative evaluation that political parties receive on behalf of social movements a rather pessimistic conclusion can be drawn: social movements suffer from the crisis of political parties. They did indicate the problem, but did not find a solution. Social movements did not find political representation. In Bulgaria protest movements were not able to generate an alternative, or any solution to the problem of misrepresentation.

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Economic Impact of Remittances: An Overview of Nepal

Sanjay Prasad Mishra and Nripendra Pratap Singh

Abstract

Remittance inflow to Nepal is increasing dramatically in size over recent decades. It has been reached 29.2% of GDP of Nepal in 2015. It is one of the largest sources of financial flows for Nepalese economy. It is being a major source of foreign exchange earnings and sustaining the positive balance of payment in Nepal. The remittance is being a key factor to improve the status of households in the community level. The huge amount of remittance which is spending on different activities by households must have impact on Economic Growth through the channel of consumption, investment and saving. To increase the level of impact of remittances on GDP in Nepal the remittances money should be used on productive sector more.

Introduction

International remittance inflows, or "The money that migrants send home to their families" have experienced a significant increase in developing countries over the past decades. Remittances are being major source of income for the developing countries and more constant source than the foreign direct investment and other private flows. The unique characteristics and their potential economic impact have attracted the attention of policymakers and researcher in recent years. Remittance constitutes workers' remittances, compensation of employees and migrant transfers.[3] Remittance flows are relatively stable and cheap sources of foreign currency, provide a cushion for economic shocks, and are unique in providing direct benefits for households. It becomes the major means to enhance livelihood security of poor and marginalized people who are lacking the alternative sources of income (Kapur, 2003). It emerged as the new strategy for poverty alleviation in developing countries.

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3 Workers' remittances, as defined by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the *Balance of Payments Manual*, 6th edition (IMF 2010a), are current private transfers from migrant workers who are considered residents of the host country to recipients in the workers' country of origin. If the migrants live in the host country for one year or longer, they are considered residents, regardless of their immigration status. If the migrants have lived in the host country for less than one year, their entire income in the host country should be classified as compensation of employees.

Solimano (2003) found remittance contributes economic growth through the channel of consumption, investment and saving. The study explores a positive effect of remittance on GDP in Colombia and Ecuador. Rekha Misra (2007) argued that economies where the financial system is underdeveloped, remittance appears to alleviate credit constraints and may stimulate economic growth. Remittance is being a strong back bone of Nepalese economy for both macro and micro level for a last 15 years. It has played crucial role as a safety valve during the period of conflict and insurgency in Nepal (Panta, 2011). Remittance inflow to Nepal is increasing dramatically in size over recent decades. It has been reached 29.2% of GDP of Nepal in 2015(Macro Economic Indicator, 2016 NRB). *It is one of the largest sources of financial flows for Nepalese economy*. But, Nepal is facing political instability since a long time. Due to the Maoist insurgency and political instability, there is not good environment for investment. There was very low performance of production and manufacturing sector in this period. The average economic growth of Nepal was at around 4 percent during 2001 to 2010. *Despite the low economic growth, Nepalese people living below the absolute poverty line have decreased from 31 percent to 25 percent during the period of 2004 to 2010 owing to an increase in remittance inflows and increase in rural wages.* Nepalese households are receiving a huge amount of remittance and spending on consumption, housing, repay of loan, child education, health care, saving and small business. *It is assuming that the huge amount of remittance which is spending on different activities by households must have impact on Economic Growth through the channel of consumption, investment and saving. Ultimately, the economic growth will also help to reduce poverty.*

Global Trend of Migration and Remittance: More than 247 million people, or 3.4 percent of the world population, live outside their countries of birth. Although the number of international migrants rose from 175 million in 2000 to more than 247 million in 2013 and will surpass 251 million in 2015, the share of migrants has remained just above three percent (of world population) for the last fifteen years. Officially recorded remittances to developing countries amounted to $431.6 billion in 2015, an increase of 0.4 percent over $430 billion in 2014. (World Bank, 2016).

India is the largest recipient of officially recorded remittances in the world, and received about $72.2 billion remittances in 2015. Other large recipients include China ($64 billion), Philippines ($29.7 billion), Mexico ($25.7 billion), France ($24.6 billion), Nigeria ($20.8 billion), Egypt ($20.4 billion), Pakistan($20.1 billion), German ($17.5 billion) and Bangaladesh ($15.8 billion). Remittances as a share of GDP were 41.7 percent in Tajikistan, 30.2 percent in the Kyrgyz Republic, and 29.2 percent in Nepal. Remittances inflow of many smaller developing countries tends to be equivalent to a larger share of their respective GDP (World Bank,2015).

Trend of Migration and Remittance Inflow of Nepal: Nepal has the long history of overseas employment that started from early 18th century and has been increasing as of until recently. At that time men from the hill region of Gorkha were recruited into the army of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh in Lahor, then a part of India.   This Service, followed by a war in Gorkha with the British East India Company, earned the soldiers a reputation for bravery. After the war, in 1816, the Anglo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship singed and recruited 3,000 Nepalese soldiers in British Gorkha Regiment and inaugurated a culture of Labour Migration from Nepal (Seddon et al. 2001).

The demand of Nepalese cheap labour increased in 1980s when the booming East Asia economies as well as the gulf countries were undergoing a construction boom. The higher demand for labour in international market coupled with the foreign employment Act of 1985, which licensed non Governmental institutions to export Nepalese workers abroad and legitimized certain labor contracting organizations, further facilitated migration (Bohra and Massey, 2009).

 A more than 4.3 million Nepalese are working in overseas (excluding India) in 2015/16 but this official figure is far below the exact number. Nepal government has opened total of 110 countries for foreign employment by now. But, there are only ten main destinations for Nepalese workers, except India. The majority (about 33%) of them has been to Saudi Arabia followed by Qatar (about 30.8%) and Malaysia (14.6%) (DOFEN,2016). Nepal living Standard Survey, 2010/11 shows that 56 percent families are receiving remittances in Nepal. Now, the percentage of remittance receiving families should be increased. Nepal is receiving huge amount of remittance for a more than ten years. It has reached 29.11 percent of GDP in year 2014/15(Rs. 617 billion) and is estimated Rs. 665.58 billion in year 2015/16(CMES, NRB, 2015/16).

The overseas migration growth of Nepal is averaged 14.2 percent between fiscal years 2012 and 2014. It started to decline as low fuel and commodity prices affected investment and subsequently the demand for migrant workers from countries such as Nepal. Consequently, the number of migrant workers decreased by 2.8 percent in FY2015 and then by a further 18.4 percent in FY2016. (The April 2015 earthquake also contributed to the slowdown.) The figures translate into a daily average of 1,446 migrant workers in FY2014, 1,405 in FY2015 and 1,147 in FY2016—a clear downward trend.

Among them seventy four percent of the total are unskilled while 25 percent are semi-skilled and 1 percent youth are skilled. Likewise Despite the annual entry of more than 500000 labor force in the labor market, the employment growth rate is only 2.9 percent. (Economic Survey, Ministry of Finance, Government of Nepal, 2015/16). Remittance

inflow to Nepal, is increasing from the year 2001. It was only Rs. 357.30 million in 1980 and Rs. 1747.90 million in 1990. But it was increased to Rs. 53525.20 million in 2001, and Rs. 617278.8 million in 2014/15. Similarly, remittance in terms of GDP is also increasing since the year 2001. It was only 1.53 percent in terms of GDP in 1980. Also in 1990 it was only 1.69 percent. But in 2001 it reached to 12.12 percent and in 2014 it reached to 29.11 percent of nominal GDP of Nepal (CMES, NRB, 2015/16).

Review of Literature

Remittances as Households' Income

The majority of the existing studies, which focus on the impact of migration on household members left behind, have shown positive impact in both the short run and long run. Rapoport and Docquier (2006) show how the household members who are left behind, use migrants' remittances. Remittances are used to repay loans taken to finance migration or education, and insurance and strategic motives. It also directly contributes to household income, allowing households to purchase more assets; enables higher investment in business; and facilitate buying more goods, including education and health inputs. Yang (2004), and Woodruff and Zenteno(2001) explored that at the household level, remittance can spur entrepreneurial activity. According to Chimhowu et al. (2005) remittances are expected to reduce poverty as they may be directly received by poor. **In Nepalese context,** Remittance helps people improve the living standard and it has been observed as a good contributor for the poverty reduction in Nepal (Bhatta, 2013). Pant (2011) explored that remittances contribute largely to the national economy. The remittances sent home by the migrants affect development at both the household and national levels. At the household level, remittances help to reduce poverty, improve standard of living and attain higher educational levels. At the macro level, remittances could be used for entrepreneurship and productive investment which in turn increases job opportunities and income of the people. However, remittances cannot be a substitute for a sustained, domestically engineered development effort. Large-scale migration may hurt domestic labor markets in specific sectors, particularly when those leaving are mostly skilled workers. Still, migrant transfers can help ease the immediate budget constraints of recipient households (Pant, 2008).

A study conducted by Nepal Rastra Bank (2012) in Dhanusha district of Nepal found that land purchase was most significantly affected by remittances and remittance recipient households experienced a substantial rise in agricultural income after they started receiving remittances.

