

**INDIGENOUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM: STUDY
OF LOHORUNG RAI COMMUNITY**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled “**Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanism: Study of Lohorung Rai Community**” was prepared by **Mr. Mibit Dahal** under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Tribhuvan University, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in CONFLICT, PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and it contains no material previously published. I have not used its material for the award of any kind of any other degree. Where the other authors' source and information have been used, they have been acknowledged.



.....
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Date: February, 2021

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ABSTRACT

In Nepal, there has been attempt to uncover huge number of indigenous communities through academic gates, yet the numbers are not sufficient. There are more hidden mysteries than anyone can think of, given the geographical area of Nepal. The diversity in cultures and ritual application has made each group different with one another. Under the given premise, this study focused on conflict resolution practices by Lohorung Rai community. The main focus of research was to understand the procedure of conflict resolution within Lohorung Rai of Nepal. With only two literatures on Lohorung and silent about conflict resolution as of today made the task even more difficult. This confirmed that non of the primitive mechanisms exists today.

The task was set with following some of the key literatures within the area of conflict resolution, culture and other social context. As perceived, it was hard to differentiate the path of inquiry. The inquiry into the research question following qualitative method adopting phenemenological approach proved supportive yet challanging. The data were collected through observation and interview and collecting stories, myths, songs, jokes, narratives and all other forms of orally transmitting ideas. Deep inquiry were done with the older generation people to evaluate the collected materials. The oral informations proved to be stock of valuable informations explaining how things were done in the past.

With the informations obtained, it was clear that Lohorung people had understood conflict and conflict resolution in much better ways than one can imagine. In their own way of understanding, Lohorung community divided conflict into three structures: Intrapersonal, Interpersonal and Intergroup. The division of conflict as

such was based on the parties attached to the conflict. In the same way they had already defined different mechanisms to address the problems. Use of techniques like “Sheer Uthaune” is still taken as a means to address intra-personal conflict as of today. For interpersonal and intergroup conflict, approach similar to mediations were used. But, in primitive sense, those issue addressing sessions meant more than just resolving conflict. The act of resolving conflict amongst Lohorung resembles near to that of modernday mediation practice. However, it differs in many scenario as option to resolution and reaching the consensus were less, they had to adopt either complete settlement through compensation or through friendship (*meet laune*) or through pardoning the person or party or even through punishments. The process of resolution done by Lohorung community cannot be easily explained by modernday theoretical approach, specially in intrapersonal conflict. It’s role is not to narrate wrong doings but also restoring communal bond and faith within each other. It implies rituals and other platforms to aware people about the consequences and difficulties associated with it. Also, social activities were added advantage to ensure proper community participation for other actions as well.

The use of rituals as platform to perform and culture to carry it to next generation was solid approach to transmit the knowledge. Yet, with difficulty in knowledge transfer due to modernization and migration, Lohorung have managed to reel off their knowledge through greater participation. The value that Lohorung Rai people within the cultural activities have is much more than what the outcome shows. The way they solve their problem by themselves and value their system is complex yet can be a source for modern techniques of conflict resolution.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Since time immemorial, conflicts and conflict resolution techniques have “grown almost parallel”. Sometimes, the conflict overtakes conflict resolution which can be assumed from “mass migration or even from sweeping out the population at large”. And sometimes, conflict resolution succeeds conflict which in many ways leads to “evolution or attainment of better lifestyle”. Humans with the advent of improving their lifestyles have developed different conflict resolution techniques to cater to their difficulties. These developments in a way are carried through the generational links and are even practiced today. Some of them are practically aligned with the new laws and have given them a solid foundation as legal practices. Some of them are practically diverted from the new laws and have been erased from people’s minds. And some of them are not legally binding but have replaced themselves in alternate forms like ritual and cultural practices. Even the erased practiced conflict resolution techniques are alive within people and the community in their stories, tales, songs, jokes, and other forms of oral narrations. There are few instances when these narrations do have documentary evidence to prove and many a time it lacks such. Some of the age old traditions without documentary evidences are “culturally practiced” through different social institutions all around the world.

Indigenous communities in Nepal have different practices and institutions like *Rodhi* (*Rodi*)- a club like institutions of Gurung community (Bhattachan, 2007: 11), *Khyal or Khyala*- “voluntary social organization” of Tharus (Bhattachan, 2007: 12, Dhakal & Chemjong, 2007: 23), *Naralo System*- A cultural practice by which

community of Sinja Valley selects a person to safeguard the crops (Tiwari, 2007: 144), Guthi- a social practice among Newars (Sundar, 2007: 88) and many others. These practices and institutions are for the welfare of the community and its members by continuing age old traditions. Practices within different communities differ according to their place, usefulness, and purpose. They may have different names, but common objectives of all are the same and that is to serve the community. It is not always seeking serious service but sometimes it also seeks entertainment: Ro-Dhin is primarily a club to meet, greet, and dance, sing, storytelling (Bhattachan, 2007: 11). This shows that indigenous communities devise their needs accordingly.

There are many other mechanisms which are paramount for the community to run their everyday life and bring out of their problems. Like *Narulo* system practiced in Sinja valley tries to get rid of crop problems by appointing a crop protector (Tiwari, 2007: 144), *Sheer Uthaune* by Lohorung¹ communities to address “fall in prestige” (Rai, 2017:182, Hardman, 2000: 256), *Dhappa Sabha* for conflict resolution with the help of *Mithee Baa* (Kapar, 2015: 17, Rai, 2015: 21) and many others across the indigenous communities. Practices like these shows that even though the way of understanding social and cultural interaction is different, the core concern of problem solving is almost same.

The way an indigenous community views conflict and conflict resolution differ according to their nature. The difference in ways of resolving conflict always lies with the uniqueness of conflict. A single element like conflict resolution cannot be understood without knowing the essence of conflict. And conflict cannot be

¹ Population Census 2011 mentions the spelling as “Loharung” (CBS, 2011: 147), however Society for Lohorung Samaj mentions the actual spelling as Lohorung which is used in this dissertation. Lohorung spelling has also been used by C.E. Hardman in her book *Other World*, 2000 and L.N. Thule in his book *Kirat Lohorung Rai Chinari*, 2017.

understood in isolation as well. As Broke-Utne (2001: 6) points – “Conflict must be understood in their social context, involving “values and beliefs, fear and suspicions, interests and needs, attitudes and actions, relationships and networks..”. Of many ingredients within a social structure, human or individual stands as a centralized structure. This centralized structure holds all the different “qualities and properties” as a “biological” connector. Humans or individual through communal processes reflects these actions and interaction allowing other individuals to understand, internalize, and learn.

The human interaction in indigenous communities is always through the social and cultural window. An individual can act differently but stays within the social and cultural norms. In conflict resolution, most of the indigenous communities use more than just measurable variables. Al-Krenawi and Graham, while talking about conflict resolution within Bisha community, point the use of “social logic” (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999: 169), which they refer to “as available in the society”. The argument of social logic may be similar to that of social value, but with less clarity in the term, it can only be estimated as near but not accurate.

The Nepali context may not be different from perspectives around the world, but some of the insights from other parts of the world and from Nepal hint similarities in some way. The only difference between indigenous communities around the world is the difference in cultural and social issues. The definition may be different according to place and the concern on conflict resolution. This dissertation tries to understand the core concern of conflict resolution practice as done by the Lohorung community. However, it is not the intention to understand the cultural complexities but to look into the context as it is present within the community.

1.1.1 Conflict Resolution and Local Settings

Conflict Resolution seeks to understand the deep-rooted cause of any conflict and then try to find out the solutions to the conflict problem. In generic sense, conflict resolution tries to seek solution only after looking at the inner core of the problem. Wallenstein (2002) and Avruch (1998) have pointed “conflict resolution aiming at constructive transformation of conflict between parties and the surroundings”. Their version is close to what is perceived as understanding the root cause of the conflict and then acting accordingly. One of the major stresses of Wallenstein (2002) regarding Conflict resolution is understanding both conflict and its resolution approaches in local settings. So, the influence on conflict resolution after Wallenstein seems to have profound impact on including local ingredients while defining it. Brigg (2008: 5) argues that “conflict resolution also has the advantage of taking in longstanding efforts to address a wide range of conflicts”. Further explaining to the author points, they clarify that conflict resolution practitioners and academician have tried to understand and intervening conflict and conflict resolution in broader sense (Brigg, 2008: 5).

The understanding of conflict resolution within this research is to understand the context of problems defined by the local people. Not in universal terms, Lohorung community, like so many indigenous communities of Nepal, defines the problems in their own way and tries to conceptualize the solution. The solution may vary from small to large in terms of its usefulness or longevity. The usefulness for indigenous community is extent the knowledge can be used in different field or even context. Like institutional arrangement of any resolution may be useful in diverse field than mere verbal consent. The longevity of any resolution act always depends on the information loading capacity of any community. Al-Kreniwal and Graham (1999:

167) believes that community have their own way of defining situations and they do it to pass on the information so that later generations can use it. The information passing thematically relies on people's need and its repetition. If the action is not much repetitive, then the information may be obsolete. In earlier days, since writing mode of recording was not much an option, most of the information were recorded in oral narrations.

These narrations would then not only inform about the practice but also the context and the environmental situation as well. In order to understand the conflict resolution, one need to understand the local settings as well. Local settings within indigenous community consists of overall environmental and social factors. Lederach (1995) points the "culturally located conflict and its sensitivity in addressing it". Lederach's idea of culturally located conflict consists of local settings or within the community. The local settings for many consist the role of individuals as well (Lederach, 1995; McGinty, 2008; Levi & Benjamin, 1977). The role of individual is not limited to performance but also to manage the essential resource to resonate coordination between human and surrounding. In a larger term it is close to how individuals react to the surrounding and how surrounding and individual coexists in perfect harmony. So, conflict resolution also tries to balance the harmony of the social surroundings.

So, conflict resolution in local settings can be problem solving strategy taking into consideration the problems lying in the deep-rooted actions through local resources and knowledge to strengthen the harmony of the society. It may be singular action or can be series of actions that may lead to ultimate resolution to any problem within the community.

1.1.2 Lohorung Rai

Lohrung Rai is one of the groups of larger Rai Indigenous community. They are native of Pangma Village of Sankhuwasabha District of eastern hill, divided into four *Gaire Pangma, Loke Pangma, Yankhrung and Danda Pangma* villages. Though they belong to Sankhuwasabha District and due to internal migration, they have spread along Terai and Hills of Nepal. The most nearby migration is at Dharan, Morang and Jhapa districts. *Pangma* village is believed to be the place of origin of Lohrung Rai (Thule, 2017). Though their population is small, they have tried to keep their cultural values and traits alive by effectively passing it to their new generations.

Among many sub divisions of *Kirat* Rai, Lohrung do have special features like different language, different ritual style and different costumes. However, these features differ marginally among the other groups. The total population of Lohrung Rai is 1153 (CBS, 2011: 147).

1.2 Statement of Problem

Research gap through literature has given few concerns on conflict and conflict resolution practice of the Lohorung community. The concerns of conflicts and conflict resolution within the Lohorung community have not been surfaced adequately by the writers who have explored the Lohorung community. Conflict and conflict resolution as the process in indigenous communities have an important place in maintaining social balance and bonding between people.

In some of the communities, observed through different literature, these practices are still in existence within the community. For instance, Tharu people still have such practice within their community. Though, the extent it goes today can be a new research theme that needs to be explored. But, the literature of Lohorung community

from Hardman (2000) and Rai (2017) have not talked about any of such practices at present. The only practice they both have mentioned is “*Sheer Uthaune*” (Raising the Prestige), which, for them, is part of the healing process and not conflict resolution process. Through their literature it is clear that the conflict resolution practices are not practiced today and their understanding of conflict has evolved along with general understanding rather than specific understanding through their own culture.

The researcher’s suspicion of specific understanding may be wrong, which may require empirical evidence, but it is clear that indigenous communities do have their understanding of the conflict. Like many other indigenous communities, the Lohorung community does have their way of understanding and describing things as they have lived in high hills for centuries. They might have uniquely practiced conflict resolution processes in their way. “*Sheer Uthaune*” process as practiced today gives a brief overview of their practices. It shows how well they have handled an individual’s mental concern. In the same realm, it can be considered that the conflict resolution practiced must have been developed in their way and practice accordingly. As a community full of cultural values and concerns, most of the required essentials were set up to fit within their cultural need. But, there has been a decline in some of the practices in many communities including Lohorung. This decline may be due to so many other reasons including migration for work.

The concern of conflict and conflict resolution practice within the Lohorung community has given one more by-product which is related to new members of the Lohorung community. Due to migration and other movements within Nepal or abroad, the newer generation is far away from their native land hindering their transferability of cultural knowledge. Though the testing of such can be a new scope for other research, it will be interesting to understand what sort of changes they see.

This can be done by observing the change in knowledge sharing amid global modernization. So, of the two problems: conflict and conflict resolution is more focused on how things were done in the past whereas knowledge sharing is more focused on present-day context.

Undoubtedly, indigenous approaches to resolving and managing disputes play a vital role in promoting peace and maintaining social order in the community. Social and cultural values provide the basis for interaction within the community. It also provides norms by which individuals and communities perform. Through this they promote sharing and equitable distribution of resources, thus promoting a climate for peace. But, the argument of the process of conflict resolution within the Lohorung community in earlier days, its relevance remains as the bottleneck of the research.

1.3 Research Questions

Establishing durable and sustainable peace at any level, be it local, regional, national, or international, is unlikely to take shape until coping capacities can be built. This may be both preconditions for locally accepted solutions and the basis for reshaping the roots of conflicts. Though in Nepal and South Asian context, the indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution may be more localized or socially accepted, the nature of conflicts emerging is extending their tentacles in more than one dimension impacting different “walks of life”. The fear that accompanies this extension is breaking the social fabric between the communities. And the advantage of this is that the community comes under one roof to settle the problem. If the nature of the conflict is not static, then the problem of the community level becomes difficult to resolve as it brings some new character from the other group or even from a different state.

With the emergence of new kinds of threats along with threats like cybercrime, natural calamities, and refugees and fear of reemergence of conflict both at the local and international levels do have high chances of mixing up and becoming a new breed of conflict. This breed becomes hard to understand and cope with. Therefore, a mere understanding of the process of conflict resolution is not sufficient. It requires a strong background check both from the academic level and local level at the theory-practice interface level. It brings us to a very important debate about building peace that sustains ranging from local to international level. As done in history, conflict resolution brings some kind of local level of solutions that may form a part of a greater packet of solutions.

So, the research questions sought to get some kind of answers to see how the mechanisms are existing in reality or myths, stories, rituals, ceremonies, and different everyday activities of the community.

1. What were the different practices of indigenous approaches to conflict resolution in earlier days by Lohorung (Rai)?
2. How is local knowledge handed along with the generations and impact brought by modernization?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to understand the process and mechanisms of conflict resolution adopted by the Lohorung Community. And the specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To explore indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms practiced by Lohorung (Rai) community in earlier days.
2. To examine the process of intergenerational transfer of knowledge and impact on it due to modernization.

1.5 Rational of the Study

Many studies had been conducted in the past with something similar in nature and idea, but in Nepali context conflict resolution has not been directly touched upon. It can be said that this research was conducted to document one more indigenous group Lohorung and understand their way of life and relate their traditional practices which in many ways are relevant even today.

One of the significances of the study is that it extends the horizon of the research in Nepal. Purely conflict resolution and its dimension were new for many academicians until 2007 when the Department of Conflict, Peace and Development Studies started its academic journey.

In a way one of the significances is to complete the academic requirement of the study. There are various studies done on other major other groups, but there had only been two studies by a British anthropologist purely focusing on people and their lifestyle and another study by a local exploring the cultural heritage of Lohorung. Therefore, the research through this dissertation focuses on the conflict resolution

tools and approaches adopted by the Lohorung community. The other significance is adding one more dimension of looking at the cultural heritage of the Lohorung community. The study fits between the two studies already done. Thus this study extends the horizon of understanding of the community through narratives, stories, songs, and myths.

1.6 Delimitations of the Study

The idea of exploring within the Lohorung community is due to their clan (*Gotra*) (Please see Annex 2- Audio STE 005- Shiva Lohorung Rai). Going through the literature, the researcher found that most of the indigenous groups under the broader title of “Rai” have their clan different than Lohorung. Though they do not use specific word as clan, the nearest meaning comes to be clan. Lohorung people are known from *Lhasa Gotra* whereas others are from *Kaasa Gotra*. Though it cannot be denied that there may be some other groups under “Rai” who are from *Lhasa Gotra* but many of them do have a very small population and their place of the dwelling had been affected by migration. So, some of the smaller communities have merged them within the larger group.

The study was done in two places: *Pangma* of Sankhuwasabha and Tarhara of Sunsari district. Among the four *Pangmas* *Gaire Pangma* is the original inhabitant place of the Lohorung community. And people from Dharan and nearby districts perform their ritual “*Eksamang*” in *Charkose Jhadi* (Forest) of Tarahara. The study was conducted only with the Lohorung community, but some of the respondents were from the other communities. In particular few of the narrations from Khaling and other communities had been taken into for analysis as some of their concepts traditions were important in understanding the overall sphere of the context of

Lohorung. The total people who were interviewed were almost 50 purposively but the account of only 23 has been narrated as the remaining 27 had informal and socializing talks. Those respondents who gave either the narrations or gave some key information about the context were counted.

The researcher had used a phenomenological approach both in theoretical argument and the data collection approach. However, the researcher had aligned more towards the hermeneutical frame rather than rigidly standing on the phenomenological interpretation. This had a significant impact on the analysis part as well where the researcher has tried to input some of the analysis in own terms but majorly based on the respondents. Also, the analysis had been done solely on the narrative basis where the researcher had tried to unhook the meaning and understanding as per the respondent's understanding.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

Within the context of the potential emergence of a global culture, it is important to provide a conceptual framework for exploring the regional potential of the South Asian to contribute to the development of conflict resolution mechanism that offers sustainability and durability to peace to create a better world. The conceptual framework is influenced by Lederach's 1995 work on working on peace building across cultures and 2000 on peacebuilding approach from grounded approach. However, this framework only focuses on the connection and need of local models in understanding different approaches adopted by Lohorung community.

The need for any emerging conflict resolution approach is to be exemplified by values and concepts such as tolerance, harmony, peace, interdependence, the acceptance of respect for diversity and cultural identity, and the centrality of a spirit imbued with a

sense of oneness, interconnectedness fear and wonder. The local mechanisms are blend of local trust (between people) along with the respect to nature and its vital essentials. The local mechanisms are grown and practiced to be matured and perfected over time period. The concern of cultural back up in this framework is important as it highlights the credentials of such process. The process is intertwined between people and performance hence giving an opportunity to younger generations to understand and grasp different knowledge schools.

Such a position would accept a balanced synthesis of “local” and “derived” values and “traditional” and “modern” perspectives. The need for balance between “egocentric” and “eco-centric” considerations in learning to live together and in working for a better world. This implies the espousing of individual integrity and ethical relationships, and the acceptance of a need to preserve and maintain healthy and growing peaceful system and an attitude favouring living in harmony within the community. Also necessary is a preparedness to work towards repairing the damage already done to social harmony, in order to create a preferable model as a legacy for next generations. One such possible framework is provided in the following diagram.

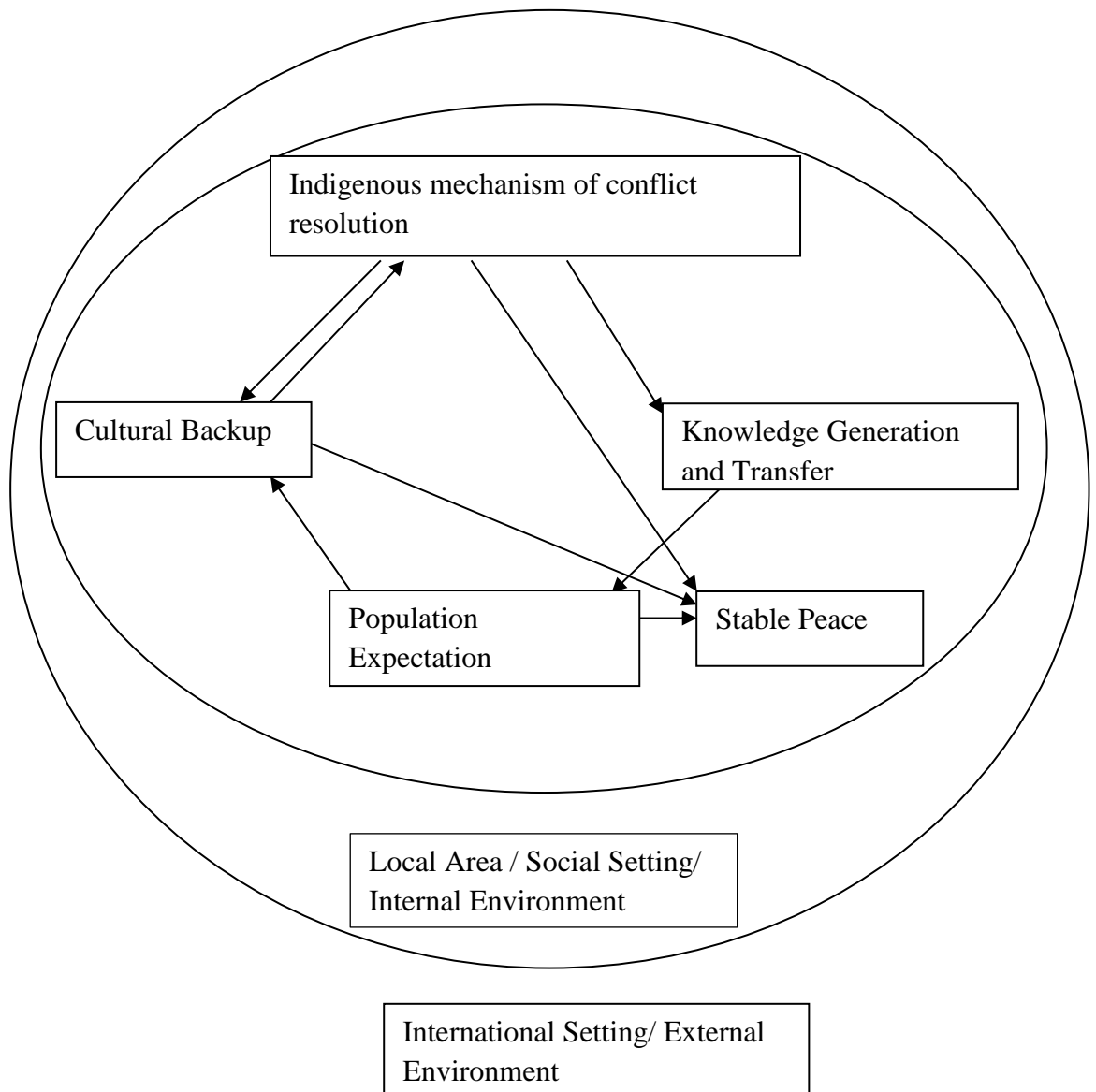


Figure 1: Indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution and its interrelatedness (Inspired by Lederach's (1995) approach in understanding Conflict Resolution)

Indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution are always backed by the historically rich cultural support. No one can transform the context unless there happens to be majorly differentiating values. The cultural backup is always connected with the population expectation. Population doesn't rely on any practice unless it's local, indigenous and culturally sound. Indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution backed

by cultural setting brings the entire population under one roof of greater sphere of peace. It brings affinity to the entire population. The possession of such high repute structure supports the state's cultural heritage and tends to resolve the conflict within the local domain. This is a context, which need a strong cultural and state level back up.

Adoption as a model is important from domestic as well as international community's perspective. The success and failure of such model determines the adoption. State level mechanism pushes the indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution and so does the international community. But a one-size-fits-all model for conflict resolution operations cannot be applied across the world. The collective efforts from all the parties concerned must instead proceed while paying attention to the historical and cultural contexts of the country and conflict in question. Until now, too many conflict resolution efforts have been inadequately coordinated between internal and external partners. Typically the international community takes the lead, leaving the internal actors to take over unfinished and untried projects after the initial period. It is through dialogue, learning about culture and context, as well as supporting local communities in their visions of just institutions and respected mechanisms that international peace workers can provide useful tools and resources that strengthen the community and help build lasting and sustainable peace (Weinstein, 2005). By maintaining the original purposes of certain indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution while taking into consideration the new post-conflict context, a collective effort for the uplifting indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution in this premise is a key.

1.8 Operational Definition

Conflict: For this study, conflict is defined as disagreement within oneself, between people, group, or community for any reason. Conflict and dispute for this study are used as synonyms.

Conflict Resolution: For this study, conflict resolution is termed as any means adopted within the community to end the conflict and restore order and peace.

Indigenous Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution: For this study, indigenous mechanisms refer to locally adopted mechanisms which may be different than the state practice or international practice mechanism. Indigenous conflict resolution approach signifies the traditional and historical practice performed by “Lohorung Rai”. This includes all the rituals and other processes that a particular group follows.

Indigenous: For this study, Indigenous refers to people native to any particular land and having their way of functioning. Here, the indigenous group refers to the “Lohorung Rai” group.

Indigenous Identity: For this study, indigenous identity refers to “Lohorung Rai’s” identity.

Peacemaking: For this study, peacemaking refers to concluding any disagreement, dispute, conflict with, or without any specific result.

1.9 Chapter Organization

The study explaining conflict resolution and other important aspects is altogether segregated into seven different chapters. The first three chapters are divided as per the format of Tribhuvan University Remaining four chapters are dividing according to the need of the research data to be presented to explain the data in detail structure.

The first chapter includes the introduction of the research topic and provides the essential background of the research. It connects the theme of the research with the other vital ingredients of the research. It includes research problems that explain why the research had been conducted. Also, it includes research questions and their corresponding objectives set. It then includes the rationale of the study, the significance of the study, the operationalization of the study, and the chapter organization.

Chapter two discusses the review of various literature. A review of the literature was done by grouping similar literature and then analyzing and interpreting them. The researcher has tried to synthesize as much information as possible. This helps in rationally tracking all the vital information essential for the research. Also, the researcher has reviewed some literature to support the methodological challenges faced during the research. The literature had been reviewed by breaking the entire section into subheadings like- understanding of culture, understanding of ritual, conflict resolution, conflict resolution and social context, the identity of the indigenous group, theoretical issues, methodological issues, and research gap.

The next chapter, chapter three deals with Methodological concern details about the research design, universe, and sample, the sampling techniques, steps in the analysis of data, reliability, and validity of the research, ethical consideration, and limitation of the study. This chapter defines why specific methodological tools have been adopted and why they are necessary for the researcher to bring certain analyses.

Chapters four, five, and six are the breakdown of findings that were clustered according to the phenomenological research's need. The breakdown was also supporting the research question and the research objectives need for the research.

Each of these chapters including a Review of Literatures includes a discussion at the end of the chapter to include the sum of what the entire chapter needed to express.

These chapters are further divided into smaller sub-chapters so that the explanation can be traced down logically and the explanation can be done relatively connecting other subtopics.

The last chapter consists of three subtopics. It consists of a summary of the entire research which can be expressed all of the chapters and key idea and information. The other subtopic explains the possible future research project that anyone can undertake in a different part of the community which this research did not integrate. And the last sub-topic deals with the conclusion of the research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

After setting up the context and clearing the concept of what the upcoming research should look like, few questions emerged. These questions gave base to conduct the review on literatures and highlighted the pretext of the research. The constructed idea on research and narrated idea through literatures were matched in order to correlate the context upon which the research had to be performed. This correlation gave a gap which has been presented as the research gap that had been either overlooked or crossed the scope of the other researchers.

Thus, one of the key aspects of looking into literatures was to seek answers to some of the questions raised through the research idea. The idea was then translated through contextual analysis into question. So primarily, the review of literatures looked into the answers through secondary sources. In contextualising the research question few key aspects emerged. The first aspect was to set up the context of the research. The context embeds itself with the intrinsic value that community possess and the possible narration of the subject to be looked upon. The second aspect was to look upon the key argument of conflict resolution and its underlying arguments perplexing the social scenario and the community. This was also the essential part that needed proper understanding and review in relevant literatures. As conflict resolution always deals with human elements, it was also important to understand the human and its interrelationship with the surrounding. Like, it was crucial to understanding individual's response towards rapid urbanisation and migration and its effect on the indigenous knowledge. Though these two terms vaguely looks different, they have in

a way inter-relational impression on each other. One of the key questions in defining the context of research was to see the degree of scattered population of the Lohorung Rai. As of today most of the hill people have migrated to lowland in search of better living condition. And this in a way has suffered traditional way of learning and knowledge transmission. Along with these there might be more than one important factor which might have been overlooked, but within the scope of the research.

And as the nature of conflict and conflict resolution itself, most of the conflict resolution literatures deal only with specific conflict which created challenge in resembling specific conflict scenario. The context raised by the research question was to adequately explain the conflict resolution mechanism in indigenous setting. With that in mind literatures were selected upon and sorted to find the most relevant ones.

The third aspect was to highlight key ideas and associated values of the community. This was to understand about different notions and mechanisms regarding the indigenous community. One cannot understand the research if, he/she fails to deliver the understanding of the community through local as well as legal instruments. This was done to properly understand the defining terms and other relevant information in order to view Lohorung community from both footings. That is why it was necessary to understand the identity of indigenous through literatures and institutional mechanisms. It was essential because the research itself deals with the Lohorung Rai who are indigenous community. So, in order to look into the Lohorung not only from descriptive understanding but also from state's position, the identity related literatures were reviewed.

The fourth idea was to show how methodical concerns are handled within the study. The concerns raised were significant as there were multiple choices to choose from.

And each of the choices has some kind of effect on the research itself. The methodological concerns were extended to paradigm as well to get clear picture of the research.

All of the issues were condensed and the concerns were taken into consideration as the research gap. The research gap being one of the most important aspects of the research was accompanied through theoretical underpinning. In order to understand and access the review with ease the sub sections had been created according to the need.

2.1.1 Setting up Context

Before begin ing the entire layout of the write up, it was essential to filter out the context for the research. As rightly pointed by Seller (2014)-“ Of course, it’s not just context, but proper context” (Seller, 2014: NA). The context he drew was from his analysis of customer satisfaction and performance evaluation. His concern is focused on understanding the evaluation and analysis by customers on contextual ground and not holistically. Similarly elaborating more on context, Carlisle (NA: NA) defines – “context helps to understand what they otherwise wouldn’t be able to comprehend...”. Both of the writers point the importance of context not only for the researcher but also from the view point of the readers. By bringing the context to the surface, the researcher tries to impound the ground for elaboration yet suffice discussion could be hold on the topic. The context in this circumstance has to do dwell around the researcher’s core idea of conflict resolution. The intrinsic factors associated with that can be a part out of a whole context.

So, the first part of the literature argument will be setting up context for the research. The first noteworthy point in setting up the context was highlighting deeply associated

social values. As the research is primarily based on the indigenous conflict resolution approach, the key take away points to be analysed here were: conflict, culture, rituals and issues related with identity. Understanding the cultural genealogy and its basic premises had helped in propelling the overall theme of conflict resolution mechanisms. Failing to understanding the concept and concerns of culture, rituals and its other arms had in many cases shortened the expected outcome of many researches. To understanding cultural and its complex whole is to pin that the cultural difference, due to lack of understanding, in this kind of researches may bring very unfortunate outcomes. Like, Brigg (2008) citing Benvenisti's account on cultural challenge faced where he said to organiser of conflict resolution workshop-“ I wonder if you know who we are at all. For all you care, we can be Zimbabweans, Basques... to you we are just guinea pig to be tested, or at best to be engineered” (2008: 25). Brigg explains – “the cultural difference challenges the universalist knowledge and methods assumed by conflict resolution scholar and practitioners” (2008: 25). So, it is really important to understand the deeper meaning associated with culture and its complex whole. Also, it helps in understanding the differences as well as the social value that it conveys. It also gives overview of the community at large and relatively understanding of the people associated in that community. The nature and effects that people bear within them can also be understood through broader understanding of culture and its complex whole.