Remittances and Economic Growth

The literatures which examined the relationship between remittances and economic growth (GDP) show mixed results. Pradhan et al. (2008) find that remittances have a small, positive impact on growth in a 36 country cross-sectional study using a linear regression model in which remittances from one of five variables. Aggarwal et al. (2006) conducted a study of 99 countries over the period 1975-2003 and find that remittances have a positive effect on bank deposits and credit. The authors then interpolate the positive effect on development by invoking existing studies showing the positive impact of these two variables on economic growth**.** Taylor (1999) find that every dollar Mexican migrants send back home or bring back home with them increases Mexico's GNP from anywhere between US$2.69 and US$3.17. Azam and Khan (2011) has empirically analyzed the impacts of workers' remittances on economic growth of Azerbaijan and Armenia's economies. The study concluded that worker remittances are significant and have positive impacts on economic growth and development. Javid, Arif and Qayyum (2012) have analyzed an impact of remittances on economic growth and poverty**.** The study focused on the importance of remittances inflow and its implication for economic growth and poverty reduction in Pakistan. The empirical evidence showed that remittances affect economic growth positively and significantly.

In contrast, a study conducted by IMF (2005) regarding the impact of remittances on growth over an extended period (1970-2003) for 101 developing countries found no statistical link between remittances and per capita output growth. Spatafora (2005) finds that there is no direct link between per capita output growth and remittances. Karagor (2009) has made an empirical research on the remittances and economic growth in the case of Turkey. The study showed that remittance flow has statistically meaningful but negative impact on growth. In one of the larger cross country surveys, Chami et al. (2003) conclude that remittances have a negative effect on economic growth across a sample of 113 countries.

In Nepalese context, Thapa (2011) found a positive relationship among GDP and remittance in Nepal but it was statistically non-significant. As remittance increases by one percent, GDP increases by only 0.006 percent. Shrestha (2008) argues that the remittance helped to (a) maintain balance of payment, (b) relax the foreign exchange constraint, (c) substitute foreign aid, and (d) reduce poverty in Nepal, and hence kept the economy afloat and maintain macroeconomic stability. Likewise the study has pointed out that remittance is typically spent on land and housing which are non-productive assets with no lasting impact on the country's real income. Dahal (2007) stated that the remittance transfer was a crucial source of income to developing economies as well

as to millions of households, particularly poor women and their children. He argued that unlike the aid or private investment-flows, remittance reached to the poor directly and the poor were the ones to decide on how to spend money. According to him, more importantly, remittance services also offered a means of financial institutions to increase their outreach and relevance to poor clients.

Sharma (2006) argues that the remittance and growth are negatively associated in Nepal. He used macro level data to estimate the impact of remittances on GDP growth in Nepal. Using OLS regressions, the author finds that the effects of remittances on the GDP growth are negative. The author reasons that because remittances are largely compensatory and have no effect on the savings and investments, they result in the negative impacts on the country economy. Gaudel (2006) and Shrivastava & Chaudhary (2007) argued it has a positive bearing. However, they all agreed that the Nepalese remittance receipt is still to be diverted towards productive sector. According to Pant (2008), remittance can generate a positive effect on the economy through various channels such as saving, investment, growth, domestic consumption but increases poverty and income inequality as well.

There is limited literature in Nepalese context explaining the impact of remittance on growth and whatever available is mostly theoretical. Among the literature surveyed here, some pointed out positive impact of remittance on consumption, investment and growth; others have highlighted more on the negative impact and some revealed a mixed result. Most of the studies are qualitative. So, this study is going to investigate empirically whether remittance promotes economic growth or not in Nepal.

Impact of Remittances on Nepalese Economy

Micro Economic Impact of Remittances

The role of remittance at community level is very crucial in Nepalese context. At the community level remittance creates multiplier effects in the domestic economy, producing employment opportunities and spurring new economic and social infrastructure and services, especially where effective structures and institutions have been set up to pool and direct the remittance. The remittance is being a key factor to improve the status of households in the community level. Remittance helps to reduce poverty, improve standard of living and attain higher educational levels (Panta, 2011).

In case of Nepal, it has been found that remittance contributes on poverty reduction, The 2nd Nepal Living Standards Survey (2004) showed that the poverty level defined in terms of absolute head counts, declined from 42% in 1995/96 to 31% in 2003/04.

According to the 3rd Nepal Living Standards Survey 25.2 percent people are below the poverty line in 2010/11. Similarly, by the end of the FY 2012/13 the poverty declined to 23.8% (Economic Survey, 2013/14). Remittance not only helps to reduce poverty, but also to reduce the depth and severity of poverty in Nepal.

The remittance money that available to families improves human development of the country, since these are using on the education for children and also look after the overall health of the family members. Nepal Living Standards Survey (2011) reflects that 78.9 percent of total remittances are spent in daily consumption whereas 7.1 percent in repaying loans, 4.5 percent in household property, 3.5 percent in education and 2.4 percent in capital formation. It has been found that 55.8 percent households of Nepal are receiving remittances in 2010/11, it was 31.9 percent in 2003/04 and 23.4 percent in 1995/96. Similarly, Per household average remittance income is Rs.80, 436 in 2010/11, which was Rs. 34,698 in 2003/04 and Rs. 15,160 in 1995/96 (Nepal living Standards Survey,2010/11, CBS). After the year 2010/11 more than 1 million Nepalese migrated for foreign employment. So, within these three years the coverage of remittance receiving household must be increased. Thus, from the data of the remittance and it coverage to Nepalese society we can say that there are so many socio- economic impact of remittances in Nepalese society including poverty reduction.

Impact of Remittances on Macro Economic Indicators of Nepal

In Macro economy, remittances contributed in different ways. Remittance represent a significant and vital financial resources, thus the issues of its impact is of extreme importance. It is one of the largest sources of financial flows for Nepalese economy. Remittance being a first largest source of foreign exchange earnings and sustaining the positive balance of payment in Nepal, even, the trade deficit is very high(Economic Survey of Nepal, 2015/16).

Remittance Percentage of GDP: The share of remittances in GDP in increasing in recent years. The remittance GDP ratio is 29.11 percent in 2014/15 which was only 1.53 percent in 1980 and 3.34 percent in 2000/2001.

Remittance Percentage of Foreign Exchange reserves: Similarly, remittances have contributing to improve the level of foreign exchange reserve. If we see the net foreign assets reserve of the country the share of remittance to total convertible foreign exchange earnings has been increasing substantially for a more than ten year. The remittance foreign exchange reserve ratio reached to 420 percent in 2015 which was only 12.73 percent in 1980 and 50.40 percent in 2001.

Remittance Percentage of Current Transfer Credit (In BOP): If we see the heading of current transfer credit in BOP of Nepal, there we get different sub – headings which are: Grants, Workers' remittance, Pensions and other. Among them Workers' remittance is the main contributor in the current transfer credit. Its contribution is 87 % in 2015 which was 81.60 % in 2001 and 30.07% in 1995.

Remittance and Foreign Direct Investment : The officially recording system of FDI had been started only from 1996 in Nepal. The figure shows that in comparison to the remittance inflow the FDI is very low.

Remittance and Export: In the time of 1980s and 1990s, earning from export was more than the remittances but since 2003 the remittance inflow to Nepal crosses the export earnings. In year 1980 the remittance was 30.64 % of export but in 2002 it became 96.24% of export and in 2015 it reached in 628% of export.

Remittance, Import and Trade deficit: As the remittances inflow started to increase in Nepal, the import is also being higher near about the same speed. It is due to the creation of higher demand of consumerable goods in local market. At the same time, due to the very low supply capacity of the internal market, a huge part of the remitted money expend on the imported goods. So, the speed of increase in remittance and the import is on the same path. Though, remittance is covering the high volume of import's cost and the trade deficit. In year 1980 the ratio of the remittance to the import was only 10 percent. But in 2002 it was 42.40 percent and in year 2013 it reached to 81 percent of import. In the same way, remittance covered only 14,87 percent of trade deficit in year 1980. But in 2001 it covered 94.82 percent of trade deficit and in year 2015 it covers 93 percent of trade deficit.

Impact of Remittances on Economic Growth of Nepal

Trend of economic growth: The annual average real economic growth rate of Nepal was 5 percent in 1980s, it remained at around 5 percent in 1990s and further below at around 4 percent during 2001 to 2010. After 2010 it is still around 4 percent. The economic growth in 1980s and 1990s was led by non-agriculture sector, whereas the situation was reverse in the later decade. In the former decades, the industrial and service sector grew by around 8 and 6 percent respectively whereas in the later decade these sectors witnessed annual average growth rate of 2.5 percent and 4.7 percent respectively.

The main reasons for such a differential growth performance in the past decades are mainly attributed to the country's macroeconomic policy initiatives as well as political

environment. Economic liberalization policies along with the stable political situation led to a higher growth rate of non-agriculture sector in 1980s and in 1990s. Contrary to this, internal conflicts, prolonged political transition and supply side bottlenecks decelerated the growth performance of industry and services sector in the subsequent decade (Thapa, 2011).

Even though, there was a unfavorable situation in Nepal, Nepal's service sector continued to perform well in comparison to the agricultural sector and growing consistently. Now it contributes more than half to the country's GDP. But, the industrial sector has remained stagnated. Its contribution to the GDP remained in the periphery of 15 to 16 percent in the last decade. The main cause of continue the performance of the service sector is due to the remittance income which is increasing after 2002. Thus remittance income is being back bone for the Nepalese Economy. So, it can be say that Nepal has been changing from an agrarian economy to a service sector and remittance –dominated economy.

Conclusion

Remittances inflow to Nepal is increasing dramatically in size over recent decades. It is one of the largest sources of financial flows for Nepalese economy. It is being a major source of foreign exchange earnings and sustaining the positive balance of payment in Nepal. The remittance is being a key factor to improve the status of households in the community level. Remittance helps to reduce poverty, improve standard of living and attain higher educational levels in Nepal.

Similarly, even though, there was not environment for investment for economic development in Nepal since 10 to 12 years the economic growth still is not in so bad position. It is only due to the strong contribution of services sector which is being a leading contributor to GDP since 2001. The remittance income is the main resources for the economic activities of service sectors thus it can be say that there is the impact of remittances on the economic growth of Nepal. To increase the level of impact of remittances on economic growth remittances money should be used on productive sector more.