2.2 Conflict Resolution: Local Vs Universal Debate

From the researcher's perspective, there should be two basic questions related with this argument- 1) can conflict resolution be universal? 2) where is the locus of germination of conflict resolution? These in particular are daunting questions from view point of conflict studies. If we look at conflict resolution only as conceptual term

then globally the understanding might be similar, but *modus operandi* varies from place to place. This variation may range from country to country or even within same country. Like in Nepal we have 126 caste and ethnic communities (CBS, 2011), so the practice of conflict resolution varies in greater degree.

Conflict resolution practices are deeply rooted within the community. Therefore each conflict resolution carries a distinct flavour of the community and surrounding. That is why it may be hard to stress that conflict resolution can be expressed or understood in universal terms. Like Lederach (1995) and Wallensteen (2002) believes that it may be necessary to customise the core concern of conflict resolution and must be in accordance with local perspectives. This argument can be supported by problem faced by Lederach (1995) in Guatemala while performing a simulation about conflict resolution and Benvenisti's (cited in Brigg, 2008) thought on how they were treated by the trainers. Lederach's simulation turned differently when without knowing how people would react, the session proceeded. The simulation called for session between a father and daughter and took unexpected turn when one of the respondents reacted differently than assumed. This shocked Lederach and forced him to think about the cultural difference. This in turn changed his argument about conflict resolution.

Similarly, Benevenisti's (cited in Brigg, 2008) comment on how they were taken by the session moderators hugely questioned the significance of knowing the root of the culture. In both cases, the transition of conflict resolution approach was from universal, and in both actual transitions from universal to local never happened.

In the same line Stephen (2010) argues the importance of translating the approaches to local understanding. Kalvyas et al. (2002) proposes understanding the germinating point of conflict and the resolution mechanisms within the community. Stephen and Kalvyas et al.'s points are in accordance with the bottom-up understanding of conflict

resolution. Their focus is more relied on the conceptual understanding rather than just remodelling from universal to local. Similarly, Diamant (2000) also pointed the way conflicts are resolved beyond the universalist idea in China. His highlight has pointed the significance in knowing and protecting the local aspect of peace making. Along with Diamant (2000), Werner (2010) has also regarded “local techniques” of conflict resolution and reaching beyond that. Their argument still raises the question- “the notion of evolution of universalist idea of conflict resolution”- “is universal idea derived from local idea”? if it were derived from local, then at some “time and space” it must fit with local conflict to near perfect. But, bringing back Wallesteen’s concern and Meron Benevenisti’s comment, it seems the universal approach is far from near fit.

Butler (2009) highlighted somewhat in same notion where he showed importance of international conflict resolution. He pushes further to replicate the best practices in order to hinge the overall conflict issues. The notion of “cutting edge” universal idea according to him must be a near perfect fit. This near perfect fit must then be brought in line with the concept of conflict.

The argument of local or universal collides with the legal structure. Therefore many scholar and practitioners of conflict are in firm belief that universal ideas are the frames to be considered keeping in view the local context. Rijal (2004) reverts opposite where his argument is inclined to local practices as source of law, which in fact, is true, in most countries including Nepal, where customary practices are considered as source of law.

The debate of conflict resolution whether it is universal or local does not mean anything without understanding and narrating the conflict context. The conflict

context in many a case are local deriving from local resource and people. Thus the modus operandi trying to resolve the conflicting issues may be local but must be derived from the local essence and has to be brought down to local understanding. Thus the understanding of culture, ritual and the complex whole becomes more essential.

2.3 Ritual

For most of the ethnic communities, rituals are an expression of their symbols, knowledge, skills, respect to their elders and communities. It is often an acknowledgement of their existence. Rituals are part of their everyday life. In a way rituals have been described as regular actions and in other as knowledge sharing, symbolic acts. Wolin and Bennett (1984) indicate that rituals are repetitious, highly valued, and symbolic occasions that form the core of any culture. Rituals, therefore, transmit values, attitudes, goals, and paradigms (Bossard & Boll, 1950, Wolin & Bennett, 1984). Similarly, Segal (2004) proposes that “rituals are a form of symbolic activity that conveys identity and a sense of belonging to family members” (Segal, 2004: 499). His argument is more on differentiating “ritual” and “routines”. He points that “ritual gives meaning whereas routine gives life order” (Segal, 2004: 499). Likewise, different authors have talked about different dimensions in understanding ritual, eventually addressing the relationship with other parts of the social structure. In addition to that, understanding of ritual has a profound effect on the overall assessment of managing conflict within the social sphere.

Other than differential attributes presented by many authors, rituals have a specific role in conflict and conflict resolution. It is not an exaggeration to argue that rituals play a significant role in the escalation of conflict as well as managing the conflict. Like Langer, Quartier, Simon, Snoek, and Weigers (2011) argue that “rituals may

create rigid space to many within the same group creating social conflict. The argument is that these “social conflict” due to rituals rise to majority-minority relation, which they believe is one of the reasons to fume bigger and severe conflicting situation” (2011: 94). Studying the role of media, rituals, and conflict, the authors are simply pointing the other side of the coin. Situations like these, they believe, have become evident with a power struggle, the issue with resources and others (2011: 95). Rituals in a way provide incentives to cease a peaceful application of social wellbeing (Dalaweski, 2008, Swanstrom & Weissmann, 2005). The authors largely focus on the process of peacebuilding efforts.

Even though we cannot argue that ritual always helps in managing conflict, many believe that rituals act as “space to resolve” the conflict. Many believe that rituals play a positive role rather than playing a negative role in managing conflict. The positive aspects do come in different forms: space for resolution, a process in resolution or even tool for resolution (Butler, Stout & Gardner, 2002, Al-Krenawi, & Graham, 1999, Holifield, 1993, Dhakal & Chemjong, 2007, Davidheiser, 2006). Sometimes rituals have a direct impact on conflict resolution which means it is directly involved in resolving the conflict. And the other times it has an indirect or passive impact which means it helps but not as a primary tool but rather as a supporting medium for the conflict resolution. Space for resolution and process in resolution may be a direct association whereas tool for resolution may be an indirect association for conflict resolution.

There are instances where rituals are directly connected with conflict and its resolution. Like space for resolution take entire action through ritual. Members of the society take the opportunity to settle disputes during these celebrations. And sometimes rituals become part of the process; a way to heal the problem. Like

Davidheiser (2006: NA) pointed “honoring veterans returning from conflict” undergoing the ritual cleansing process to re-establish their relationship with the society in Mozambique as a process of applying rituals to overcome the social barrier. He argues how people have utilized their understanding of rituals in supporting members of the society who sacrificed their time and effort in building their local land. He believed that ritual not only helps in conflict resolution but also supports the post-conflict development. He also considered the “Gacaca court system” in Rwanda as a ritual event healing the conflict victims. He argued that these activities used special ceremonies, symbols, and were done in special social space.

Similarly, Butler, Stout, and Gardner (2010) specifies possible links between conflict and faith (Butler, Stout & Gardner, 2010: 22). They mostly talk about ritual habits like prayer within the faith. They argue that family conflict (mostly couple conflicts) have some kind of positive effect due to such rituals (2010: 30). After investigating the number of couples for a certain time, they noticed that couples accepted statistical significance effect with ritual activity. This in particular intervenes even before the conflict starts. They believe that performing prayer minimizes the couples entering into conflict. An everyday activity like prayer was considered as part of ritual activity. Boyce, Jensen, Sherman, & Peacock (1983) believe that “routines have the potential to become rituals if they become meaningful, and rituals can become routine if they become hollow and devoid of meaning” (Boyce, Jensen, Sherman, & Peacock, 1983: 197). It is a matter of vertical study which might show direct alteration from rituals to routines, which requires a longer timeframe to understand and internalize these changes. An activity like prayer can become a ritual if it gives meaning to some part of life and brings a positive change to it. Though it is inclined towards religious

action, one cannot deny the importance of the local sphere of influence on an individual in practicing such activities.

Elaborating on the same line, Al-Krenawai and Graham (1995) show that rituals act in two different ways-first resolving conflicts between two or more with agreed-upon justice (social justice) system and second, by “restoring stability, harmony to uplift social fabric” (1995: 163). The authors are pointing on the function of a ritual in a similar manner but in much detail. By detailing the orientation of ritual, the authors are focused on explaining a better understanding of ritual and understanding ritual in a context of conflict resolution. This understanding gives a new perspective to analyze, i.e. to understand the need for ritual in surging their values.

Holifield (1993) indicate that interest in ritual as a means to nurturing those values is not surprising (Holifield, 1993: 551). Though the authors presented the case of “reforming” a certain aspect of religious values by a group of people, the belief that a ritual provides ground to sort out the context to do so was evident by the action of the people. The change in positive connotation refers to moving from bad to good.

Sometimes society needs some kind of support base to move forward. A support base like ritual is hard to define for its role, but people always look anything available within the society to work on change. So, we can argue that ritual opens up spaces for people to work out their shortcomings. And spaces like these are a crucial platform for conflict resolution.

Often spaces or platforms created to resolve any conflict are specific to that particular conflict. However, in cases where these spaces are scarce, many communities do take rituals as “space” to overcome those conflicts. It is really important to create such a space and to understand the importance of them. A ritual can only be deemed of such

creation if it is engaged regularly. Even today many communities promote ritual as a course for conflict resolution which in the long run acts as the basis of communal strength. This and many other aspects of rituals are points that have to be looked upon during this research. And for this study, it will be important to understand the role of any ritual which serves as a course for conflict resolution.

2.4 Culture

In indigenous settings, looking into anything associated with them attracts culture. For an outsider, culture stands as a doorway to analyze their position (Kreuzer, 2002: 35).

This also applies to the conflict resolution approach under consideration. Kreuzer points that “The cultural approach to ethnocultural conflict is more or less nothing more than a further specification of the psychological and institutional approaches: it requests them to check their recipes for cultural commensurateness. Disappointingly, neither the mainstream of the psychological or institutional efforts carry out this “cultural test” (Kreuzer, 2002: 34). The multifaceted nature of culture is sometimes neglected in modern day practices. In recent times, many peace practitioners believe that conflict and conflict resolution must be viewed in line with culture. One of the prime promoters of such is Lederach (1995), who pointed the need for cultural understanding in conflict resolution. However, some believe that the limitation is culture itself which is grueling to interpret.

This difficulty in interpretation is because a culture consists of an array of different concepts. This divergence in understanding sometimes makes it interestingly difficult.

Like Salacuse (1998) defines in terms of “value system” within the society, Kluckhohn (1950) defines culture with the capacity of “symbols and transfer of knowledge” of the society and Lytle, Brett & Shapiro (1999) defines as the “unique

character to differentiate groups”. Largely these are the parameters of understanding how a culture is defined and understood.

As the parameter “value and system” mainly constitutes how the quality of a group is interwoven as a system (Salacuse, 1998), and then eventually brought down from generation to generation. The essential component is the accommodation of qualities within the system itself. Whereas, Klukhohn’s (1950) consideration “symbols and transfer of knowledge” as one of the key components in understanding culture relies on the heritage of any group to carry its value in a form understandable to all within the group in all sorts of forms from arts to ritual. This also includes how these understandable forms are transferred as knowledge to different members of the group. This form of arts and knowledge is mainly a feature of the group referred by Lytle, Brett, and Shapiro (1999) as most of the arts and knowledge systems are unique to each culture. Each group differentiates each other based on the unique arts and knowledge acquired from generation to generation.

Similarly, conflict in its form is difficult to interpret and resolve. This is because like culture, many believe that conflicts also possess unique character within itself which makes every conflict unique. Like, Wallensteen (2007) pointed -“conflict as a dynamic phenomenon”, because parties act as “mirrors image to each other” (2007: 32). By dynamic phenomenon, he meant that conflict changes its original form over time. This change may have occurred due to the change in behavior between the parties of conflict or it may also be due to the influence in environments of the parties. When the dynamic nature of conflict meets with the argument of the cultural aspect, it becomes difficult to neutralize the conflict.

One of the peace practitioners of local-level conflict resolution, Lederach faced a problem while conducting a training session in Guatemala (1995: 37). He noticed differences in understanding between him and his participants. He then argued that culture is important in understanding conflict (Lederach, 1995: 38) and conflict resolution as well. He further argued that conflict resolution approaches must also pass through cultural understanding to make it local. By making it local, he meant that the entire process must be understood by the parties and must be attached to social norms and values (Lederach, 1995: 63). Lederach in a different narrative highlighted three “interrelated orientations”- The contextualization of theory and practice, Understanding of culture, and empowerment (Lederach, 2000: 47). He believed that “contextualization is one of the points from where conciliation work”. He narrated that understanding of culture helps in understanding the conflict within the society. He further added that understanding of culture and contextualization becomes more essential than adopting any specific model of conflict resolution (2000: 47). His argument is based on conflict resolution training in South America, where people showed a different attitude towards dissimilar contexts and even showed dissimilar attitudes towards similar contexts. This assessment in the late 80s brought a new paradigm in conflict resolution, where culture was built as essential.

Along with Lederach’s, Kern (2000) too believed that cultural concern is important in any peace mission. She claims that without the cultural idea, most of the peace initiative suffers in reaching a specific point of relaxation. She argued in the same line as Lederach, pointing culture as an important part of conflict (Kern, 2000: 215).

Sometimes, culture and its parameters also possess challenges to any conflict resolution. But, for many they serve as one of the entry points in conflict resolution. As pointed by Brigg (2008: 34)- “to address any challenges, it is equally important

how the notion of culture knows human differences”. In an elaborated sense, his argument slightly deviates considering individual- social interaction. The probable explanation to this might be a difference in expectations between the individual within the same group. Brigg (2008: 29) citing Faure and Sjöstedt (1993) highlighted different attributes within the same culture. They argued that “West Africans and Arabs are collective and respect authority, whereas Arabs and Israelis are more individualistic and less concerned about authority”. This tried to show why individuals may act differently within the same culture. Some individuals may prioritize their benefits resulting in conflict. This pulls the efforts presented by culture in easing the conflict rather it may escalate the conflict. The authors may be pointing out the difference within the same culture due to some other factors. These differences may or may not carry the same attributes from the culture but consistently challenge the individuals within the cultural group.

Thus, for the viewpoint of this dissertation, it is important to understand how the cultural variable has been used so far in their conflict resolution approach and how are they shaping the concerns of people in line with their cultural values. It is also interesting to dwell on the cultural efforts to collective people into a social whole for continuing the efforts made by their forefathers.

2.5 Conflict and its Sources

The understanding of conflict takes us a step closer to resolution. Rather than focusing on any other specific type of conflict, the researcher is more interested in understanding the conflict that generally dwells within the social issues. This is to figure out answers to broader questions on the definition and the understanding of conflict, its origin, and the consequences. These are important from the research question’s point of view. Understanding conflict provides the ground to reflect its

nature which enables us to look into conflict resolution from cultural as well as technical resolution dimension.

For many, defining conflict means drawing something tangible out of it. The tangible most of the time means something specific to the context, describing the communal structures or anything that explains differences. However, the definition of conflict cannot be tangibility of confrontation rather the thought on conflict within always should be considered. Like one interesting argument pointed out on this by Council of Europe says:-

“The understanding one has of conflict is strongly influenced by the way one thinks about the nature of the conflict. Definitions of conflict move backward and forward between conflict being perceived as a negative or as a positive process. Some present conflict as a natural phenomenon, others as an alien or abnormal happening in social life, and yet others consider it as a necessary condition for the development and growth of individuals and societies. Young people are faced with the whole range of conflict types: they meet it from intrapersonal to international situations; they deal with conflict at home, in educational institutions and at work; they deal with it as it takes place in the social environment around them (Council of Europe, NA: NA)”.

According to this toolkit, conflict or conflicting issues aren't always unidimensional. It always seeks explanation through variant perspectives. One must not look at it as static, as the parties to the conflict always understand the gravity of the differences and always try to keep it moving. Though the toolkit is for the young generation, it also reflects the need of conflict to be visualized differently than other phenomena. This is because the concept of conflict (not only its definition) consists of a wide array of concerns and ideas at stake. The reason may be the annexation of aspects of social, political, or cultural attachments which gives a variety of meaning according to

context. Though the statement by the Council of Europe is typically for young people, we cannot deny the rough sketch of conflict that it provides in general.

Therefore, approaching conflict in a multidimensional perspective would help gain our understanding of the deeper aspects related to the study. One cannot falsify that conflict in a general sense would say “struggle between parties”. This three-word argument would suffice the understanding but prefixes or suffices always enhance the understanding of the conflict. This is the reason why different authors have stressed upon different pinpoints to come up with different arguments about conflict. Thus there are different versions of conflict and its definitions depending upon different influencing factors. Like Johan Galtung, father of peace and conflict studies simply narrates conflict as “actors in pursuit of incompatible goals” (Galtung, 1958: NA). Similarly, Wilmot and Hocker point that conflict is “an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from others in achieving their goals” (Wilmot & Hocker, 2007: 11).

Both Galtung and Wilmot and Hocker have “actors and goals” as the feature of the conflict. Without “actors and goals” the concern of conflict may become diluted for them. But actors and goals, for many, are only regulated actions in defining conflict.

Similarly, Deutsch and Coleman’s argument citing Darwin saw the conflict as “the competitive struggle for existence” and “Social Darwinism” saw the conflict as the “survival of the fittest” (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000: 11). Similarly, Schellenberg’s focused on the conflict with Einstein and Freud on a conversation –“Einstein, a physicist, in conversation about war, hatred, and destruction with Sigmund Freud, argued, “man has within him a lust for hatred and destruction”. Sigmund Freud

responded by saying, “violence has always been the final arbiter for human conflicts . . . rooted in our basic natures as animals” (Schellenberg, 1996: 40).

Darwin and Schellenberg’s take on conflict differs on the same point as actors and goals. They argue that actors and goals are defined on the ground of “self”. It may be disingenuous to say that Darwin’s “struggle” and Schellenberg’s “violence within the self” do not constitute an actor or a goal. However, it is worthy to point out that for them the actor and goal are part of the same person undergoing conflict. It is difficult to precisely point out how a form of conflict differs from the others and yet have similar features. Many researchers and academicians believe that the action and reaction with one another are what sets them apart which may need a dissection of conflict in different ways.

Nevertheless, a conflict is a conflict, irrespective of who the actors are or what impacts it brings or when does it start. There might be so many pressing arguments about the conflict in its typologies, nature, origin, and the impact point. These arguments bring about different realms of conflict and define a certain conflict in a specific way differentiating it from the others. The ways it is defined sometimes carries its basic feature through which it can be counteracted. Citing the “South Asian Conflict” De Silva defined the political nature of conflict in three areas: International, Sub-national, and national (De Silva, 1994: 241). This may or may not be a typical form by which any conflicts are defined and segregated but he did it to look into the possible narration of the South Asian context. He further adds that- “the root of such conflict is the outcome of the region’s colonial past or the way independence was attained” (De Silva, 1994: 244). This differentiation in the type of conflict is the need for the study done by De Silva. However, there is no specific model to categorize conflict into different streams.

Though it is not easy to differentiate specific typologies for conflict, a rough sketch can be drawn on what the categories look like. Many believe that all types of conflicts have similar mechanisms and they can be used differently and sometimes interchangeably. Some believe that it is perfectly black and white. But for the vast majority of people it cannot be readily distinguishable and the grey area of intersection of such exists. This grey area cannot be demarked and some clear overlapping exists within differentiating conflicts.

However, the conflict has been used to connote a bigger form of violence or violent conflicts like armed violent conflict, radicalization (terrorism), revolution/ civil war rather than non-violent social conflicts. Some of the conflicts, like ethnic conflict, have no distinct groups to be placed, thus they can swing between violent conflicts to social conflicts. Like Mars (1990: 67) has closely related ethnic conflict with political conflict. Conflict like these, with or without the use of force, may change the course of defining it. But, Weinberg & Bakker citing Gurr (1970) argues the role of “intensity of conflict” as one of the factors determining the demarcation between them (Weinberg & Bakker, 2015: 311). His argument is based on the assumption that social unrest and other factors are triggered by the intensity laden to it. For example, some conflicts are sought to be purely violent if the intensity of the objective is to attract state-level mechanisms to it. On the contrary, if the intensity is weak it always attracts other revolving social issues like food crisis, pricing, etc. That is to say that it would be too early for anyone who decides to distinguish conflict into different categories.

Some conflicts, on the other hand embeds a bigger volume of smaller social issues that can cover from bigger looing forms like conflict due to economic deprivation (Weinberg & Bakker, 2015: 310) to couple conflict or even intrapersonal conflicts. These conflicts are more or less attached to social issues and do not always have

violence. Though, the nomenclature may be the same, it may mark something different than previously understood. This is generally cleared by understanding the origin or probable source of conflict. This source of conflict helps us understand to counteract different problems brought by the conflict.

Sources of Conflict

Individual's Attitude and Behaviour

Conflict may have different sources. Usually the nature of conflict and the consequences attached to it is contingent on the source of the conflict. Some believe that “individual's behavior and attitude” is the reason for the conflict (Wagner-Pacifici and Hall, 1980-81, Wasburn, 1984). Some believe that “power and its other attributes” are reasons for conflict (Mack, 1965, Datta, 1980). Whereas some believe “resources and its competition” germinates conflict (Galtung, 1958, Wallenstein, 2007, Oberschall, 1978) and to some “economic reasons and discrimination” entails conflict (Das Gupta, 1968). These reasons are visible faces of any conflict, but there may be many different unique reasons for any conflict. These underlying reasons can sometimes be visible or sometimes be mixed with a newer form of emerging issues to take different shapes. This makes it extremely difficult to manage the conflict and head towards resolution.

Wagner- Pacifici and Hall citing Felstiner et al. (1980-81: 632) point the path from minor discomfort to disputes, “experiences become grievance, grievance becomes dispute and dispute takes various shapes, follow particular processing (Wagner-Pacifici and Hall, 2012: 181). This argument by Felstiner et al. (cited in Wagner-Pacifici and Hall, 2012) tries to create a flow chart of what the origin of social conflict. This simple illustration's first point is experience. This experience is

constructed within. This shows that the individual is always the first point of argument of conflicting issues. This experience is processed by an individual to form different perceptions. These perceptions may be the departing point of forming a conflict or maybe just additional information to be stored in an individual's head.

Likewise, Wasburn (1984) pointed "inbuilt ideas" of an individual as an important aspect of the conflict. Citing Freud (1924) Wasburn (1984) noted that "...superego, or internal representative of traditional values and ideas of society, develops in response to the confrontation between an individual and society. Further adding that mental process involves conflict, which was observable in Freud's writing" (Wasburn 1984: 190). One of the notable points raised by Wasburn is conflict within, which is essential when we discuss the core concern of conflict or more specifically conflict within the societal level. He explained that-"Sociological discussions of the process of socialization do point out periods in the life cycle in which learning cultural perspectives produced stresses and conflict" (Wasburn, 1984: 191). He took example citing Mead (1928) who talks about emotional conflict and rebellion against authority which is commonly seen during adolescence in the Industrial West (Wasburn, 1984: 191). However, he did not ignore the concern of "morality" while being rebellious but still believed that the ignition had been more frequently with the learning process. In his study of the process and agents of socialization, he kept humans as a central point which made them vulnerable to any form of conflict and its consequences. He argues that some might also fear the "outcomes of the socialization" process. This outcome of the socialization process might trigger some deviant character within the individual trying to move away from the conventional understanding.

In the same line as Wasburn, referring to psychoanalysis, French also considers the argument of "conflict within self and then to the social body" (French, 1939: 922).

This consideration though moves towards the social bodies, but he believes that conflict originates from within and then through the action of the individual strikes the surrounding. The surrounding may encompass individuals, institutions, and others. He points that the conflict within self may be regulated by “need and interest” (French, 1939: 923) of the individual and then is transformed in their action towards the society. Pointing towards the communal behavior of an individual towards the community, he points that: “certain communities are today striving most desperately to deny the possibility of any fundamental divergence of class interest and to devote themselves with utmost loyalty to the idea of absolute national harmony” (French, 1939: 923). This analysis is highlighted by understanding the “conscious and unconscious attitude” of an individual towards society. The argument is yet to be understood that if an individual can act in a divergent way towards the community in any given situation due to some forms of deprivation of certain social characteristics like self-need.

Even though this may be inconsistent with the modern day analysis where moving away from social expectations or being deviant is perfectly fine, the analysis has shown that these behaviors can mount to the larger form of conflicts. This shaping can be observed in the cleavage between the social structures, where one of the groups tries to struggle for their recognition and identity while others enjoy the higher social hierarchy. On a larger scale, this difference in social structure sometimes acts as non-reactive action against peace movement as they are engulfed with fear and suspicion (French, 1939: 926). These suspicions act as barriers between the want of people to end the conflict (and sometimes violent conflict too) and their constant belief. These beliefs are deeply rooted in people’s attitudes which is even difficult to erase within

short terms. It can take generations to overcome these deeply rooted fears and transform society into a more peaceful and tolerant communal.

Like French, Wasburn's conflict can be viewed in two ways: internal and external (Wasburn, 1984:192). Internal reasons cause intrapersonal conflict trapping an individual's mental capacity to evaluate. External conflicts may push social boundaries and confront the mainstream understanding of the social order. He views this as two way interaction of the same individual. On one hand, the individual does not want to be socialized in a way that is prevalent in society while in the other, the individual tries to disarray the social understanding. Though his arguments emphasize the socialization process, it still gives the point of understanding of conflict in the social realm.

Resources and Competition

Galtung (1958), Wallensteen (2007), and Oberschall (1978) believe that social competition prepares the ground for conflict. The holistic definition of conflict by Galtung and Wallensteen tries to cover almost all of the ingredients like incompatibility and actions. This forms competition between individuals creating gaps of conflict. The response from an individual towards the competition can define the reason for that conflict.

Oberschall defines conflict as "...result from purposeful interaction among two or more parties in a competitive setting" (1978: 291). His definition consists of one important aspect –"competitive setting" which is foundational in most of the conflicts. But the definition he brought conceptualizes outbound conflict, where the setting compels to conflict. Unlike Wasburn's (1984) idea of conflict through the self, Oberschall's argument revolves around the competitive settings. He is more focused

on theorizing the concept of conflict. And his take on conflict is particularly distinct from that of Wasburn where he points that “conflict is between two or more individuals, groups, organizations, communities and crowds and rather than individual (Oberschall, 1978: 291). He extraneously rebuttals the point that social conflict can be within a person, which in generalist point is true.

Galtung’s and Walensteen’s definition tries to cover almost every aspect of the conflict, which makes it generic to interpret. It focuses on defining conflict more through social settings. Oberschall’s viewpoint and their viewpoint rely on the resources available in the natural setting. The scarce nature of resources brings stiff competition within the parties insinuating conflict.

Oberschall’s arguments are based on theoretical aspects of conflict and the context it operates in, many of which are brought down from different disciplinary approaches. These disciplinary approaches have a very thin margin of differentiation, which makes it harder to distinguish within the argument proposition. But understandingly, most of them do not disagree with the individualistic approach as done in other psychological analysis. One of the essentials: “destructive conflict becomes independent of its initiating causes and it is likely to continue after these have become irrelevant” (Oberschall, 1978: 312) is relevant while understanding forms of conflict. The conflicts escalating rampantly will try to engulf many areas of social issues that hide the actual issues. This diffusion of conflict in the social sphere makes it even difficult to articulate the idea that conflicts are sometimes difficult to identify and resolve.

Though conflicts like these are understood in generic terms, they have a large area to cover and highlight. Many practitioners customize these generic definitions according

to their understanding of the conflict. Like from Galtung's argument of conflict, Oberschall draws concern over an increase in the number of parties and intensity of consequences drawn after the conflict intensifies from its original form. In conflicts, issues like these have greater roles in creating unstable social fabric than many individual smaller conflicts. With smaller conflicts, the position to manage the conflict becomes less stressful than those with higher intensity. This is to argue that conflict, even if it's less intense, may change its form and gets difficult to manage.

Power

Mack (1965) and Datta (1980) believed "power" as the probable origin of social conflict. Mack's point is related to power and its use. Datta further adds that power and property are the causes of conflict. His argument of use and misuse of power to address property thirst lands in the social conflict.

Mack believes "power" as one of the important forces in understanding conflicts (Mack, 1965: 388). He argues that "power" exercise creates the delusion of understanding what sort of miscalculations has been done. His argument is inclined towards social causes of conflict rather than sticking to the inherent deep-rooted behaviors. These social causes are stuck with the use and abuse of power at any level of the social structures. These unequal and unwanted understanding of power and its use is related to the concern of "ethnocentrism" (Mack, 1965: 392). This ethnocentrism, he believes is "underrated as a source of conflict". This in a way might be true in a highly divided society where the original issues of conflict as stated by Oberschall (1978) might get diluted by other factors. Some of the new issues may be attached to the social conflict, which rather than diluting the original issue, diverts

from the original issue. The original issues then can become least concern for the community and immediate issues are a key concern for all.

On the same line but with some addition, Datta (1980) defined sources of social conflict as a result of power and property. By power, he hinted at political and administrative power in particular. He delegated a significant argument in analyzing the actual outcome due to the use and misuse of power in different fields. Referencing India, Datta pointed out how diverse populations have created fragmented socio-cultural structures igniting conflicts. Graphing the population into two distinct groups: the concept of kinship groups and group with a common economic interest, Datta portrayed how these groups help create economic as well as social deprivations. His analysis is on how the kinships have distorted the social value at the cost of maintaining social values affordable to the higher groups. This led to the distortion of social values and underperforms the actual values acceptable to all.

Like Datta (1980), Mack marks that rather than looking at conflict only as a struggle between two or more parties, it should take into consideration the group structure and social boundaries. These social variables may hold bigger importance in understanding the social conflict and its consequences. However, he believed that mobility in some sense curbs the effect of social conflict. But, he also believed that social mobility is entirely individualistic and cannot encourage mass movement. And, referring to an industrial society, he believed that occupational group becomes more evident than social grouping, which slowly gets rid of the social classification. This can however be achieved only if the work classification is seemingly valued over other social variables (Mack, 1965: 393).

He provided the argument of social sanctions due to social strata. He believed that people try to affiliate themselves with a group which provides greater return (Mack, 1965: 393). Also, Datta (1980) believes that the huge economic gap between groups benefitting from overall economic activities and groups deprived of basic economic activity promoted conflict. And to degrade further, the caste system in India deepens further the exploitation of people. This according to him is a clear misuse of power and property. Also, for Mack (1965), the argument of specific social affiliation creates social distances between the other groups, where the affinity of power dims. This brings more severe consequences as social conflict, as they might be deprived of social needs. This in turn pushes all into some sort of group formation. This formation is equally responsible for the conflict at the societal level.

Economic Concern

There are so many academicians and practitioners who argue the economy as a source of conflicts like Collier and Hoeffler (2000), Mew (2013), Shunnaq (1997), and many others. Most of them have merged “resources and economic activities” of conflicting situations. On the contrary, Das Gupta (1968) has put an effort to bring on the essential concerns put forwarded by Gandhi on the issue of social conflict. The social concerns as brought by Gandhi lied within proximity to that of Marx’s theory, the author believed that this was due to scientific attitude on their arguments. Das Gupta pointed three areas of Gandhi’s social conflict: 1) between labor and capital in the industry 2) between tenant and landlord in agriculture and 3) between city and village. His explanation is more tilted on the economic orientation of the social conflict. Social conflict induced due to the aforementioned frictions gives rise to inequality between the populations eventually exploiting the concerned groups.