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Gender Dimension of Social Role Changes in the Context of Post Disaster Nepal: Case Study Based on the Context of 2015 Earthquake Situation in Nepal

P G H Tharanga Madushani and Chamalie P M Gunawardane

Abstract

Natural disasters have multiple affects in society. The aim of this research is to discuss the dimension of gender social role changes in post disaster situation in Nepal. The paper particularly focuses on 25th April earthquake situation in Nepal. In gender perspective, men and women have been given social roles based on the social setting they are attached to. This research mainly concerned about how gender dimension of social role changed in post disaster situation. This research is directed towards the factors which were economic, parental, recovery and gender, decision making and other social factors that shape the gender roles. The sample was two research sites in Kathmandu district where mainly effected during the earthquake situation. Ten respondents were selected from each research site purposively. Married men and women were selected through equal bases from two research sites. It explains, first, that those natural disasters lower the economic rebuilding expectancy of women more than that of men. Even economically, women faced difficult situation in post disaster situation. Secondly, men and women have responsibilities as parents but, women had many responsibilities regarding family rather than male counterpart. Third one, decision-making factor had not changed during earthquake situation and even pre disaster situation, especially, both of men and women could get decision regarding family with the ideas of both parts. Fourth one, in the recovery stage it will be difficult for women rather than men as women respondents are economically deprived than men. Overall, research was evident that it is only few social roles have been change during and after the disaster.

Introduction

Background of the Study

A natural disaster is a major <u>adverse event</u> resulting from <u>natural processes</u>. Natural disaster is an event with a natural, as opposed to human, cause that results in large-scale loss of life or damage to property. It could be related to weather, geology, biology or many other factors. Some of the examples being earthquakes, hurricanes, droughts and flooding can be mansion here. In some cases, natural and human factors may combine to produce a disaster. This paper however studies the recent earthquake in Nepal.

Table 1: Data of earthquake in Nepal

Area	Dead	Injured	Building fully damaged	Building partially damage
Nepal	8622	16,868	491,620	269,653

Source: *Ministry of home affairs, 2015.*

Generally men and women were affected by earthquake. In the post disaster situation both men and women are facing many issues and especially displacement has created more vulnerable situations in changes of gendered social roles. Being in displaced camps has created more changes in men and women's life with regard to their previous social roles.

The assumption of changes in gender social roles in post disaster situation was focused of the research.

Statement of the Problem

This paper mainly focused on how gender dimension is considered in social role changes in the context of post disaster period in Nepal. Natural disaster is one of major discussion worldwide. Gender relations as well as discussions of natural disasters are socially constructed under different geographic, cultural, political-economic and social conditions and have complex social consequences for women and men. As disaster threat men and women differently, moreover the role that is played by any person can be challenged. In post disaster situation, victimized men and women have to struggle with recovery process while they again have to consider their roles as parents, breadwinners and core takers of families. Thus it is important to understand the gender role changes in post disaster situation.

Research Question

This research aimed to find out the gender social role changes in the context of post disaster situation through Nepal's earthquake in Kathmandu and Sankhu and following questions were raised to understand how gender roles changed in post disaster situations. What are the gender dimensions of social role changes in the context of post disaster situation in Nepal?

■ Have economic role of men and women changed after the earthquake situation?

■ How parenting role is affected in post disaster situation?

■ Do both men and women get the chance of decision making process with regard to recovery mechanisms?

Objectives of the Research

General Objective

General objective was to explore the gender dimension of social role changes in the context of post disaster period in Nepal

Specific objectives

■ To understand economic impact of gender roles in post disaster situation

■ To find out the parental impact of gender roles in post disaster situation

■ To understand the conditions in shifting gender roles in post disaster situation (if available)

■ To explore the changes of decision of men and women in post disaster situation

Signification

Earthquake is an unpredictable movement. It affected many way of human life. Men and women are separate human beings and this type of natural disaster influence various type of social roles. According to Elaine Enarson, he says that the economic impacts of major natural disasters are profound for women and men alike, destroying land, household possessions, crops, livestock, and dreams (Enarson, 2000). Even though in a disaster situation gender difference doesn't come as a main phenomenon, it prevails in many cases. Thus, this research would give the insight of dimensions of changes in gender role in post disaster situation in Nepal.

Research Methodology

This research was conducted in Kathmadu and Sanku in Kathmandu district, Nepal. 20 were the sample and sample was selected purposively. Case study was carried to collect more detailed information regarding the questions followed in the questionnaire. Even all of respondents were married as the research topic was gender social role changes in post disaster context.

Literature in Brief

Disaster means "sudden accident or a natural catastrophe that causes great damage or loss of life" (Disaster Management, 2016). Even Quarentelly (1985) defined that natural disaster as a crisis situation that far exceeds the capabilities. Generally, disasters are of two types Natural and Human disaster. Based on the devastation, these are further classified into suddenly/slow natural disaster and environmental/technological manmade disasters. Some of the disasters are listed below,

Figure 1: Introduction of disaster
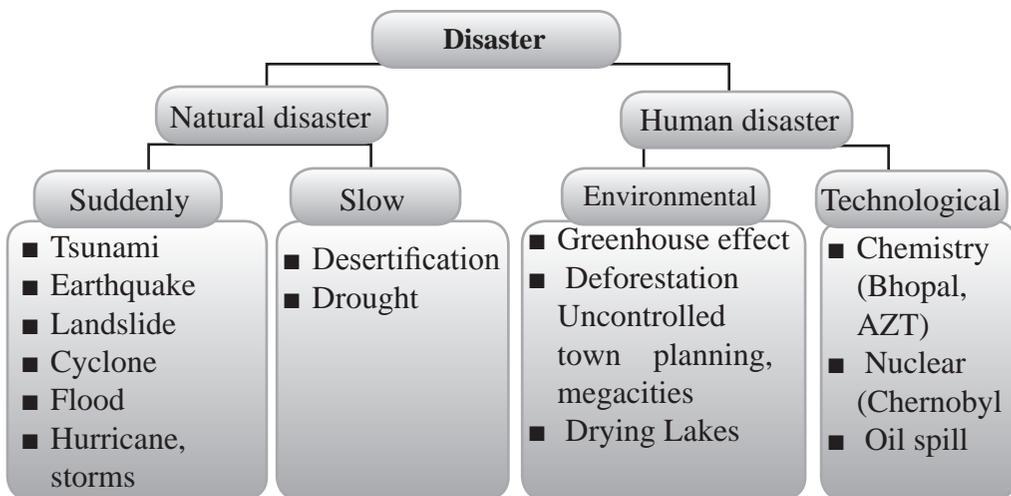
Source: IPCC, 2007

Globally, natural disaster happens in everywhere and it is being influenced many of areas. Anyone cannot predicate where it happens and either it is happens or not. In recently world, natural disaster is one of most popular discourse. However it's been increasing rather than reduce the frequency. Natural disaster has been defined by many scholars and they have many different definitions about it. According to American geological institution natural disaster means naturally occurs, manmade, geological condition or phenomenon that contemporary risk and dangerous for life or property. (As American geological institution, 1984; referred in Allexcender, D, 2001). According to, natural disaster is a major adverse event resulting natural process of the earth. For instance floods, volcanic eruptions, earthquake, tsunami and landslide etc.

Gender Perspective

Gender means a concept, which refers to social, cultural and psychological pattern of differences between Male and Female. Further, it deals with the roles and relationships between men and women, determined by social, political, and economic context and not by biology (Nobelius, 2004). However, concept of gender has many definitions. Ann Oakley and others used the word in the 1970s to describe those characteristics of men and women which are socially determined, in contrast to those which are biologically determined. "Gender refers to the socially-constructed roles of and relationships between men and women. Gender concerns men and women, including conceptions of both femininity and masculinity. The difference between 'gender' and 'sex' is that the latter refers only to biological differences" (international platform on sport and development, 2013).This difference between gender and sex has important implications, which are elaborated throughout this manual. Basically the difference between gender and sex is made to emphasize that everything men and women do, and is expected of them, with the exception of their sexually distinct functions, can change, and does change, in time and according to changing and different cultural factors. Gender roles for men and women differ greatly from one culture to another and from one social group to another within the same culture. Race, class, economic circumstances, age - all of this influence what is considered appropriate for men and women (Bradshow, 2004).

Women's Social Role

Many people are changed due to natural disaster. Disasters "Disasters tend to reveal existing national, regional and global power structures, as well as power relations within intimate relations" (Bardshaw,2004). Further it affected to create displacement in vulnerable areas. In this moment, both men and women are changing their social roles with reference to the disaster situations. Women has separate social role in society. According to Enarson's generally, women are poorer than men in the world.

(Enarson, 2000). Even women are disproportionately employed in unpaid, underpaid and non-formal sectors of economies. Inheritance laws and traditions issues, marriage arrangements, banking systems and social patterns that strengthen women's dependence on fathers, husbands and sons all contribute both to their critical access to resources and their lack of power to change things. The health dangers that result from multiple births can contribute to interrupted work and low productivity. Traditional beliefs and household tasks that limit women's mobility also limit their opportunities for political involvement, education, access to information, markets, and a many of other resources,

Men's Social Role

As men, they have separate social role in the society and it can be changed due to the natural disaster. Levant and Pollack have emerged that men has different social role compare to women. They have prescriptions for ways to act (such as be tough, stay in control, etc), attitudes to hold like work is very important, and women should be primary caregivers to children and ways to look (wear pants and suits, wear hair short, etc). Further, it also includes prescriptions for ways not to act (don't cry, don't be a wimp, etc), attitudes not to hold (want to be a stay-at-home dad, it's OK for my wife to earn more money than me, etc), and ways not to present oneself (don't wear a dress, don't have long hair, etc) (Levant & Pollack, 2008).