The social conflict extracted by Gandhi's argument by Das Gupta majorly focuses on the inequality created by unfavorable economic activity of a certain group of people. The preface of this article is based on India with Gandhi's fight for freedom. The social conflict within the fight for freedom might be considered as entangled conflict with freedom, but consists of enough ingredients for escalating conflict for a longer run. The economic inequality between the populations certainly hits the population who have been dependent on the source of income. This understanding of social conflict falls within the proper understanding of how society is forced to move out of certain benefits. This social conflict pushes the underprivileged population to march towards another form of conflict which may create more chaos. The cleavage is even deepened by the third form of social conflict, between village and city. The concern of this form of social conflict is the complete differentiation of the entire population based on their region of habitat. Though the author has not mentioned any reasons for the conflict, he is trying to foresee that conflicts like these existed perpetually and needs reform.

Consequences of Conflict

One of the arguments of conflict is that it positively transforms society and the other is that it negatively affects the social fabric. Some believe that it can direct into any directions. Deutrisch (1973) highlights the social-psychological argument that "conflict as a natural and inevitable part of social life that can be either fruitful or destructive" (cited in Wagner- Pacifici & Hall, 2012: 181). The consequences of conflict entirely depend on the parties and intention towards it. A fruitful end to the conflict is always desirable, but Galtung (1958) believes that a win-win situation to both parties is a more transcendental point. The transcendental point for a conflict to be resolved lies at the horizon where both the parties have equal win share, which in

most cases seems distant, but not far off. Some of the resolutions may create a winner and not a winner. Not a winner, to be precise is not gaining equal share in winning but it is not completely losing either. It is just the sweet spot where both parties agree or the circumstance compels them to agree. This however, is just a tip of an iceberg, and conditional that conflict gets resolved. The consequences beforehand, during the conflict is sometimes seen as a departing point of active conflict. For many this is hurting stalemate where any one of the parties tries to settle down. This is the point where any of the parties “find themselves locked in the conflict where they see no point of moving towards conflict” (Zartman, 2001: 8). However, we are more concerned with the consequences before the step to resolution.

One of the consequences of conflict that most of the academicians agree on is changes in the social fabric. Even if we are looking at it from a negative point of view, conflict gives the social structure to reinforce itself for better. Ott and Luhe observed in the case of Kenya, Columbia developed early warning systems to cope with conflicts to restrain any further conflicts (Ott & Luhe, 2018: 23-24). Similarly, Darwin’s evolution is based on hardship and struggle where society eventually takes shape out of struggle.

But apart from the positive outcome, immediate negative consequences play some role in shaping the way forward. Wagner- Pacifici, and Hall (2012), Wasburn (1984), French (1939) who sees conflict as “self” believe that conflict in a way change the individual perceives the surrounding. This changes the social behavior which is the first step of creating space within the social fabric. Even Galtung (1958), Wallenstein (2007), Zartman (2001), Oberschall (1978) believe that social fabric is torn due to conflict. But for them the path is different. The path for them is competition creating a social gap resulting in the torn social fabric.

Apart from the social fabric, an economic downturn in one of the consequences of conflict observed by many (Datta, 1980). Economic consequences are severe and create a gap between poor and rich (Datta, 1980, Das Gupta, 1968). This gap can potentially create several hurdles in the development process of the society.

Mack (1965) also believed that conflict creates a false sense of superiority of one race over the other. Sometimes this can lead to a race trying to eliminate the other. The ethnic cleansing is the worst of all consequences one can consider. But just hatred of one over another also creates several microaggressions to a people of a minority race.

Collier and Hoeffler (2000), Galtung (1958), Wallensteen (2007) also believe that natural resource depletion is one of the consequences of conflict. As conflict attracts economic activity, this results in serious misuse of resources. Powerful forces always try to exploit the resources for their economic need. This will result in unnatural extraction of resources leaving nothing for future generations.

Though there are many consequences of conflict, the brief discussion is done here to cover the ones that directly impact society. Though there might be migration, human loss, and other consequences too, they are the results of the basic consequences.

Though it is not definite to maintain order here, these ideas related to conflict helps in understanding conflict resolution, which is one of the prime objectives of this dissertation.

2.6 The Difficulty with Conflict Resolution

Conflict Resolution as a part of easing the tension between the parties have crucial role in peacebuilding efforts. There are several ways of defining yet the meaning remains the same. One of the most generic definitions would be “process by which parties to conflict meet at a point to settle their problems”. This mugged up definition

do have different “understanding essence” adopted by both practitioners and academician. However, there are up ward additions or downward additions when it comes to understanding conflict resolution. Upward and downward additions here mean that they are prior or later concepts or concerns which amplify the concept of conflict resolution.

Sweeney and Carruthers citing Maurer states “conflict resolution as a process whereby parties work out their disagreements to bring the conflict to successful conclusion” (Maurer, 1991 cited in Sweeney & Carruthers, 1996: 327). Also, citing Duryea they point that “conflict resolution is an interest based negotiation process geared towards generating consensus” (Duryea, 1992 cited in Sweeney & Carruthers, 1996: 327). The above two definitions brought the idea of “successful conclusion” and “consensus” , which here acts as upwards addition to the definition. Similarly, Deutsch brought the idea of “cooperation” very close to conflict resolution. His argument remains valid as he points that- parties in conflict having cooperation attitude than competition will have easy path towards conflict resolution (Deutsch, 1983: 437). His deliberation in context to understanding conflict resolution is true and helps in deescalating conflict. In narrative context, easing the path to conflict resolution is primarily first step in making positive things happen. His addition to conflict resolution is moving towards “equitable justice” (Deutsch, 1983: 440). This according to him consolidates the cooperation done earlier immediately moving towards conflict resolution.

Sweeney and Carruthers argument is bit different on the additions. He points that most of them focus on the end result, which for him is mere a derivative form handling a conflict (Sweeney & Carruthers, 1996: 328). He argues that it is always the nature of conflict and the approaches by which conflict is handled through which

result is obtained. He in very passive ways tries to convey that better result may not be last option of resolution, which according to him depends upon many factors including the nature of conflict (Sweeney & Carruthers, 1996: 328).

But, Wagner-Pacifici and Hall have a bit different but far sighted idea on attaining conflict resolution. They are targeting towards attainment of “peace” position (Wagner-Pacifici & Hall, 2012: 184). They are building one more step in understanding conflict resolution by moving it further up. They are departing from Sweeney and Carruthers’s concern that conflict decided its outcome. However, they too agree on the part that some degree of “collaboration” is needed to attain conflict resolution (Wagner-Pacifici & Hall, 2012: 184), which is close approach to Deutsch (1983).

However, from Deutsch’s idea of “cooperation” to equitable justice, conflict resolution in bigger picture does not look as it is. Vayrynen observes that in situation of bigger conflicting situation with multiple parties at stake, even UN’s initiative to conflict resolution do not seems better paying off (Vayrynen, 1985: 191). The problem with policy formulation and implementation is always different than anticipated (Vayrynen, 1985: 191). Citing examples from Namibia to Middle East, he points that stability through conflict resolution is not as easy as it seems in most cases (Vayrynen, 1985: 191).

Vayrynen’s argument brings one more discussion in conflict resolution. The discussion on how it should be devised. In many Vayrynen’s cases, UN’s policy is mostly top-down approach which topples down due to problem in understanding ground reality. This very scenario was reflective to Lederach’s concern on grounding the conflict resolution process. His point is simple and most applicable. He simply

suggests making conflict resolution according to the locals and surrounding. And the benefit of such has already been seen in South African and Rwandan cases. In Ethiopian study by Bouh and Mammo most of their respondents (87.5%) preferred solving their problems by indigenous mechanism (Bouh & Mammo, 2008: 119). The reasons they gave were culturally accepted, mobile, accessible and quick in managing and resolving conflicts in all levels from household (Family) to inter-ethnic case (Bouh & Mammo, 2008: 119). This show the picture of what Lederach got from his simulation in Guatemala. However, it is neither a debate nor a paradoxical argument on which approach wins, but a concern that conflict resolution cannot be viewed as one simple task.

It consists of natural arrears of difficulty in assessing the outcome of conflict resolution as described by Sweeney and Carruthers and problems in understanding the population as observed by Lederach and also not based on top-down approach. In best case scenario, it should be better a hybrid model better equipped with natural ability to ease the flaws. But, in real case scenario it seems to have more problems than solution. The understanding dwindells more on more than one aspects, which makes the understanding and operating conflict resolution difficult. In next two setions, cases from Nepal and around the world helps us to shape the concern of onflict resolution.

2.7 Indigenous Conflict Resolution Approaches in Nepal

Nepal within a small area consists of 126 caste and ethnic groups (CBS, 2011), among whom many ethnic groups still do practice their way of different indigenous models surviving in harsh conditions and with limited resources. These methods usually are related to agriculture, pasteurization, construction, fashion, the justice system, etc.

Justice systems, in particular, do have a huge impact in such a community. In the 21st

century, these justice systems are either affected or even encroached by or sometimes supported by the formal justice system depending upon the modus- operandi and effectiveness.

Since time immemorial inside this small boundary of Nepal different communities have dwelled practicing different conflict resolution methods. Though most of them constituted somewhat similar approaches in resolving conflict, different nomenclatures have been made according to the politico-sociocultural system, dynasty, and language in use. Even before actual landmass and area were segregated, systems of conflict resolution in the form of mediation were ascribed in sacred text of Veda (Sayers, 2012: 6). Sayers pointed that Veda had better blue print of “mediations between human and supernatural beings” (Sayers, 2012: 6). Practices like these were even noticed within Buddhist followers and they were more concern over peace and harmony (Sayers, 2012: 12). The Vedic texts and Buddha’s wise words were connected to human and their everyday concern.

Similarly the famous *Arthashastra* of Kautilya speaks of the rich mediation culture as part of the social system (Rijal, 2018: 75). Referring to the popularity of mediation in the past a former justice cotes ‘during the epic period we find many references of mediation in both individual and state levels.....Lord Krishna in Mahabharata also tries his best to come to a settlement in the succession to the throne of Hastinapur between *Kauravas* and *Pandavas* to avert the most dangerous war of human history” (Rijal, 2018: 75). Rijal describes Manusmiriti the code by Manu as the purveyor of Hindu hierarchic orthodox reveals that the mediation was a part of the state system in the past (Rijal, 2018: 75). These systems were believed to exist even before separate kingdoms were formed. But, historical narratives like these needs much deeper

underpinning to understand and evaluate their true value. This is just historical text which reflects local indigenous mechanism, which now has been transformed into an important cultural artifact. This has brought light to the indigenous peace practice mechanism. In this same regards, Dahal and Bhatta write:

“..In the ancient period, indigenous institutions such as *Gram Parishad* (Village Council) used to organize a discussion to mediate the conflict. They used to take the perspective of all conflicting sides, find the identity of interests, construct a solution, and legitimize this by sacred dharma (institutional duties) interlinked with custom and morality. The Kirant regime (800 BC to 300AD) utilized *Mukhiya*, (village chief), *Bichari* (person knowledgeable on legal matters), and *Pancha-Bhaladami* (five elderly gentlemen) to mediate most of the local conflicts. Tribal societies often considered elderly persons as a source of wisdom and implemented their advice on matters of public and private concerns. In the Lichhavi regime (300 to 1200 AD), these traditional practices were institutionalized into *Panchali* system--a public place for meeting and adjudicating disputes. *Arya Samaj* (association of civilized persons) and *Birtawal* (landlord having some form of authority to collect land tax and settle disputes) were also given some powers to mediate local disputes. The Malla regime (1200 to 1769 AD) evolved institutions such as *Praman* (chief administrative officer) and several tiers of *Panchayat* to mediate local disputes. The Shah regime (beginning of 1769) legitimized various traditional arrangements-- *Pancha-Kachhahari*, *Pancha*, *Birtawal*, and *Mukhiya* and *Amal Kot-Kachhahari* (the village court consisting of elites of various factions)-- mediated conflict at the community level”. (Dahal& Bhatta, 2008: 15-16)

Dahal and Bhatta (2008) point out how different dynasties adopted conflict resolution mechanisms over a different period. These approaches include wide ranges of structures from group to nominated individuals. An interesting point to note here is that almost all of them do have some kind of similarity while we see the procedure they follow. Most of the mentioned techniques do use “mediation” as a key tool while performing any kind of resolution. The only difference may be the number of key personnel or groups involved and the degree of influence exerted by these mediating groups or persons. These mechanisms are partly or in some way affected by existing religion and practiced social system.

These mechanisms are still today continued as conflict resolution approaches by different ethnic groups in Nepal. We still cannot argue that the earlier approaches were base of today’s most of the adopted approaches. This requires a solid backup from empirical data. It can be argued that approaches used now do have a way substantial resemblance to the historic conflict resolution approaches. Tharu community, an ethnic community dwelling in the Terai, does have “*Badghar*” concept. Manang does have *Mithee Baa* (Kapar, 2015, Rai, 2015) for conflict resolution. Similarly, Kirats (Khumbu) do have *Bhaladmis* (Elders) (Rai, 2007) who do perform the task of conflict resolution. *Badghar and Mithee Baa* (in an isolated sense) resemble earlier approaches of *Mukhiya, Bichari, Parman* and others. They used to perform conflict resolution alone with the help of other people. And *Bhaladmis* have a structure similar to *Pancha, Panchayat, etc.* It might be very early to say these approaches were evolved from the earlier ones as social structure then and now have changed drastically. But there seems the importance of community in all of the approaches. To understand these approaches, it is important to understand the community and its core structures and connections. This dissertation mainly

revolves around the part of conflict resolution and society to the extent up to which society adopts in different rituals and ceremonies.

Some Resolution Practices in Nepal

Case One: Dolakha

Dolakha lies at the mountainous terrain northeastern part from Kathmandu. Dolakha lies close to China and is a pathway for many from and to China. Dolakha, according to Upreti (2004) had some social as well as resource issues. Upreti has not mentioned any particular ethnic or caste group as parties to the conflict.

Conflict

According to Upreti (2004), the conflicts within the district range from social conflicts to resource conflict. Social conflicts like economic transactions, theft, sexual offenses, development interventions, discrimination, accusing witch hunt were commonly seen during the period (Upreti, 2004: 61). He also claimed that the rise in such conflict had risen after the political change of 1990 (Upreti, 2004: 61). These conflicts are escalated by other charges and prior conflicts. And conflicts related to resources attract conflicts like conflict over land, water, and forest. Since, the area is mountainous; these three resources are of prime value. They are usually the reason by which the conflict starts.

Conflict Resolution

During that time Upreti noticed the practice of both institutionalized legal mechanisms of resolution as well as other informal means. Here we are going to talk only about informal methods. These methods were practiced in earlier days as well, so they have greater importance for our research. According to Upreti (2004), a few of

the informal means that were practiced are *Dharma Bhakaune* (Sacred test), *SagunGarne* (Reconciliation), *Mafi Magne* (Public Apology), *Mit Laune* (Tie of Special Friendship) (Upreti, 2004: 62-63). Most of these resolution processes are common practice throughout Nepal.

Dharma Bhakaune is one of the ways by which the parties are asked to take oath in public about the conflict and conflicting issues. Most of the parties try to confess their problems with the parties of the conflict. *Sagun Garne* is one of the ways by which the parties to the conflict agree on resolving their issues. The word “Sagun Garne” literally translates as “accepting gifts”. This is a gesture of making reconciliation between the parties. If anyone of the parties denies the gift, then dialogue and discussions are made to reconcile the differences.

Mafi Magne can be particular if the parties to the conflict are distinguishable as victim and perpetrator. If not, the locals try to define according to their conflicting issues. *Mafi Magne* is also done to reconcile the differences between the parties. In this case, the parties to the conflict or any one of the parties who may be referred to as perpetrators apologize in public about the conflict. The apology is for both community and the victim. This is also an act of reconciling the differences between the parties and to create an equal boundary with the social members.

Mit Laune is especially observed if the conflict can be resolved between two people by mere dialogue. *Mit* is referred to in Nepali as friendship equal to a brother. The status of *Mit* in the Nepali community is as brother and they are part of the family. Once the process of *Mit Laune* is done, there cannot be a conflict between two. Some locals refer to this as more than just resolution or reconciliation.

One of the unique features of these processes is that they are done in public. Doing in public gives two-way implications: first the parties to the conflict have to abide by what they have agreed upon and generally not react to that and second is that people within the community are accountable for what they have witnessed and have a crucial role in maintaining peace between the parties.

Case two: Manang

Manang is referred to as the district beyond mountains. This district due to its geographical position has a very thin population density. Most of the lands are either uncultivable or are desert-like. While studying “Gender Perspective in Traditional Dispute Resolution Mechanism in Manang”, Kapar (2016) observed that, even though Manang receives a good number of tourists throughout the year, they still practice traditional mechanisms as earlier times. This is evident by a very small number of cases in Manang district court (Kapar, 2016: 21).

Conflict

As such there are no particular distinguishable types of conflict specific to Manang, but household conflicts, land conflicts, and other resource conflicts were observed.

Manang is better favored with a female who controls the household, gender balance is well maintained (Kapar, 2016: 18). So, the level of household conflict is low, but not nil. Some of the household conflicts are connected with other conflicts which are difficult to distinguish clearly.

Conflict Resolution

According to Kapar, in earlier days the conflicts were resolved through an institution known as *Dhapa Sabha* (Kapar, 2016: 21). This institution used to solve both civil

and criminal cases. The institutions were headed by “*Mithey Ba*” (learned and wise man). But nowadays *Mithey Ba* without such institutions actively involves conflict resolution. If there happens to be any conflict, then the victim or anyone puts an oral complaint to *Mithey Ba*. The person should bring local wine as a gesture of respect to *Mithey Ba*. While he accepts the wine, he listens to the complaint and promises to look at the matter. *Mithey Ba* then summons both the parties and listen to their arguments. After listening to their argument, *Mithey Ba* provides a solution or verdict to the parties of the conflict. Till today social conflicts are solved through *Mithey Ba*. Generally, the verdict of *Mithey Ba* is considered as final, but sometimes the parties may not agree on the same. If such a thing happens, consultations are done more to reach an acceptable solution.

Case Three: Tharu

Tharu are the native tribe of the Terai belt of Nepal. They are extended from East to West on the southern front of Nepal. Along east to west, different groups and subgroups of Tharu can be found. The biggest concentration of Tharu can be found in Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur (Khadka, 2016: 1). These concentrations have a huge population compared to other parts of Nepal.

Conflict

As native to low lands of Nepal, conflicts within the Tharu community vary according to their place of habitat. Khadka citing Upreti (2009) points out that conflicts that are seen on the surfaces are mostly related to land ownership and land-based resources (Khadka, 2016: 3 cited in Upreti, 2009: 111). Also, he pointed out that conflicts related to marriage, rapes, and assaults are also seen and these range from household level to inter-group level (Khadka, 2016: 3). These conflicts are resolved within the

community as far as practicable, but sometimes conflicts of higher level are referred to the judicial mechanisms.

Conflict Resolution

In this part of the review, we will be discussing the case of Tharu of Dang and Bardiya districts of Nepal. The conflict resolution process of the Tharu community varies according to their location. As in many communities, Tharu also has a clan head or head of the group often old person. The old person as an institution is known as *Barghar* and sometimes *Barghar-Mukhiya*. *Barghar* has a very important role in maintaining the social structure, rituals, and even conflict resolution. The popular concepts of practicing indigenous models are *Melmilap*(Reconciliation), *Galti Kabul Garaune*(Acknowledgement), *Maphi Magaune Milaune*(Restorative Justice), and *Maphi* (Forgiveness) (Khadka, 2016: 87-91).

The way they perceive the justice system is cleared by the saying: “person should be in society and not in jail” (Khadka, 2016: 85). Most of the people including *Barghar* always try to reconcile the difference between the parties to the conflict. They always look for space by which conflict can be settled and a positive attitude be developed between them.

Galti Kabul Garaune, the act of letting others know what sort of mistake has been done is one way to understand parties to conflict according to the situation. The majority of people believe that due to this most of the conflicts are understood at their primary level. *MaphiMagauneMilaune* also falls under one of the processes of conflict resolution. In this, the parties to conflict publicly apologize for the conflict and then reconciled within them. *Maphi*, the act of forgiving is one of the best examples of how communities transform their conflict from the negative corner to

positive. *Maphi* is a kind gesture held by a community which believes in understanding public person relation and the importance of an individual and their social contribution.

Most of the conflict resolution processes are 'either-or' actions. Not all conflicts require all of the action. The repeat offenders in conflict may bring newer ways of treating the perpetrators. For the first time, if the conflict is not too large, then they are given *Maphi*. But, if the action is frequently repeated, then some actions are needed.

In cases of household and minor conflicts, the annual celebration *Maghi* is key as most of the process is dealt on that date. But if any of the conflicts need urgent intervention, then the action is carried out on an urgent basis. And, if the conflict is large, and of serious issues then it is referred to the legal judicial mechanism.

Generally, the process is undertaken at the courtyard of *Bargar*, but nowadays it is done according to consensus (Khadka, 2016: 82).

If the conflict is between two or more different communities, then *Bargar* or the chief of each community meets to reconcile the differences. In today's practice, this process also involves local NGOs, members from the government agency, and even police. This is to ensure safety and continue good relations between them. To maintain harmony between the communities, nowadays people or agencies representing the Tharu community sit during the dialogue.

Case Four: Kisan of Jhapa

One of the ethnic communities, Kisan are currently found in the eastern Terai region of Nepal. Kisan, are economically poor but they possess important cultural heritage. The population of Kisan ethnic group is only 1739 (CBS, 2011: 146) mostly

concentrated in eastern Nepal. Though, their number is less, they try to maintain their cultural practices. The Kisan group is divided into three divisions. They have similar cultural practices and languages but differ in social status. All of the subgroups follow their rules and their structures. Their group is divided into different positions like King, Ministers, and even police. King is considered as the head of the community and heads almost all the rituals and ceremonies. Ministers and police are part of the social structure (Kattel, 2007: 43).

Conflict

The social conflicts in the Kisan community are mostly related to household conflicts, assaults, and others. However, Kattel points out that most of the Kisan do have lands but not everyone. Therefore conflict surrounding land does not make sense as they do not consider land as a symbol of social status (Kattel, 2007: 36). Social conflicts like these may even be outside the Kisan community as their dwelling is mixed with people of other groups.

Conflict Resolution

Conflict Resolution is interesting in the Kisan case. Their community has King, ministers, and police. The procession of conflict resolution is done at “Kisan court” (Kattel, 2016: 35). However, the king or other members are not paid any wage or incentives. If a conflict occurs between Kisan, at first the police look into the matter. If the case is managed by the police, it is settled there, but if not it is referred to the minister. Minister in turn runs full bench along with community members without King. They look into the matter and give each party an equal opportunity to present their case. The matter is discussed by all the elders, members, and ministers. Meanwhile, the King is present within the court but not along with the elders or

ministers. Then after listening to all the facts and deliberations, elders and ministers come to a decision. Then the minister asks King who is present and listening all the time, gives the verdict. This verdict given by the king has to be accepted by the parties to the conflict (Kattel, 2007: 36).

After the verdict is given by King, the police implement the verdict. With the case the parties to the conflicts have to pay certain tax for the service of the court. In most cases guilty have to pay fine and the king receives half of the sum and the other half goes to the court. The tax is generally predefined and even published. If someone does not know about the tax, then the police informs them about it (Kattel, 2007: 35). If the court finds someone violating social laws, then they have to perform pooja with delicious foods and offerings to King, minister, and police (Kattel, 2016: 35).

Kattel states that “since there is no marital relation between Kisan and non-Kisan group, the cultural relation is not too strong” (Kattel: 2007, 39). The Kisan court only serves for minute civil cases and does not look upon criminal cases, but in the past they used to look as they did for civil cases. Though Kattel (2007) tried to provide all the information regarding the Kisan court and their judicial practice, he has not provided any information regarding Kisan and Non-Kisan conflict.

These are primary explanations of things that are or were done by a specific community in Nepal. In earlier days these practices were strong and held the community for good. But in modern times due to formal legal mechanisms some of the boundaries are cut. These practices are now limited to certain social aspects.

Reviewing these cases of Nepal, will help understand how things were taken care of by the Lohorung community.

2.8 Conflict Resolution Practices Around the World

This part of the review is to get an idea of how traditional or indigenous conflict resolution process looks like. The main idea is to link the traditional process with a broader frame of question on how the conflict resolution processes are carried out. This will also try to observe any specific pattern or similarities in performing such. However, the nature of conflict differs according to context. Therefore, there can hardly be a similar approach to the resolution. Many indigenous communities celebrate their traditional practices and they take it as pride in connecting themselves with nature. Even in today's world this heritage still exists where they practice their style. But, at the same time Kipuri points that "...indigenous people now have to struggle more to preserve their cultures and traditional knowledge" (Kipuri, 2009: 68-69). This is the point that she made in line with the conscious efforts made to acknowledge traditional knowledge and the positive side of the same.

A few of such acknowledgments of conflict resolution are its use in modern-day practice for social benefit. The Rwandan and South African peacebuilding cases are primary examples of how the local conflict resolution tools were pragmatized. This depends upon the nature of local practice and the population who practice it. The examples from the African context are difficult to translate in the Asian context. In the Asian context some of the traditional conflict resolution processes are now part of the institutionalized legal system as customary law (Roy, 2005: 7) or may have disappeared. Extending on those Roy (2005) observers, in Asia, the countries with federal systems enjoy maintaining and practicing their indigenous laws than centralized states (Roy, 2005: 9). Apart from debate of political system, there are other things to be considered. But, the institutionalized legal systems are not alternative to the existing court system but are only supplementary (Aggarwal, 2009 cited in

Pokharel, 2010: 3). They are popularly transformed as Alternate Dispute Resolutions (ADRs) throughout many countries.

Alongside the nature of ADRs, it is also important to look into different ingredients of conflict resolution. As it lies within the society, the complex whole needs to be understood with greater precision. As Wagner-Pacifici and Hall acknowledge that with other things in place conflict resolution as an action must be recognized as a “thing” (2012: 183). With the acknowledgment of conflict resolution as a thing they recognize the necessity for it to be given the utmost value to resolve the problem. It further made sense when they raised the concern that “conflict resolution acts as a transition between conflict and peace, thus it requires proper settlement of the entire process” (Wagner-Pacifici & Hall, 2012: 182). Recognizing conflict resolution as a thing adds value to the entire process, which in turn gives greater meaning to the “transitional” phase. In both, traditional and modern day practice, conflict resolution takes plausible time to evaluate and understand the gravity of the situation and choose a better option for settlement. In most of the modern-day conflict resolution practices, conflict resolutions are bettered off with best suitable option or best alternative (Fisher & Ertel, 1995). The cases are raised to promote good relationships and bring better options feasible for both parties.

Traditionally, conflict resolutions were sought as an opportunity to erase discomforts between the parties. The concept of conflict resolution as a “transitional phase” indicates that the parties to the conflict remain at the stalemate position. These positions are crucial as the parties can have enough reasons to move away from conflict. As then most of the conflicts were less political and of more social nature, the transitional phases were valuable for the entire community. These “transitions” were the proper time to reflect the previous knowledge and skills. These pieces of

knowledge and skills would sometimes undergo minor adjustments or sometimes complete change for the betterment of society. Conflict resolution in a way enriches culture and boosts the positive reconstruction of the cultural values. These forms of cultural transformation centrally affect humans and their overall response to their surroundings.

Below is a brief illustration of the conflict resolution process from Asia and Africa highlights different approaches adopted by different tribal groups. And it also includes the Australian and Rwandan approach in assimilating traditional conflict resolution process with a modern day approach.

Berbers and Bedouins of Middle East

Berbers are indigenous tribal groups from the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco and Bedouins are from Negev Desert of Israel. These two indigenous groups live in two distinct geographical locations: mountain and desert. Wolf (2000) studied these groups and their approach towards settling “water conflict”. Water is one of the crucial subjects of concern for both of these tribal groups. Water for them is a scarce natural resource and the conflict regarding water ranges from the local level to the national issue. Though, Wolf tried to link their art of conflict resolution in conceptualizing for higher-level water conflicts between different nations, here we are only focused on how the process was done locally.

Tribal Structure

Berber is a tribal group originally from the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco and has a long history of their ancestral routes. The organization and land ownership are maintained by the tribe. The tribe has authority over natural resources and plays an

important role in maintaining peace and order. The tribe is broken down roughly into five clans and these clans are further divided into the extended family (Wolf, 2000 citing Hart, 1984). Tribe also consists of local institutions like the head of the tribe, traditional judges, and others. Families also have a role in performing their everyday tasks according to prescribed rules and roles. Neger is also a tribal group located at Neger Desert of Israel. Like with Berber, most of the natural resources and others are maintained by the tribe. There are altogether thirty tribal units (Wolf, 2000 citing Abu-Rabia, 1994). These tribal units are further broken down into smaller family units.

Conflict

Berber's water conflict mainly is about the distribution of water between villages. The allocation of small scale canal irrigation system between the villages is one of the major issues. Extending this conflict, the timing of water supply and maintenance of the canal system stands as a major dispute between the villages. Bedouin's conflict is also due to unequal water use (Wolf, 2000 citing Kressel et al., 1991 and 1997). This unequal water use has have created water shortage in the storage system which according to them is both natural and man-made.

Conflict Resolution

Both Berber and Bedouin's resolution approach has many similarities. Similar in the sense, that both the tribal groups always refer their tribal head and look for better resolution. The tribal leaders always take initiation on such matters. In conflict, both relating to Berber and Bedouin, the head of the tribe meets other the head for resolution. During this, the tribal head may ask particular help from the people of their group. In Bedouin's case, if such a resolution fails, the matter is taken to the

traditional judge. These traditional judges then take necessary consultation to conclude.

The result of such a resolution in Berber's case was scientific collection and channelization of water. Also, they made an appropriate system to address the maintenance of water. In Bedouin's case the result after the resolution was initiating a water flow system based on "allocation by time, rather than volume" system to address unequal issues. And to care for water shortage, priority use system was introduced.

Especially, in the traditional system, the part of healing is better. Berber and Bedouin both follow Islamic tradition. They perform a ritual called *sulha*, a ritual ceremony of forgiveness for the parties involved in a conflict. This system gives a chance of closure to anyone who thinks they are guilty and needs confession or is already found guilty of some mistakes. It is similar to public speaking or confession and after this ritual they say "the slate is wiped clean" (Wolf, 2000: 369). Now after this ritual, all the bad reputations between the parties are dropped and they are considered as one who had never fallen in any problems. This according to Wolf, is to protect both the "right and honor" of people involved in a conflict, which is missing in the modern justice system (Wolf, 2000: 369).

Nchumurus Tribe of Ghana

Tribal Structure

Nchumurus tribe of Ghana dwells in the northern part of Ghana. Like many other tribal communities, Nchumurus has also developed social institutions. In Nchumurus, the oral tradition was prevalent, which means the chief of the tribe acts as the

institution himself. Under his wings, he had the Council of Elders for villages (Brukum, 1998: 40). The chief of the clan always consults with the elders for every matter related to people and places.

Conflict

Interestingly, Brukum briefs about couple conflict as his conflict argument (Brukum, 1998: 40). The couple conflict can range from smaller conflicts to a larger form of conflict. These conflicts are however, dealt with precaution as in some cases, the scenario becomes larger than anticipated.

Conflict Resolution

The conflict resolution approach and understanding of conflict of the Nchumurus Tribe are interesting as they have planned prior about things to do and things not to do. They have simple and easy steps to follow. When the conflict develops between couples it is taken to the head of the clan. Then both sides are summoned for further inquiry. The complaint is given the first opportunity to speak followed by cross-examination by accused in the presence of witnesses. Then the elders examine and question the cases with the parties from which group of people are asked to consult with “old lady” who according to their tradition is wisest and well known (Brukum, 1998: 40). The group then passes on the verdict.