According to, men have separate duties in society. Because man is divided as product of the market, work in outside. These separate duties basically can identify in patriarchal society.

Dimensions of Social Role Changes

According to previous literature, some of scholars have found out gender dimension of social roles are changed in post disaster period with comparing to the before the disaster.

Even Gender and natural disaster working paper is also having shown social role dimension in disaster situation by Elaine Emerson. According to the research, author has identified that natural disaster influences to social role changes. This research was based on disaster social sciences, agency reports and field workers accounts. It could be identified how the complex ways of gender relations shape human experiences before, during and after natural disaster situation. Emerson's has encountered gendered economic impact of disaster as the conclusion through the research. First issue is that both women and men have short term needs and long term interest in disaster situation. Even

second, those women are key economic actors throughout the disaster. Disaster cycle discussed about the preparedness, mitigation, relief, and reconstructions. According to, women are most important actors in the disaster situation. A third issue is that women's economic vulnerability to further disaster is increased by lack of attention to gender equality in disaster movement. This working paper identifies 07 general impacts that disaster has on women's work.

- Women's economic insecurity increasing

- Women's become sole earner

- Women's lose entitlements

- Self employed women lose work

- Women lose jobs and work time

- Gender barriers limit , women's relief reconstruction work

- Gender social role change

Further, women workers who were in the agricultural field lost their work as a result of destruction of crops land. However, women are typically slower than men to return to their jobs. As results of disaster situation, women did not have any option to work when public transportation systems shut down, day care centers and hospitals close, or family needs intensify. Further, many women are employed in the tourist industry and they also faced terrible situation regarding the job loss. Even though women also tend to dominate as employees in such public facilities as hospitals, schools, and nursing homes, when these public-sector buildings are destroyed or damaged, women may be unemployed for long periods. They also lose work indirectly (Enerson, 2000).

Furthermore, Enarson says that "gender has been integrated into disaster research and practice as a demographic variable or personality trait and not as the basis for a complex and dynamic set of social relations" (Ebid, 2000).

Moreover, in gender perspective women faced many problems after disaster situation. It creates issues in taking care of children, increased work and family conflict. Further, after natural disaster, gender role are changed in many aspects. For instance, the gendered division of labor may also become more intense. One of the literatures shown that, After Hurricane Mitch, women has engaged traditional male work such as digging wells and constructing latrines. As well as men also performing non-traditional roles like cooking, this seems to have been isolated to a few relief facilities (Delaney &

Shrader, 2000). According to, this research ensured that exploring gender dimension of social role changes in the context of post disaster.

In addition, International Social Work web site also found that dimension of social role changes in post disaster situation. This literature review is based on the gender dimension of the 2004 tsunami. This article had been started with chew's status who is one of the scholars in contemporary world. "The silence regarding violence against women is louder than the roar of the tsunami waves". According to, this article indicates that the majority of people who died in 2004 tsunami were women. Even women endured rape, sexual and gender based violence in camps or other displaced place. In tsunami-affected countries, the second wave of horror affecting women is not from a natural source. Rape and domestic violence against women increase as result of gender inequality and social pressures. Incidents of rape, gang rape, molestation and physical abuse of women and girls in the course of unsupervised rescue operations and during residence in temporary shelters have been reported (Pittaway at all., 2007). As this article discussed the perspective across the tsunami affected countries and it can be ensured that how gender social role change in post disaster tsunami.

Under the Asian context, another literature shows that gender mainstreaming and disaster management have a role in deciding the social roles of males and females. The literature is based on the Sepali kottegoda (2013) who is chair person in Asian Pacific Women's Watch, and she explains that, relief agencies focus on women and children particularly affected by natural disaster. This discussion specially focused on the tsunami disaster in Asian pacific region. In addition to the general impact of the disaster on the general community, the breakdown of infrastructure, displacement and isolation, collapse of familial and social support networks all specifically add to women's burdens in their social roles, while increasing women's vulnerability, especially to sexual and domestic violence. The loss of male bread winners and the male heads of household and/or livelihoods also contribute to increasing women's burdens and responsibilities. Even according to his experience, she argues that women faced many problem which are violation of women's rights, physical and sexual violence in the displacement and resettlement period in the tsunami. (Asia Pacific Women Watch, 2013). Via this record, chair is trying to find out the dimension of gender social role changes in any post disaster situation. Even gender social role change is one of the important aspects of disaster. According to the records and literatures, many natural disasters affected to the different perspective of gender. However this research is based on exploring gender dimension of social role changes in the context of post disaster period in Nepal.

Data Finding and Presentation

Demographic/Ecological Condition and Social Aspect of Research Site

This research deals with the dimension of social role changes in post earthquake situation. In the recent time, huge destruction was created by earthquake in Nepal. Further, it damaged the many of areas in Nepal. However, this research mainly discusses about two areas in Kathmandu district which were the victimize people were staying areas in post disaster situation. They are Tundikhel displaced camp and Sankhu, Kathmandu. Kathmandu district was one of the most damaged districts in Nepal, because thousands of people were made homeless during the earthquake. Centuries-old buildings were and as UNESCO World Heritage sites in the Kathmandu Valley, including some at the Kathmandu Durbar Square. Even it is one of the district in Kathmandu valley which melting port of various ethnicity, religion, caste and language. According to UNHCR earthquake profile, 1222 people died and 7864 peoples injured during the earthquake in Kathmandu district. Even livestock were collapsed which frequency it was 43001 in Kathmandu district. Further 33165 building were fully damage and 50753 were partially damage during earthquake situation (UNHCR, 2015).

Even Kathmandu Tudikhel camp is based on the Kathmandu district which was main displaced camp in during the earthquake situation. Contemporary government, NGO, INGO, and International stakeholders helped many of way for the rebuilding their life. There is nearby 2000 displace people in there. Under the government order, twenty people should be staying in one shelter. All facilities provided by government including water, tent, sanitarian and etc. Tents were provided by other foreign countries which are Chinese government, Korean government, red courses and etc.

Sankhu is also one of the research sites in this research. It is one of the old Newari and ancient city in Kathmandu district. It had a population of 3788 living in 2545 individual households. Major ethnicity is Newar and they have own culture practices and traditions methods. Even early 1965 this village was very famous tourist attraction of Kathmandu. It formerly divided into 3 Village Development Committee namely Pukhulachhi, Suntol and Bajrayogini. Recently the town of Sankhu has been declared as Sankharapur Municipality merging 3 above mentioned VDCs and other neighboring VDCs. All of respondents in Sankhu research areas told that contemporary government, NGO did not concern about their life. Even China government, American organization, Red Cross provided tent and urgent requirement. Sankhu is one of old city in Kathmandu. Therefore many of old houses were collapsed and agriculture field also destroyed by earthquake.

Table 2: Data of earthquake in Sankharapur municipality

Area	Dead	Injured	Building fully damage	Building partially damage
Sankharapur	115	179	6094	961

Source: Sankhapur municipality, 2015

(Furthermore, out of all of deaths, 17 are people of other areas who temporary migrated)

According to the objective of this research, researcher could get information regarding the topic of research and all respondents were spending displace life in post disaster situation. According to the research topic, this research mainly discusses about the changes in gender social role in post disaster period. In relation to that, researcher was concerned to get data under the equal concept between men and women to prevent of being biased. The respondents were of different age groups and were married.

Natural disasters affected different way of gender concept. Early literature ensured that women are vulnerable rather than male counterpart. Disaster management web site (n.d.) mentioned that 80% of women were refugees and displaced populations. In emergency situations women and children make up 70% to 80% of those needing assistance. Even many of people suffer during emergencies, but men and women are affected in different ways. Studies after the tsunami of 2004 in Asia Pacific revealed that in several coastal villages in Indonesia, females made up 80% of all fatalities (Food and agriculture organization, n.d.). Eileen Pittaway and other scholars (2015) discussed about gender dimension in post disaster period. Further, they included about the differences in gender dimension in tsunami disaster. Even they reported that largest number of people who died were women and girls in tsunami in 2004. According to, women are vulnerable rather than male counterparts. However, this research is also concerned about who are the most vulnerable during the earthquake situation. Even Nepal ministry of home affairs, has shown that death of male percentage was higher than female death. But it was not huge different between male and female death bodies. Out of total population is 1744240, female 603 and male 622 had been death (ministry of home affairs, 2015). Thus, even though many researchers have identified that it is female who are more
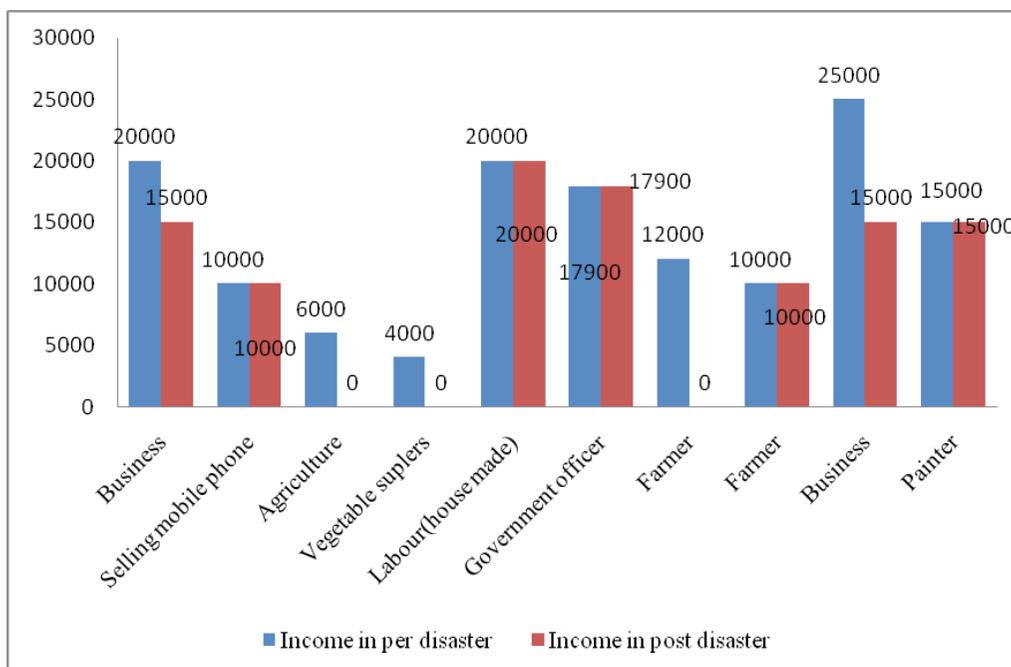
prone to die in disaster situation, according to the data of Kathmandu district, it is males who died more than women.

Economic Factors

The economic impacts of major natural disasters are profound for women and men alike, destroying land, household possessions, crops, livestock, and dreams. Jobs are lost when homes and workplaces are destroyed, vulnerable enterprises fail, markets collapse, and vital commercial and transportation networks unravel. As well as this research could find that data of economic factor in pre and post disaster situation. However occupation of both men and women was changed due to the earthquake situation.

Researcher could find the difference regarding the occupation in pre and post disaster situation.

Figure 2: Male economic factors in pre disaster situation

Source: Primary data in field research, 2015

According to these categories, all of male respondents could get sound income for their occupation in pre disaster situation. Anyhow after earthquake situation, 70% of men have joined with their same job, while 30% of them could not join with previous job. Even though some of male respondent's occupation had been changed, their income did not reduced largely. In addition to that, male respondents were spending their money for food mainly. Even in post disaster situation, it did not change, all respondents told that they have to earn money for food and health in this situation as husband. Further they did not mostly concern about other living factors such as children's education, saving.

Figure 3: Female economic factors in pre disaster situation
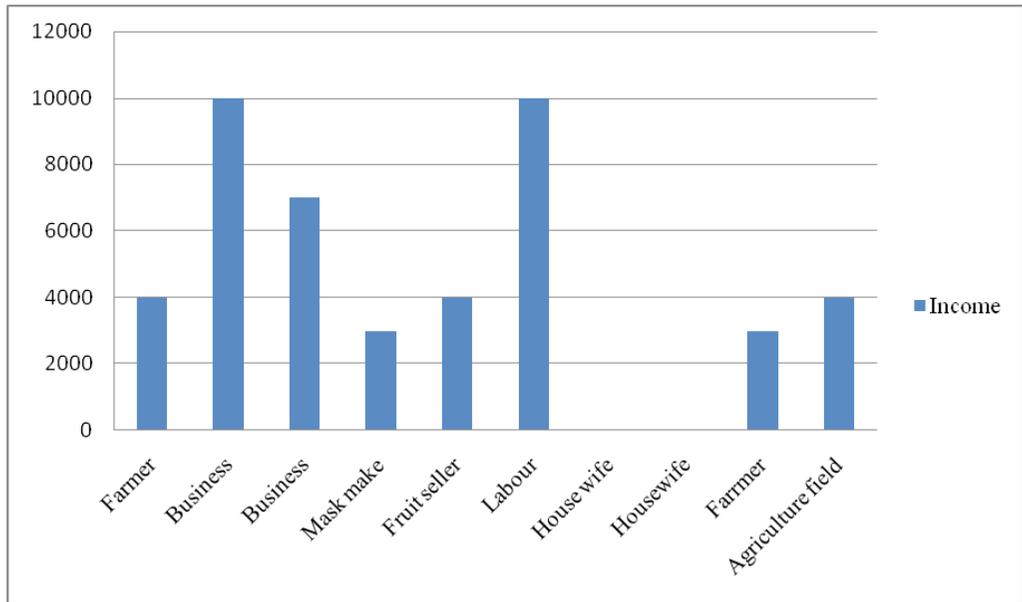
Source: *Primary data in field research, 2015*

According to above draft, women's involvement in the economy was less than male. Moreover, above draft ensured that women economy was not higher as male income. According to respondent's opinion, some time they worked same categories of occupation as male respondent, but women's wage was less than male income. This income has been utilized for food and education which was main expenditure in women's income. Because they mentioned that they have family responsibility as mother. Some women respondents did not work and they were occupied as housewife, but they could get money from their husband for their family maintenances.

Figure 4: Women's income changes in post disaster situation
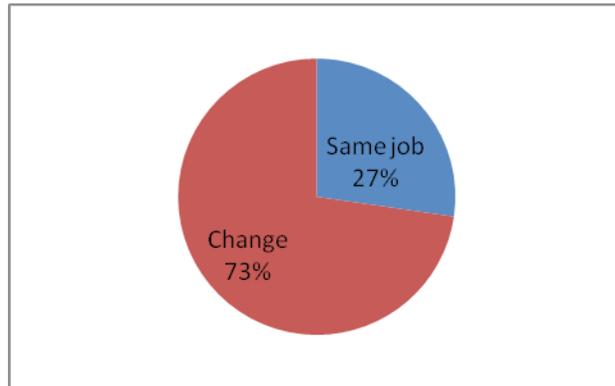
Source: Primary data in field research, 2015

Furthermore, it is evident that women's income has changed in post disaster situation. 73% of the economic activities have been changed as some of women were not physically and mentally well. Even many respondents mentioned that even after a month they have not been able to go to work. Further, the lost of the occupation/ work of women have affected their life directly and indirectly. Some women did not go to the farming as they were afraid of continuous occurrence of aftershocks and they also did not go to work leaving the children alone in the camp. Women are typically slower than men to return to their jobs. Even market systems shut down, family needs intensify, shocking environmental and women may not be able to work. Some women prior to earthquake were employed in the business industry, but now they do not have proper environment to continue it. However, in post earthquake situation, expenditure of women has not been changed overall, but according to respondents, some of women had faced new conditions of saving money for the rebuilding of life.

Under the case study, asked what the most difficulty the respondent face is during and after the earthquake and all the respondents had same concern regarding the economic difficulties regarding the family. Based on the case study, one of respondents of Sankhu is important to bring the evidence for this factor. Moreover disaster movement changed men and women, but mainly it affected women more. In the Sankhu village, one of women talked that she worked as farmer in pre disaster situation and her husband also worked as a laborer. Previous time they had a good life, because both of them were able to work and they could survive their life from their income. But now it has been changed, since her husband does not well and they don't have enough money for surviving. In post disaster situation, this family is staying in the temporary house and her husband is

suffering from sever sinus. She further told that in some days she could participate with rebuilding process as a laborer. But she told that it is difficult as she has to take care of her husband currently.

> *I do not know when we can leave this temporary house, as our house was totally destroyed and now we don't have enough money to rebuild our house. In addition, we never thought that we have to face this kind of disaster situation. Therefore, husband and I thought about only day to day life and children's education. But as a woman I am very helpless, because now I do not have a job, as well as I have to care of my husband as well.   (Tulimaya Thamang, Interview, June 23, 2015)*

Other men respondents found in Tundikhel camp in Kathmandu and he worked as businessman which he had a small clothing factory. After earthquake situation, his business is not going well and that is why he told that business market is not sustainable. Moreover, they cannot sell their production at their own cost. Therefore, his income has been decreased in post disaster situation.

> *Now we have face with a very difficult situation as displaced people. Even see, we don't have primary requirements. Yesterday night it was rained and we did not sleep also. That is our house and it is almost destroyed. Actually our job is not sustainable and how we rebuild our home. I have two children and they already completed their SLS exam. Before two three days ago my elder son went to job as a taxi driver. Now we don't have any option rather than it. But as leader of family I have to plan to develop my business. (Pushpalal Shestra, interview, June 21, 2015).*

According to above case studies, they ensured that men and women have difficult situation as victimized peoples, but women have faced hard life rather than men. Even many of male respondents mentioned that they have planned to go to find their new economic activity. On the other hand any of women has not found any new economic activity to overcome the difficult situation.

However, loss of job, decreasing of income, expanded workloads, and difficult working conditions at home and in the workplace make economic recovery slow from disasters and it has created an uncertain future for both women and men.

Parental Role

Gender is concept which deals with the roles and relationships between men and women, determined by social, political, and economic context and not by biology. Biology does not divide men and women based on the social roles. According to gender perspective, there are differences between role of mother and father. As a woman or mother she has many responsibilities regarding the family life. This study was based on gender role dimension and below concept ensures that women has specific social role regarding the family concept as mother.