If one of the parties is minor, then “pacification” can be done by saying “I am sorry” (Brukum, 1998: 40). But the case gets complicated when the girl is from another village. The girl is first given a godfather from the same community who lodges claim on her behalf. The lodged claim is then settled between clan heads of two villages. On passing the verdict and accepting, a chicken is sacrificed which is provided by the

guilty party. This marks the completion of the resolution process between the parties. Generally, this is acceptable to the parties, and if not they move to the tribal leader. A similar process is followed. But as the process itself is socially binding most of the conflicts are settled within the clan level.

Mangyan Indigenous Group of Philippines

Tribal Structure

Mangyan Indigenous group is one of the many groups of Mindoro, Philippines. They dwell in their ancestral island of Mindoro (Mayang Group, 2018). The Mangyan group is divided into clans and families. The group is headed by the tribal group and is supported by family heads.

Conflict

Many believed that Mangyan and Tagalog conflict occurred due to economic activities. The conflict between them was difficult as they had different value systems and trade relations (Lauser, 1999: 225). Many believe that this conflict dates back to earlier times when people had not realized such a thing may happen. Then the escalation of the conflict was due to attack by Tagalog on Mangyan settlement. In the beginning, most of the Mangyan believed that this attack was by a communist oriented guerrilla army, NPA (New People Army) (Lauser, 1999: 225). And after the attack, some Mangyan tried to confront the attack and were prepared to defend and also tried to complain local police. However, the conflict was within the society, therefore they did not complain.

Conflict Resolution

According to Lauser, their way of managing conflict is unique. Even if they were attacked by Tagalog people, they did not try to take revenge “as an eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth” (Lauser, 1999: 232). They, despite facing hardship, tried to resolve conflict peacefully with dialogue. Interestingly, they did not have any experienced mediator and they rather tried to resolve in their way. An experienced person from the group acts as a speaker and starts the argument. The speaker also takes the help of other members and continues their deliberation. Each deliberation should be a unique solution to the conflict. Both parties then express their concern over the deliberation. This process is continued until both parties agree on it. After agreeing on it, they maintain peace. This is referred to as “public discussion’ and their way of resolving the conflict (Lauser, 1999: 235). They believe that peace through this is more durable than any other method of resolution.

Australia and Rwanda

Ciftci and Howard-Wagner (2012) studied the ways by which traditional knowledge can be incorporated in the conflict resolution process in Australia. In an attempt to incorporate the aboriginal conflict resolution process in Australia, Ciftci and Howard-Wagner point three approaches by which conflict resolution process can be introduced. The first approach is to introduce the “western-based ADR mechanism and western-based paradigm of ADR” (Ciftci & Howard-Wagner, 2012: 84). But by doing so, they explain that the indigenous population may feel neglected and may not fully own the process. They argue that this weakens the entire process of conflict resolution targeting mostly the indigenous population (Ciftci & Howard-Wagner, 2012: 84).

The second approach is to run both the indigenous model and the “western-based ADR” model side by side (Ciftci & Howard-Wagner, 2012: 84). By this the aboriginal community can take benefit from both approaches. This will minimize the shortcomings of one to compensate for others.

The third approach suggested by them is to strengthen the indigenous process and make it better with time (Ciftci & Howard-Wagner, 2012: 84). They argue that to be of their model, they must have certain aspects: the process has to be facilitated by the community itself, the process must take place within the community and the elders should take in charge of the processing (Ciftci & Howard-Wagner, 2012: 84). This approach came in light with aboriginal models of conflict resolution being popularized like “elder arbitration, aboriginal mediation, agreement making, Circle courts, Aboriginal Sentencing court, Koorie court” (Ciftci & Howard-Wagner, 2012: 84). These systems are practiced in their way and are considered part of the social system by the community. In the modern day, courts like these have a special place for the community to preserve their value and cultures and then transmit it to the new generation.

Rwandan peacebuilding initiatives started with the adoption of their local court system along with a formal court mechanism. These were performed similarly to that of traditional systems. The only difference now was that presence of a formal justice system gave legal validity. These tribal justice systems were transformed into peacemaking mechanism (Werner, 2010: 61). The courts were set up within the community and not in closed courtrooms with both perpetrators and victims present. The preceding was discussed and carried by the local process (Mwakikagile, 2013: 248). This process was in the interest of people and their social connection.

Mwakikagile (2013) explains that the resolution process not only affects Rwandan

people (Hutu and Tutsi) but also the people from Burundi (Mwakikagile, 2013: 249). They both were in a silent conflict for a long time, the resolution process would have certainly affected long term relationship not only people to people but also country to country (Mwakikagile, 2013: 254). This is because justice to victims of conflict needs social promising as well. The social promising is brought upon by the presence of community people and by the community.

The illustrations from Asian and African countries with the incorporation of Australian efforts have helped in better understanding of the traditional and indigenous conflict resolution process. The kinds of literature have provided an understanding of concepts of culture and ritual and their importance in the conflict resolution processes. This can help focus on the ingredients of the conflict resolution process within the Lohorung community.

2.9 Indigenous and their Identity

There are several concerns when it comes to identity. Identity is not the main discourse of this dissertation. Rather this is giving a reference to the concern of indigenous groups that this dissertation is focusing on. As the objectives of this study are to understand the conflict resolution process, and the knowledge transfer, identity is always connected with them in some way or other. Modern-day political concerns do not exclude any issues around, especially issues related to the indigenous community. The most logical discussion with politics and identity is the alignment. Most of the political power and forces do try to define certain aspects of the indigenous community, through which they try to bring a unanimous consensus. In Nepal, since clarity is absent about ethnic party or state-level parties, it is difficult to align them in one specific category. Thus the idea here is not to look at the indigenous groups as a political entity but observe concern over identity and the political anchor.

Concerning indigenous people and their identity, every government attempts to fix their way of definition. Some of the governments become specific and some resort to a general definition. As mentioned by Taylor (1992), many governments try to provide a blanket definition, making it even more difficult to fit in one particular group, eventually bringing out misrepresentation. This statement by Taylor fits better if there are multiple indigenous or ethnic groups. Then the government tries to come up with a definition that incorporates almost all, if not, most of the groups. This might create misinterpretation of the indigenous communities.

The “misrepresentative” is tactfully replaced it by “most representative”. The annex-1 attached (CBS, 2011) will show how indigenous are classified. The fourth table under heading “underprivileged group” in the table of annex-1 shows “*Rai*” as 2.3% of the entire population. But if dug deep then we can find there are around 32 subgroups of *Rai* like Thulung, Bantawa, Khaling, Lohorung, Chamling, Sampang, Kulung, and so on. These groups have no space in the mainstream indigenous count rather they all fall under the same heading “*Rai*”. The interesting fact is “most representatives” words are used for this identity. “Most representative” word here means those which are easily understood and readily identified by the majority of the population. The drawback of this identity is less or underrepresentation of subgroups under this very heading. Even though they all follow different approaches of performing ritual, lifestyle, language, and even script; many of them are not separately in the population column. This is because most of the people from the group members use “*Rai*” as their surname rather than their ethnic names. This in a way connects the political dimension of identity.

One of the better collection of Nepali cosmopolitan at very early stage was done by Bista through which he tried to provide glimpses of what the overall picture of Nepal

looks like. The book by Bista (1995) is different from others in the sense that the author tried to include academic sense, which is visible by omitting the first person in his writing. There are discussions of about 24 caste and ethnic communities in this book. Introducing 'Rai' community in his book brings the importance of understanding their identity from the very beginning. The identity of 'Rai' is mostly related with the position within more than 30 groups, which attracted these groups (Bista, 1995: 23). Mostly their identity is related with their place of dwelling and the culture they practice. In the past native speakers of the language, decorate their identity who were nearly two hundred and forty thousand (Bista, 1995: 24).

Politics and Identity

Policy and politics both play a vital role in deciding the identity. It will not be an exaggeration to suggest that most of the policies do support the population largely but also has some cost. These costs are sometimes larger than the gain to be made. Most of the political structures converged at the point of gaining the popular vote among the population and by doing so, the vote of minorities is lost. Mauro and Hardison (2000) reviewed international law and policy regarding the rights of indigenous peoples and local communities that are defining the role of traditional and indigenous knowledge in the management and conservation of biodiversity. They rightly identified that the most influential forums occur within the United Nations system, particularly the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the Convention on Biological Diversity (Mauro & Hardison, 2000: 1265). They also highlighted the notion of the "soft-law" context of declarations, regional agreements, ethical guidelines, research protocols, and policy frameworks, which reinforce indigenous entitlements (Mauro & Hardison, 2000: 1266). They also noted that the elaboration of these rights will increasingly impose upon scientific research by regulating access to

the knowledge and resources of indigenous and local communities, and by requiring that policy and management be made with their full participation. In very normal parlance, indigenous knowledge and skills are transferred into a new and improved idea, which can be beneficial for both the indigenous population and the regular population.

But, it is not always the case whereby the policy or politics or both tries to demoralize the indigenous population. Tilley (2002) in her study of Chilean indigenous groups points out the difficulty in assimilation into the regular population through various processes. She expresses that in the late 1980s, following decades of authoritarianism and political violence, Latin America experienced a wave of transitions to democratic rule and social peace. Indigenous groups were prominent among the social sectors taking advantage of new spaces for political expression and dissent (Tilley, 2002: 528). She points out by 1992, on the 500th anniversary of the European conquest; indigenous organizations across the Americas had mobilized to demand the basic human and civil rights that their peoples have been denied for centuries. Striving to fulfill liberal-democratic ideals, reform-oriented governments in Latin America responded to indigenous protests with a variety of initiatives to grant constitutional recognition, improve the quality of citizenship, create opportunities for self-determination, and increase local control over land and natural resources (Tilley, 2002: 532).

Her point of view is that these reforms have created new opportunities for indigenous peoples, but have also exposed contradictory agendas and sharpened conflicts in many places. Chile's restored democratic government sought to create laws and institutions in the early 1990s that would improve on a history of troubled relations between the state and indigenous peoples. Also, state officials reached out to historically

marginalized indigenous populations, promising to incorporate their demands into the formal policy realm. While some leaders remained suspicious, others took leading roles in this process, hoping that indigenous rights, recognition, and self-determination might also yield a resolution to longstanding land and natural resource claims.

Her paper records the dilution of that promise, revealing the ruling coalition's attempts to instead implant its policy priorities within a newly-created state institution, the CONADI (National Corporation for Indigenous Development). In practice, indigenous people's demands for land and resource rights clashed with regional development schemes and the powerful financial interests behind them. When calls for indigenous recognition generated political opposition, the governing coalition seized control of the agenda, aggressively undercutting CONADI as an arena for dialogue. Policymakers employed wedge politics in indigenous communities, promoting an entrepreneurship agenda among cooperative leaders, while forcefully criminalizing the militant actions of others. This approach widened the cleavages between the state and the indigenous people, escalated tensions between the indigenous people and private businesses, and worsened existing divisions among the communities. Still, leaders continue to seek opportunities for true reform, challenging and engaging the state and its institutions. This evolving relationship between the community and the Chilean state presents a vital test of the quality of contemporary Latin American democratic consolidation.

Similarly, the study by Troyan (2008) between 1926 and 1947 exposes a more problematic impact: the political authority gained by funding organizations that interpolated indigenous movement's norms into new discourses regarding indigeneity and deploy that discourse in local ethnic contests. In El Salvador the movement has

encouraged the state to recognize the indigenous communities and has opened a political wedge for indigenous activism. Troyan (2008) points that 'yet this movement inspired program by the bilateral and multilateral donor agencies to support indigenous activism paradoxically weakened the movement by aggravating outside impressions that indigenous communities are not truly indigenous'.

In his next article, Troyan (2008) again in the Columbian issue argues that the national political context of Colombia in the 1970s and 1980s led the Colombian indigenous movement to elaborate ethnic citizenship. The failures of the left and the decline in the effectiveness of partisan citizenship played a large role in the representation and political practices of the premier indigenous grassroots organization. His article focused on the formative moments of the 1970s and early 1980s when the grass-root organization began to represent its movement as a primarily indigenous, ethnic one, minimizing the importance of nonindigenous actors. The nation-state, at each stage of the movement's development, fostered the "ethnicization" of the indigenous movement of Colombia in hopes of weakening the southwestern insurgency and legitimizing its institutions.

As per Troyan (2008), Tilley (2002) and Mauro and Hardison (2000), the policy influenced by the movements and law *de facto* retarded by the state mechanisms are unpopular in terms of long term sustainability of indigenous people's identity. The core development of the issues is to be addressed by the state's mechanism through normal policy measures and not through any contingencies.

Levien (1987) argues that models of ethnicity in Nepal stress, on the one hand, unlimited ethnic diversity and, on the other, a rather limited set of ethnic contrasts: Hindu versus Buddhist, tribe versus caste, mountain versus middle hills versus

lowland Terai. She emphasizes that ethnic relations in Humla District, in Nepal's far northwest Karnali Zone, are characterized more by interaction, interdependence, and mobility than contrasts and boundaries between groups. In Humla, individuals and even entire villages readily change their ethnic affiliation and their position in the caste system. She stresses that “there, too, ethnic groups are linked by a regional economic and social system, and changes in a group's ethnic affiliations are coincident with changes in their economy and style of life”. Like Troyan (2008) and Tilley (2002), she points that “ethnic relations today are the outcome of a historical process of accommodation between regional ethnic systems and the policies of a centralizing state”.

This points more streamline action just to be recognized. Like in the Columbian case as pointed out by Troyan (2008) and Tilley (2002) in Chilean’s case, the policy structures were influenced by the movement done for a long time. These movements were strategic and focused on influencing the identity-related policy and according to authors they were successful on that occasion. But according to Levien (1987), Nepal’s case differs in respect of different versions of movement which was just linking economic activity and social system. The difference between movement-based and through other means is that one focuses on long term policy formulation and others on short term policy formulation. Long term stability provides stability than the short term, which is very beneficial in terms of policy formulation.

The ethnopolitical discussion and identity are not meant in any way to be connected to political discourse in this dissertation, but just to foresee the temptation by groups. Like many countries Nepal also faced decade long conflict which surfaced centuries-long deep dug discussions of ethnic issues. To cater to this, most political parties took the introduction of proportional representation as an effective way of incorporating

ethnic issues into a mainstream discussion. But the real outcome is yet to be tested. In this dissertation, the indigenous community may or may not be affected by identity and political issues, but this might also be a small window to see how they have reacted until now. The real test to examine the political juncture may not be fulfilled by this dissertation but it is also a part that cannot be ignored or overlooked.

2.10 Knowledge Transfer

Indigenous Knowledge

While studying the indigenous community, it is important to know about their knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is with every member of the community. The indigenous communities try to capture the essence of surrounding and their interaction to gain knowledge. These pieces of knowledge undergo a series of amendments and changes to reach its current form. Sometimes, the changes are fluidic which means they are still changing it. Like Rivera (2013) believes that “indigenous people are not part of the past but part of living, evolving and vibrant community. Their knowledge resides in many formats ---spoken words, physical artifacts, and other formats beyond prints, electronics, and audio-visual” (Rivera, 2013: 5). The first part of Rivera’s point still exists in many communities. Even though they have gone through a definite change in many parts, they still exist as the old heritage today.

For many, indigenous knowledge means a completely different experience. Kaur (2015) argues that “traditional knowledge is largely oral and is the collective knowledge, beliefs, and practice of indigenous people on sustainable use and management of resources” (Kaur, 2015: 2). The fascinating part of her idea on indigenous knowledge is the “oral” form of knowledge. Kaur’s study on indigenous

medicinal plants makes her believe that indigenous knowledge may not require text formats like others.

For Bolhassan and Dorner - "To indigenous people, this (indigenous) knowledge originates from a spiritual base where all creation is sacred: thus the sacred is inseparable from secular (Bolhassan & Dorner, 2014: 3379). They argue that the creation of indigenous knowledge is more than just generating knowledge. It is about spreading the message of sustaining the surroundings and producing better results every time. Bolhassan and Dorner studied three indigenous groups in Malaysia, each with diverse language, culture, and location and presents that indigenous knowledge helps every group grow in their sphere. Similarly, Emeagwali (2004) pointed out that indigenous knowledge systems are not confined to the material sphere, but often interconnected with spiritual and non-material realms of existence (Emeagwali, 2014: 1). Though the study area of Bolhassan and Dorner (2014) and Emeagwali is completely different, they both brought similar conclusions over the indigenous knowledge.