Figure 5: Women's specific social role
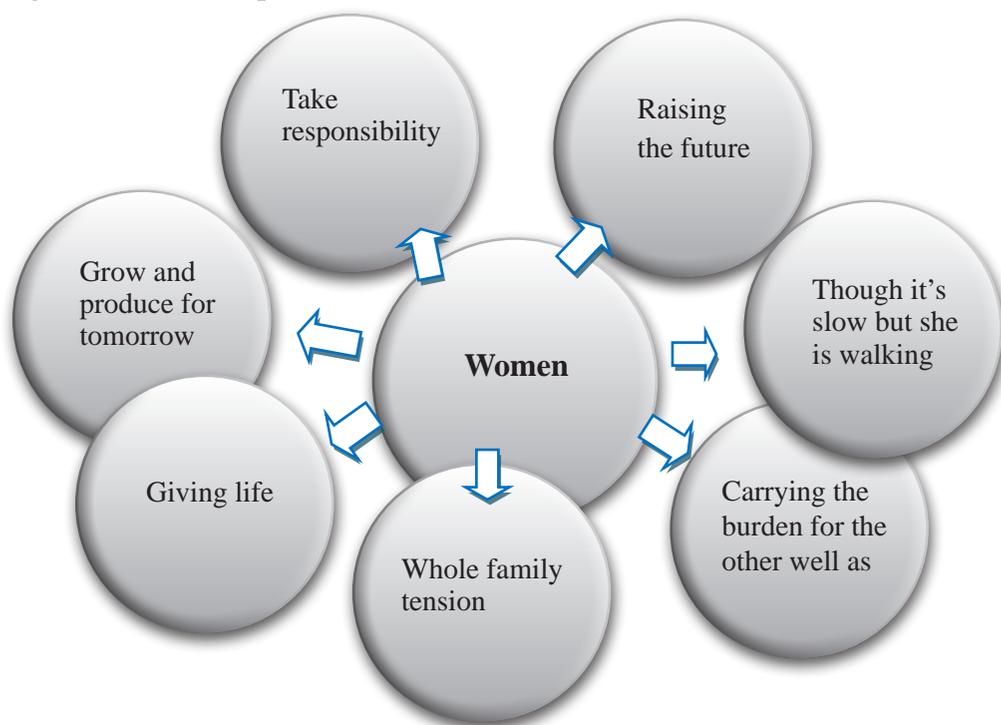
Under the parental role, mothers and fathers were spending difficult time in post disaster situation. As parents, they have responsibility from their children and as well as whole family. Orientation of research focused on finding about how gender social role changes in post disaster period as parents. According to this research, all of male and female respondents have children except one respondent. Further, they have to concern with family responsibility as parents. Moreover, researcher could find that education regarding how respondent's children affected. Moreover, 24% of their children are studying under graduate level, 36% of them are studying in level of plus two and SLS. Moreover, primary

education percentage of respondent's children is 20% and more 20% not studying, and they are babies and others had already finished their education. According to, as parents they have many responsibilities regarding the education, security, health and etc. Further in post disaster situation, the various difficulties are faced by their children. According to female respondents, they mentioned that they are facing difficult situation regarding their children and they were mainly concerned with the food and education. In addition, health and security problem also make their life suffered. On the other hand, male counterpart responded that as father they have responsibility regarding their children, because now they all are spending very uncomfortable life. Food, education and property lost are main difficulties that children faced due to the earthquake situation. However they did not share their responsibility and lack of information received from the male respondents.

In addition to that parents are specially concern about their children in post disaster situation. Furthermore mothers' responsibility is higher than father's as male respondents told that they have to provide money for making their wife and their children survived. As well as women responded that they have risk for their children because of many of children attach to their mother. Even in displaced camps women were worried about their children mostly rather than the risky situation of themselves. One women in Sankhu, age of 22 replied that she is more concerned about her child. She has only one child and his age of 11 month. Previous time of earthquake her husband died by committing suicide. She was spending very difficult situation with her mother and child. After earthquake situation, she faced terrible situation, as her house collapsed and mother is also not well. She did not go to work due to this situation.

> *I worked in agriculture field as laborer. Our house collapsed in earthquake situation and now we are in temporary house (she is showing her collapse home and temporary house). Before one week ago I could go to the reconstruction work as laborer, but these days I could not go to work, for the reason that my mother is not well. Therefore I have to protect my baby. Even after earthquake, he is always getting some diseases like cold, fever and etc. As a mother now I have responsibilities which are regarding rebuilding house, protect and growing the child up and day to day surviving. (Sunith pariyar, Interview, June 22, 2015)*

Moreover, women have responsibilities from their family. Even researcher could find that children mainly attach with their mothers. They always concern with rising of children life and protect their healthy life. Women told that they have the risk of how their children can be protected with sanitation issues as all of them were staying

together, in displaced camps. Further, some of women explained that they are always thinking about their children's education and one woman told that her children still do not go to school and they don't have book and other stationery. Thus, it is obvious that social role of mother is vital during and after a disaster situation and women are more vulnerable in dealing with children's matter.

As one male respondent in Sankhu revealed about his lived experience during the times of extreme crisis, he was businessman in before earthquake situation and now he does not have good business as before the earthquake situation. The main reason is that the reduction of customers after the disaster situation. Further his wife has currently joined with sewing activities to find some wages for their day to day expenditure. He has two children, one of them is following SLS and other child is studying in grade 07. Thus, he has responsibilities as father.

> *Now we are in very difficult situation. Still we do not have any plan on what we should do. Even my business is not good these days; because of customers do not come as before the earthquake situation. However my wife can earn money from her small job. Now we are surviving with her help. But some time I got some money and I give it to my wife and she can manage for our requirements. (Amrith Lal Dongol, Interview, June 23, 2015).*

Even though, many male respondents are still working, many businessmen had faced the issue of lack of customers. Therefore their income has reduced and they expect some help from their wife. Even many of male respondents mentioned that they go to work and they earn money for their families. Child care, education of children, day to day activities were done by their wife. They have to earn money for all family members. But one of respondents in Sankhu, he told that her wife was not well currently. Therefore his son and he should do every work of the family. Even in few families, some children had migrated to other countries in post disaster situation. One of women respondents in Sankhu, she told that after the earthquake situation her elder son and daughter migrated to India for searching job.

Moreover, the mother's role as a parent made risks in displaced camps as the extended family concept were no more found. Even though there were relatives before the earthquake with some families, they had separated to different displaced camps. Thus separation of family in evacuation and relocation was an emotional loss, but it was also the loss of a larger support system. These families had many needs as evacuees that could no longer be met by family. Even women respondents of two research areas were spending terrible life as parents. They have to do lot of work for their children.

Especially they told that they have psychological impact which they assume that the earthquake will not be stopped soon. In this moment, as parents they mentioned that if they can do whatever in strong mind, it is very important for their children. Moreover, women said that they are also scared due to non-stopping aftershocks.

As literature review, Bradeshows emphasis that Hurricane Mitch in Honduras, all the women noted the psychosocial or emotional impact as a major problem. There was widespread concern among women leaders about the population's mental health, and about the lack of resources for dealing with the situation. These social problems are not directly attributable to the hurricane, but worsened afterwards, and may be associated with the emotional and economic impact of the disaster (Bradeshows, 2004).

Researcher could find that as male respondents have responsibilities regarding their children, they had to adjust with work very quickly. Males were in need of finding income for the family while mothers were concerned with all aspects of children such as education, health, security and much more.

Recovery and Gender

According to this research, recovery and gender is one of the main discourses. All respondents had faced the property lost during the earthquake situation. All the respondents had experienced of property loss by any means and it was 100%. Thus, all of them are staying in temporary shelters in outside of the house. Under the disaster cycle, now all of them are residing in reconstruction process.

Figure 6: The disaster cycle
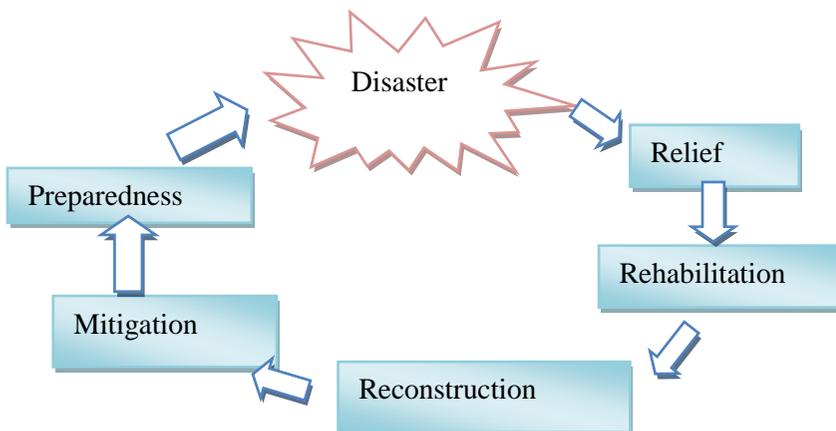
Source: Delaney & Shrader, 2000

Under the relief period, all of men and women had many responsibilities regarding life and other family members because of all of them are married and they have family life. Researcher concerned about who collected the relief materials from their family. Women are the majority who go to collect the relief materials. According to respondents, they mentioned wife who goes to collect the relief materials is 55% from the amount. Further, husband collects the relief materials and it is 15% of amount while other 30% got from both of husband and wife. According to, women is major part in pre disaster situation, because of them were doing major role with regard collecting of relief materials. The reason for this was that men were busy in this situation they go to outside of shelter for earn money and other requirement. Even respondents mentioned that as mother, socially they motivated for this type of actives. Moreover, two of women respondents were single mothers and one of them was separated legally and the other one was a widow and they had to surviving them self. However, women did major role in surviving though collecting relief in the post relief period. According to, under gender perspective, women had an active role rather than male counterpart regarding collecting of relief materials.

Under the disaster cycle, next steps are rehabilitation and reconstruction. According to earlier literature review Fothergil argued that "poor women have the most difficult time returning their lives to normal female business owners may have more trouble acquiring loans than female counterpart" (Fothergil, 1996). It was observed that, all of the respondents have faced similar problem during the reconstruction period. However, under this stage, characteristics of rebuilding infrastructures, restoring community services and long term assistance and attempting to return to normal life. According to this research women income was less than male income in pre and post disaster situation. Even in post disaster situation, women occupation has been change and majority of women have not any ideas about engage to new economic factors. Thus, these all of women respondent's husbands were labor, farmer, small businessman, house madders and etc. Moreover, some women were widows and single parents. Therefore, women respondents had very terrible life under reconstruction period. Therefore women become the vulnerable person in many aspects.

Decision Making Factors

The patriarchic society is based on male counterpart. Furthermore, in Asian countries specially are talking about patriarchy society that can mainly shapes the family concept. Even many of scholars have ensured that "In male headed households women typically have less decision making power with respect to how disaster aid is used" (Ranald et al, 2006). Further one of scholars Mumtaz in his article says that there are various

family matters on which men generally take decisions. Women are quite often not even consulted (Mumtaz, 1982). This research was based on the earthquake situation in Nepal. Nepal is one of the Asian countries but according to findings of research, researcher could find that decision making factors were different in pre disaster situation rather than previous literatures. According to, 24% of responded families take their decisions by their wife. More 24% of families take their decision by the husband. 38 % are taken by the both husband and wife. In addition to, 9% of respondents noted that the decision of the family is taken by the relative of the family. Many literature reviews mentioned that under the decision making concept of family, it is much more based on the males and majority of males take decisions in patriarchic societies. In these findings, the decision making of the family has not been changed in post disaster situation and it has remained as prior to the earthquake. As evidence says, in the post disaster period, 84% all of them told that decision making factors has not been changed after earthquake as well as 14% of them told that their decision making concept has been changed rather than previous disaster period. However, they have many reasons regarding the change of the decision making. There is one of female of 50 years old respondent in Tudikhel displaced camp, Kathmandu told that she did not go to outside of work because of she is house wife. Pre disaster situation, decision was got by her and her husband. She injured in during the earthquake situation and now she is not healthy.

> *Fortunately I am happy about still I'm alive. Because I thought that I was dead. In previous disaster time, me and my husband could manage family life and got decision together. But now my husband maintains the whole family as well as education of children due to my health conditions. According to, government order, we have to leave here very soon. Therefore these days he is searching for new place for settlements. (Thara Devi, Interview, June 21, 2015).*

According to many of respondent's idea, decision making factor mostly has not been changed in post disaster situation. But little percentage has been changed and there are reasons. For instance, all respondents are in the post disaster situation and still they are scared about another earthquake. Further all respondents property, especially house collapsed as well as their family concept is also not strong because of they all are staying in temporary or displace camp. Now they want to resettlement in somewhere and rebuilding their life also.

Under the finding, Researcher could find that 35% both of men and women are mentioned that they have planned settle somewhere else. Even 25% women of all respondents have been got idea about resettlement another areas as well as 10% men of all respondents have same idea about this factor. Otherwise 30% of all of them still they don't have any

idea about settlement process and it has been due to the lack of land, economic barriers, relationship and etc.

Under the social factors, caste system is one of major discourse. Researcher could find that in post disaster situation, displace people had not faced any kind of problem regarding the caste system. All of respondents told that they did not feel any kind of hesitation after earthquake, but law cast people say that they felt caste problem regarding caste system in pre disaster situation. Especially Tudikhel displaced camp was maintained by Nepal government. According to government order, respondents should use each tent for more than 20 people. (See picture number five). Therefore few families stayed same tent and they have come from different caste. But all respondents of Tudikhel told that they did not feel any problem regarding caste system. Respondents of Sankhu, they told that before disaster, they faced many problems regarding caste as the majority of respondents are in Newar caste. However they mentioned that now they don't feel any caste problem as before time.

Even though during the disaster it is not evident that the caste system has any relation to gender and social role changes it has been prevailed in the research site of Sankhur.

Conclusion

In post disaster situation gender role can be perceived in many sections. Under the gender perspective, men and women are socially divided due to their behavior pattern and they have separate duties in the society. Natural disaster can happen everywhere. Thus, gender social role can be changed in disaster situation. This research was based on the gender social role changes in post earthquake situation. Further researcher could find that many conclusions regarding this topic. It was be faced on economic factors, parental factors, recovery and gender, decision making and other social factors.

This research was based on Kathmandu district which one of damaged district during Nepal earthquake. Tudikhel displaced camp and Sankhu were taken as the areas of research. To conclude, this report identifies many general impacts on how gender social role has changed in post disaster situation. According to the research under the economic factor, men and women had job in pre earthquake situation. However women's economically income was less than male income, and sometimes both of them were doing a same job, but wage was different. In addition to that women economic factors have been changed after earthquake. Therefore women lost job and work, lose productive asserts, they became deprived, lost entitles. Further, male counterpart was connecting with their previous job, but income has been decreased after disaster

situation. According to women has responsibilities regarding family concept. Therefore, they could not join easily with their previous job.

Furthermore, economically women face terrible situation rather than male. This will have effect in the reconstruction process. Under the disaster cycle, women have less capacity regarding reconstruction. Under the economic factor, women are mainly vulnerable in natural disaster.

Parental responsibilities are based on both mother and farther. Even though both of them have duty, but many of responsibilities were taken by women and male are mainly concerned with earning money for family life.

In patriarchic society decision are taken by head of family and it is always a male. But according to this research many families have been based on idea of decision making by both husband and wife. Moreover, after earthquake situation, decision making factors have not be changed as previous literature noted decision making changed in disaster.

Further, under the gender concept, this research found that any of displaced persons never felt any of caste problem in post natural disaster situation, even though Nepal is as a cultural country and they are following caste system. Therefore low caste people are discriminated based on their caste. However in this earthquake, people were not affected by the matter of caste.

In conclusion, gender social role dimension has been changed in after earthquake. As previous literature motioned that some factors were changed in Nepal earthquake situation while some facts were not found from this research.

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Pictures based on the field visit (Thudikhel displaced camp and Sankhu)

Picture 01

Picture 02

Picture 03

Picture 04

Picture 05

Picture 06

Review of E. F. Schumacher: A Pioneer of Peace Economics

Vandana Kundalia Bararia

Ernst Friedrich Schumacher born in Germany in 1911 was a British economist and author. He was confined in Britain during World War II, after which he served for twenty years as economic adviser on Britain's National Coal Board and worked on theories for that country's welfare system. After the War, Schumacher worked as an economic advisor to the British Control Commission charged with rebuilding the German economy. From 1950 to 1970 he was Chief Economic Advisor to the British Coal Board, one of the world's largest organizations, with 800,000 employees. Schumacher's farsighted planning (he predicted the rise of OPEC and the problems of nuclear power) aided Britain in its economic recovery. In 1955 Schumacher traveled to Burma as an economic consultant. While there, he developed the principles of what he called "Buddhist economics," based on the belief that good work was essential for proper human development and that "production from local resources for local needs is the most rational way of economic life." Schumacher also gained insights that led him to become a pioneer of what is now called "appropriate technology": earth- and user-friendly technology matched to the scale of community life. He contributed many articles to the London Times, London Observer, and Economist, and has lectured at Columbia University. One of his books, Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered, became a best-seller. In it, Schumacher encourages human fulfillment as the best economic booster and suggests means of obtaining that goal.

As a young man, Schumacher was a dedicated atheist, but his later rejection of materialist, capitalist, agnostic modernity was paralleled by a growing fascination with religion.His interest in Buddhism has been noted. However, from the late 1950s on, Catholicism heavily influenced his thought. He noted the similarities between his own economic views and the teaching of papal encyclicals on socio-economic issues, from Leo XIII's "Rerum Novarum" to Pope John XXIII's "Mater et Magistra", as well as with the distributism supported by the Catholic thinkers G. K. Chesterton, Hillarie Belloc and Vincent McNabb. Philosophically, he absorbed much of Thomism, which provided an objective system in contrast to what he saw as the self-centered subjectivism and relativism of modern philosophy and society. He also was greatly interested in the tradition of Christian mysticism, reading deeply such writers as St. Teresa of Avila and

Thomas Merton. These were all interests that he shared with his friend, the Catholic writer Christopher Derrick. In 1971, he converted to Catholicism. Schumacher gave interviews and published articles for a wide readership in his later years. He died during a lecture tour of a heart attack on 4 September 1977. In Switzerland. The Schumacher Circle organizations were founded in his memory. They include the Schumacher College in Totnes, Devon, the E. F. Schumacher Society founded in New England, the Soil Association and the New Economics Foundation. Schumacher's` personal collection of books and archives are currently held by the E. F. Schumacher Society in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. The Schumacher Society continues the work of E. F. Schumacher by maintaining a research library, organizing lectures and seminars, publishing papers, developing model economic programs, and providing technical assistance to groups all for the purpose of linking people, land, and community to build strong, diverse local economies.

In the early 1950s Schumacher became interested in Asian philosophies. He was influenced by Mohandas Gandhi and G.I. Gurdjieff, and also by his friend, the Buddhist writer Edward Conze. In 1955 Schumacher went to Burma to work as an economic consultant. While he was there, he spent weekends in a Buddhist monastery learning to meditate. The meditation, he said, gave him more mental clarity than he had ever had before. Schumacher draws on the Gandhian outlook on development as a source of inspiration and motivation in articulating his famous "Small is beautiful: economics as if people mattered" book. In a nutshell, the Gandhian legacy may be summarized as follows:

1. Gandhi's technique of *satyagraha* aims to change the capitalist relationship between profit, society and the natural environment.

2. Reform involves emancipating society by freeing the individual and the capitalist structure (or *swaraj*): the relationship between individual and an exploitative structure mirrors the Hegelian master-slave dilemma. The central role of a free individual in the sustainability ethos is a reason why Gandhi did not subscribe to the communist method of centralized control. His choice small-scale technological development is not an end in itself, but it reflects a choice that was appropriate for a struggling agrarian economy because it enables citizens to step off the economic treadmill of exploitative capitalist relations. Gandhi changes the capitalist relationship by securing individual *swaraj* before engaging in politics of *satyagrahic* reform of societal structures.

3. Gandhi combines *satyagraha* and *swaraj* into a politico-moral vehicle that counters conventional economics' dichotomisation of means from ends. The

conflation of means and ends reflects the fundamental presumption of the *Advaitic (Vedic)* philosophy that Gandhi subscribes to, namely, all aspects of planetary life are interconnected.

However, *satyagraha* has often been misrepresented as non-violence: instead it is a strategy that embodies the ontological assumptions of interconnectedness of the *Advaitic (Vedic)* philosophy. By extension Schumacher's intermediate technology is not the end in itself. In the 21st century, we need advanced technology of a different sort: instead of operationalising capital market growth rates, science needs to resonate more closely with the sustainability challenges by demonstrating how society may work within ecology's and society's spatio-temporal frames. The need to synchronize with ecological time cycles reinforces Schumacher's avocation of small impacts on the environment. Thus this chapter re-locates Schumacher's thesis in the *Advaitic (Vedic)* appreciation of Gandhi's legacy of *satyagraha* and *swaraj*, and in so doing, it will reinforce, extend or rebut aspects of the Small is Beautiful thesis.

While in Burma he wrote a paper called "Economics in a Buddhist Country" in which he argued that economics does not stand on its own feet, but instead "is derived from a view of the meaning and purpose of life -- whether the economist himself knows this or not." Very briefly, Schumacher wrote that western economics measures "standard of living" by "consumption" and assumes a person who consumes more is better off than one who consumes less. He also discusses the fact that employers consider their workers to be "cost" to be reduced as much as possible, and that modern manufacturing uses production processes that require little skill. And he pointed to discussions among economic theories about whether full employment "pays," or whether some amount of unemployment might be better "for the economy." From a Buddhist point of view he wrote, "this is standing the truth on its head by considering goods as more important than people and consumption as more important than creative activity. It means shifting the emphasis from the worker to the product of work, that is, from the human to the subhuman, surrender to the forces of evil." In short, Schumacher argued that an economy should exist to serve the needs of people. But in a "materialist" economy, people exist to serve the economy and spiritual value also , and these should be respected.

His two basic development theories were Intermediate Size, and Intermediate Technology. To impose Intermediate Size on a national economy Schumacher suggested superimposing on large-area states a cantonal structure of modest size so that vast industrial concentration (with all this entails in imbalance, ineptitude, and diseconomies of scale) becomes not only unnecessary but also impractical and inefficient. Intermediate Technology would be a byproduct of the cantonal structure. Once a development district

is 'appropriately' reduced, it becomes possible to fulfill a society's material requirements by means of less expensive and simpler equipment than the costly, computerized, labor-saving machinery necessary for satisfying the massive appetite for the remedial transport and integration commodities without which a very large modern market community cannot exist. Though this means a reduction in productivity, it does not mean a reduction in even the highest humanely attainable standard of living. Putting it differently, the reduced efficiency of intermediate technology provides the same amount of goods, but at a higher cost in labor. However, since higher labor cost and longer working hours means simply that the desired level of production can be achieved only by full rather than partial employment of the available labor force, they represent socially no additional cost at all. They are, in fact, a benefit. It is unemployment, defined by Schumacher as the degrading saving of manpower through the inappropriate use of advanced machinery, which is the prohibitive cost which no society can afford to pay in the long run. Furthermore, the unemployment caused by excessive technological progress should also be taken into consideration.

As Gandhi said, the poor of the world cannot be helped by mass production, only by production by the masses. The system of mass production, based on sophisticated, highly capital-intensive, high energy-input dependent, and human labour-saving technology, presupposes that you are already rich, for a great deal of capital investment is needed to establish one single workplace. The system of production by the masses mobilizes the priceless resources, which are possessed by all human beings, their clever brains and skilful hands, and supports them with first-class tools. The technology of mass production is inherently violent, ecologically damaging, self-defeating in terms of non-renewable resources, and stultifying for the human person. The technology of production by the masses, making use of the best of modern knowledge and experience, is conducive to decentralization, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources, and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines. I have named it intermediate technology to signify that it is vastly superior to the primitive technology of bygone ages but at the same time much simpler, cheaper, and freer than the super technology of the rich. One can also call it self-help technology, or democratic or people's technology -- a technology to which everybody can gain admittance and which is not reserved to those already rich and power.

Today, when there has been deep erosion of moral values in our public life and when ethical principles have virtually disappeared from politics, Schumacher values appear as a whiff of fresh air. However, the yearning for raising the level of our public life remains and as long as that is there, Schumacher ideas can never become irrelevant. A growth model for economic development is shown on the basis of Schumacher economic

thoughts. This model is applicable to developing economies and India. His ideas are helpful for backward and developing economies in the world. His ideas are also useful for solving problems in capitalist economies. This proves him as a unique and practical economist of the world as a peace economist.

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Book Review

Dev Raj Dahal

A critical appraisal about political science now is needed to update its tasks and save it from the crisis of irrelevance. New audience requires a new thinking to bridge the prevailing tension between empirically-oriented mainstream political scientists who stress on party, parliament, government, political system, state, comparative governments and international politics and normatively-oriented ones who focus on the life-enhancing values and institutions of citizens. Recovery from irrelevance requires political science to serve as social defense against powerlessness, denial, terrorism, ethnic resurgence, fundamentalism and foster livelihood, policy production to solve structural and institutional problems and prepare citizens for various possible futures.

Political science as one of the oldest source of learning has to be active in several arenas—develop vision for the creation of good society, extend the frontiers of inquiry to resolve puzzles and problems through contextual policy discourse, enable citizens to adapt to technological evolution of society, foster civic culture and incorporate history, structure and agency embedded in the dynamics of relations between individuals, networks, associations, parties and social movements (p 16). Prof. Eisfeld argues that the present global economic crisis has mainly arisen out of pro-market state intervention, cut of state's expenditure and supervision, suggests the need to reverse this course for the resolution of crisis of worthlessness and supports the intervention of political science in favor of democracy, not business interest. To him, corporate globalization "radically eats into the capacity of legislature."

In such a context, representative structures of the state and society will suffer and erode the loyalty of citizens. Prof. Eisfeld illustrates weak status of political science in Central-East European context despite the diversity of the region, poor institutional cooperation, research network, teaching and funding opportunities as he finds that there is total absence of critical theory. Learning to live in the midst of enormous ethnic and cultural diversity is a precondition for the stabilization of democracy. To him, in post-modern condition of turmoil ethnicity provides a safety and source of belonging but democracy

also requires civil society and civic cultures, not identity-based fundamentalism, and continuously negotiated compromise for equality of condition and social justice. The key role of political science is to explore the pluralist interaction between economy, civil society and government (P.29), find the framework of the unity between society and polity through the societal participation in the shaping of public policies, and find their solution of the problems of all citizens. He supports participatory democracy and favors active and enlightened citizens with resources to influence the government, not just elite accommodation with or without elections. What is required is pluralist democratization, social change in egalitarian direction and a culture of compromise (P. 41) whereby the state can improve the individual condition of existence and discover the inner requirement of pluralism in the socialist and capitalist polities, parties and societies.

Political science as an autonomous discipline was institutionalized in many post-communist countries of Europe as a means to internalize democratic ideals. The hybridization of regime, however, blurred the distinction between scholars and ideologues. In this phase, the entry of the World Bank, UNDP, OECD, Open Society Institute and NGOs as transmission belt marked the beginning of knowledge transfer based on standard Western practices. They sought to convert old elites into new ideas and practices (P.85) of open society and fostered democracy, human rights, good governance, social, economic and legal reform, etc.

Prof. Eisfeld refers the impact and evolution of political science discipline in various countries—Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine—offers their journals names and concludes that political science on the whole remains "amateurish and largely a-theoretical" (P. 93). The denouement is: semi-democratic rulers trampled the constitutional rule of democracy and the mechanical application of democracy without proper conceptualization about the local realties produced defectively democratic and competitively autocratic regimes, which bode ill for the existence of independence of political science (P. 104).

Prof. Eisfeld believes that in Germany, the authoritarian temptation often generated upheaval putting German political science at the crossroads during world wars. But, it also produced civic course for democratic training of leaders and citizens for their loyalty to nation, state, leadership, Pan-Germanism and Mittelleuropa above party politics along the German virtues of order, duty and community. To him, these virtues are different from democratic leveling, atomistic capitalistic society and the French ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. Latter, German political science adopted pluralist

approach to the "reasons of society"– equality, social justice, political participation, peaceful conflict resolution and the creation of a just world order to guard "public interest" endorsing the neutrality of state across interest groups in an anti-Hegelian spirit. The concept of nationalism too shifted to enlightened dimension of constitutionalism and democracy assumed substantive social contents. Prof. Eisfeld also spotlights the evolution of American political science along realpolitik line of refusing to learn the moral landscape. He projects human mind to another world to bridge the gulf between mutual "incomprehension between the humanities and science" (p. 186) and detests the triumph of technology over nature. The recipe is: reeducation of mankind in the Kantian spirit of "peace, liberty and human dignity" to avoid a situation of post-nuclear wasteland.

His two concluding essays relate political science to policy transfer referring the case study of Portugal's transition to democracy and argue that foreign pressure upsets domestic politics' natural evolution towards stability, which requires endogenous and autonomous process of socioeconomic modernization, inner-party democracy and avoidance of the politics of negation to support the affirmation of national project by all citizens. Participation of non-members confiscates the capacity of society to regenerate and become autonomous expression of national life. "Ideological export models would not be tolerated in Portugal," said Willy Brandt. This message was widely acknowledged. The radical temptation of Prof. Ranier Eisfeld is to link political science to the sovereignty of citizens and improve human condition. Future political scientists will admire his priorities on nature, pluralism, participation, justice, peace and transformation as they will be important factors for human progress and help recover political science from its loss of vision. The interdisciplinary insight makes the book rich in contents.