However, Nakata (2002) had something different and elaborative argument. Nakata (2002) reflects on two categories "indigenous knowledge" and "indigenous peoples' knowledge". In his view "indigenous people's knowledge is sub-set of indigenous knowledge (Nakata, 2002:283). He referred to this as incorrect use of terms.

Highlighting the colonial past and their neglect on the indigenous issue have raised the concern over indigenous globally (Nakata, 2002: 284). His view on indigenous peoples' knowledge is that it is similar throughout the world. He argues that indigenous knowledge might be different according to places but peoples' knowledge remains the same.

The indigenous knowledge to sustain for longer terms needs to be transferred to the younger generation. It has been observed that, during this transfer, some of the knowledge becomes weak and eventually does not get transferred. Having said that, most of the knowledge gets transferred in the form that the community is practicing. The process of transferring knowledge is highly challenging and consists of a lot of problems. These challenges have significantly increased in the 21st century due to the development of technology. Even though many see this as an opportunity to get the knowledge recorded, problems get worse while encountering the global modernization of the cultural values. A certain population can be put out of a traditional value system.

Knowledge Transfer and Problems

The study over three ethnic groups, Bolhassan & Dorner framed out that knowledge sharing is done in a three-tier approach. The first tier which lies at the bottom of the chart consists of a shared foundation which is communal sharing and is accessible to all members of the community. The second tier consists of ceremonial and ritual knowledge which is shared based on proactive behavior and participation. The third tier consists of sacred knowledge kept by sacred top, where the knowledge becomes selective (Bolhassan & Dorner, 2014: 3381). The knowledge transfers according to them are entirely need dependent. This need can be from both sides; institution 'who is always trying to spread knowledge or an individual who wants to acquire that. Though all of the general populations are not interested or qualified for a specific tier, only a few selected approaches for that (Bolhassan & Dorner, 2014: 3381). But, Bolhassan and Dorner have not mentioned any problems with such transfers. Rather they are arguing that the transfer is the usual and continuous process of the groups.

Nakata's believe that the integration of indigenous knowledge and scientific development mostly produces a unique and better result. But he did not deny the fact that some of the cultural concerns and ideas might be lost in between the process (Nakata, 2002: 284-285). However, he also did not deny the fact that modern scientific introduction may in a way limit traditional knowledge if not handled properly (Nakata, 2002: 285). This according to him is due to global influence. The global influence stays similar throughout the world but the cultural values differ. This limits the indigenous knowledge. This according to Nakata is due to the intersection of Western (or global) and indigenous domain, which he called "cultural interface". This cultural interface acts as a barrier for two way diffusion of global and indigenous knowledge.

He concludes that the intersection of global and indigenous knowledge will certainly produce different integrated systems, concerns, and priorities (Nakata, 2002: 296). These differences will have tangible impacts on transferred knowledge according to the context of the external environment.

Similarly, Emeagwali believes that among critiques of indigenous knowledge are Modernization theorists, who believe that "positive social change is taken as a unidirectional movement towards an abstract goal called "modernity". And a belief that attaining modernity would eradicate all socio-cultural presence, rituals, religious sensibility, and certain values establish itself (Emeagwali, 2014: 2). Even though her argument is centered more towards the theoretical consideration, the point she raised about modernity and the possible consequence of it wiping out certain cultural values affects the continuation of cultural practice. The stoppage in cultural practice potentially can wipe out the entire structure of indigenous knowledge. This might erase the line of intergenerational transfer within these communities.

On problems of proper functioning of traditional knowledge and rituals, Sundar (2007) observes that sometimes even external factors are impeding the want of knowledge transfer. Sundar (2007), while describing the importance of *Guthi* and their role in shaping *Newar* community, also highlights the role of how it is saving the cultural values. Sundar (2007) identifies that “ill planning and political problems” have made it difficult in performing the rituals (Sundar, 2007: 91). He further explains that most of the grounds of Kathmandu valley are covered either by earlier rulers or by some others. This is restricting the performance of age-old traditions in full swing (Sundar, 2007: 91). This discourages the population in active participation and in a way hinders newer generations to learn about their generation-old traditions.

Sundar (2007) also mentions that youth involvement today is taken as cumbersome rather than jovial volunteering, which is driving them away from traditional performance (Sundar, 2007: 101). And also due to urban lifestyle and busy schedules, youths do not want to be involved in such activities (Sundar, 2007: 101). He also argues that due to the commercial availability of facilities, many people are moving away from traditional participation. This can in the long run create a gap between knowledge holders and new generations eventually depleting their cultural heritage.

So, from theoretical problems of knowledge transfer to politics, all surround up to create a gap between knowledge holders and knowledge receivers. Rapid urbanization, facilities available, lifestyle have taken newer generations away from their knowledge holders. Even, most of the political forces, as stated by Sundar (2007) are not in a position to support preserving historical heritage. There are multifaceted problems in the process of transferring knowledge to the new generation.

The review has given us a clear picture of issues regarding knowledge generation and transmission within the indigenous communities. However, the researcher has not aimed at visualizing the knowledge generation alone. This would be the next research issue for any new uptake. Having said that, for this research the issue of knowledge transmission is essential to understand. This brings us to an important question of how the transfer of indigenous knowledge is done within the Lohorung community. And it also raised concern over any impact in such transmission due to changes in local surroundings brought upon by global issues.

2.11 Literatures on Lohorung Community

There is a lack of written documents in Lohorung community. This may be because most of the rituals are in oral form. Their sacred text *mundhum* is in an oral form which is why they term it as “*Thurthure Ved*”, meaning orally spoken sacred text. With all the consultations and searches, the researcher found out two books related to Lohorung. The two books are important as they are the only pieces of literature available related to Lohorung community. Of the two important books, one is by C.E. Hardman’s “*Other World: Notion of Self and Emotion among the Lohorung Rai*” published in the year 2000 and the other book is by L.N. (Thule) Rai’s “*Kirat Lohorung Rai Chinari (An Introductory of Kirat Lohorung Rai)*” published in 2017. As per the researcher’s knowledge and many Lohorung people, there are only these two books available for someone who wants to study about Lohorung community.

“*Other World: Notion of Self and Emotion among the Lohorung Rai*” by C.E. Hardman, 2000

Hardman (2000) did bring all the anthropological aspects in her study and this was mainly focused on the “linguist” point of view. Hardman had done ethnography merging into anthropological inquiry. Hardman brought the people and the

surrounding into the action of inquiry. The major course of attraction of her study is “Lohorung” and their culture along with the language and its interaction. The entire book is divided into nine chapters connecting people with their culture and the reciprocity with the surrounding.

Hardman has pictured how Lohorung people are within their realm creating space for everything and living their lives in their world. She points out that- “Lohorung concepts of self, mind, and emotion reflect the necessity for unity. Owing to the inner-connectedness between nature, superhuman, and human, they do not divide up the world in the way do in the West” (Hardman, 2000: 13). The picture she set up started with a conscious understanding of self. Self for Lohorung is eminent and cannot be understood in isolation without describing nature. The existence of nature for them is the meaning that they are there. She describes that the interconnectedness between self and ancestor is more than the connection between the material world and individual in isolation (Hardman, 2000: 13). The connection of self cannot exist in isolation for them. The point presented by Hardman is an example of how the cultural concept is looked upon.

Lohorung people since ancient times lived *Pangma* hills (Hardman, 2000: 19). The *Pangma* according to her was divided into different smaller villages of Lohorung people. Pangma village was the settlement of Lohorung people along with other castes and ethnic groups at the slope of the hill. The nearest market town of Khadbari was the connecting link with the village and people of other groups. Hardman argues that Lohorung people are kind and light-hearted who always try to associate themselves with nature. But they are also concerned by the actions and inactions that can cause a disconnection between them with their soul (nature). She highlighted the case of the photograph and the anger by such. The anger was not about the

photograph but the image of demeaning the person risking his soul (Hardman, 2000: 25).

Hardman has narrated how Lohorung is connected with their ancestors and how they have tried to preserve their faith in nature. On some occasions, the linkage between ancestors and individuals is broken. These broken relation efflux symptoms to individuals and then the linkages are connected. The connections were only done in such a break down and then restoration required proper understanding of the cause. “That bellyache, cramps, and diarrhea were seen as an ‘illness’ of angry ancestors or jealous witches made sense where bodies are open to the emotions of others, as did the form the pain took” (Hardman, 2000: 49). The sense of being bodily or mentally disturbed was always taken as a connection to ancestors in one form or another. The connection explains how much they are connected with the ancestors and nature. On these and many other occasions, mediating between the individual and the ancestors was part of restoring connection and finding out the actual cause of the problem (Hardman, 2000: 59).

She has presented the linkage between Lohorung and the celebration by which they thank nature for supporting their good cause. On many occasions, the celebrations are part of the beginning of any action or marks the end of any action. The beginning is always celebrated for a good start and good result and the end function reflects thanking for the better result. This for her is a complex human-nature relation (Hardman, 2000: 113). The relation is complex and comprises a different form of narration which most people agree on. However, the relation is only complete with the ancestors and nature. The assertion that Lohorung’s knowledge consists of a complex whole is further extended by transmitting the verbal knowledge non-verbally. She mentions that non-linguistic means for them is through acting,

participating, experiencing, and engaging in a world where ancestors and spirits of the dead are a reality (Hardman, 2000: 179). This experience for them is much more than a normal experience. These experiences are carried and transferred to the next generations. She adds-“experiences of the body, knowledge about how to protect it and the emotions attached to it are all contributing features to Lohorung concept of self” (Hardman, 2000: 179).

Through her detailed elaboration of Lohorung, Hardman has pointed out how they have defined and described the cognitive behavior of individuals and the emotions associated with it. These elaborations are part of being Lohorung. For them every action, be it mental or physical, has a certain meaning and those are part of continuous life. Life in turn gives something to cherish and bring inwards from the surroundings and give back something to nature.

But, Hardman has not identified any conflicts related to Lohorung and the way they are dealt with. For this dissertation, the researcher is keen to understand the conflict and that was there within the community and the way they were dealt with.

“*Kirat Lohorung Rai Chinari (An Introductory of KiratLohorung Rai)*” by L.N. (Thule) Rai, 2017

Both of the books by Hardman (2000) and Rai (2007) are similar as they both speak about Lohorung culture and Lohorung people but differs mainly on the way it is brought upon. Rai (2007) has brought the insiders' perspectives as he is a Lohorung Rai himself. Rai has simply narrated all the basic rituals and culture of Lohorung. Rai has tried to cover almost all of the cultural ideas. The ideas presented in his book are text documents explaining every ritual as they were done. He did this to preserve for the future generation.

He brought up the introductions of Lohorung with different myths and local sayings. This is interesting from outsiders' perspectives as they may be different from person to person even within the same community. He also introduces the works and tasks that members from Lohorung are currently or before associated with. The detailed introduction of Lohorung, their language, their origin, and culture has certainly preserved their history and legacies. This book tries to cover the gap between no document and an English document by Hardman.

There is more than one myth about the origin of Lohorung and covers for all the Lohorung according to the place. Rai (2017) tried to fit in many jigsaw puzzles into one large frame of the picture. One of the interesting features of the book is its language. Though the language is Nepali, the use of common words enables anyone to understand the complex cultural settings of Lohorung. He describes in detail about the surname, clan, and the water source. He also adds that through water sources, anyone can track down their cultural traits (Rai, 2017: 12). The legends of surnames are also attached to Lohorung. According to Rai, there are four main settlements of Lohorung within Pangma, people often describe all of them as one, but forgets the main difference the reason on why they were called as they are known today (Rai, 2017: 17). In most detailed form Rai has picturized how Lohorung rituals are done and it also acts as a guide book on quantities of things that are required to perform. This entails the detail brought up by the author in this book.

Along with ritual details, he also has narrated the 'mantras' or 'ritual mantras' that are required to carry out the ritual. He also described all the narrations about Lohorung's cultural practices and celebrations. The collections are done from the elders and elders for them are the source of knowledge and Lohorung heritage. This in a way gives authenticity to the collection. Lohorung as earlier referred by Hardman, is close to

nature and consists of so many narrations and explanations for that. Rai (2017) in a way have tried to collect different legends floating around. Most of them are floating in the form of short songs, narrations, and stories. These are important to keep the culture alive.

Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Both, Hardman and Rai have not talked about interparty conflict or conflict resolution. Neither have they touched upon any legends on conflict and conflict resolution of Lohorung. They both have talked about intraparty conflicts i.e. conflicts within the person. Hardman and Rai have highlighted conflict within self and the importance of such in describing the bond between individual and spirit (Hardman, 2000: 256, Rai: 2017: 182).

However, the concept of anger is described by Hardman as being present from ancient times (Hardman, 2000: 230), but the concern is external expression creating conflict is not touched. She describes anger as something by which Lohorung expresses out of discomfort towards something (Hardman, 2000: 231). The anger for them is something that can be controlled and can be pushed. Even, Hardman talks about the “concept of expression of anger” (Hardman: 2000: 232) and the “management of anger” (Hardman, 2000: 235) within the Lohorung community since ancient times. But, she has not mentioned anything regarding the expression of anger and the conflict it generates. It is not hard to notice that anger results in something bad, but their way of managing anger lies with social regulation (Hardman: 2000: 236). Social regulation is a set path through which Lohorung people learn to control their anger as their age progresses.

Even Rai (2017) has not touched upon the concept of conflict in his workings. The only premise he has built is conflict within. The concept of conflict within is not new for them, rather they are ahead of many modern psychological concepts. Like both Hardman and Rai talks about the “Sheer Uthaune (Raising the prestige)” process done to an individual, but done to heal certain disturbance in the relation between individual or individual’s family with ancestors. The “self” part of the explanation is connected with their family and ancestors. The conflict within the self- resulting in disturbances between individual and surroundings or individual and other members are not well explained.

After reviewing these two books, the researcher is passive about the traditional notion of conflict and conflict resolution carried today. This is because both books have not mentioned any conflicting issues. This could potentially be because the authors might have been looking into a period where there were no issues of conflict. Thus it seems that conflict and conflict resolution are missing links of the entire study. This dissertation will be looking at the missing link of conflict and conflict resolution practices within the Lohorung community. There might be instances in people’s archive of conflict practice and conflict resolution. So, this dissertation tries to explore the conflict resolution practices by Lohorung in the past and the narrations drawn after.

2.12 Research Gap

Reviewing different literature along with different subsections has allowed the researcher to conceptualize many issues that are essential for this research. Reviewing culture, ritual and its different aspects have enabled us to question Lohorung’s approach to such. Similarly, reviewing conflict would be handy in understanding different concepts used by the Lohorung community. Likewise, the idea of conflict

resolution in different parts of the world and Nepal have given us a clear understanding of how it is practiced and how the results are shared among the community. The bigger picture of these smaller questions is what the process of conflict resolution within the Lohorung community is.

Connecting from different works of literature and literature from Lohorung gave an understanding of avenues of exploration among the Lohorung culture. Most of the studies done within the “Kirat Rai” community focused on different headings like culture, ritual, and other living practices. “Kirat Rai” community possesses vivid cultural practices that have not been explored yet. And, the extension this community has gone from “traditional way of living” to “ultramodern” has given space to understand the nature of change and its subsequent impact on their cultural practice like knowledge transfer.

Among many missing portions, the nature of conflict and conflict resolution practices, both in earlier days or in the present, have not been explored much. Some of the studies within the Kirat Rai group focus on some parts of such practices but not a holistic study. Conflict and conflict resolution within such communities have featured different practices but not the whole process as it used to be in the past. The biggest issue in identifying conflict and its resolution is the problem documentation. Some of the groups have done better than others but overall there is not enough documentation.

Also, the writings of the Lohorung Rai community lack a proper explanation of conflict and its resolution in the past and as of today. This gives ample room to look into the conflict and conflict resolution more specifically. And as these groups have now migrated to different parts of the world and Nepal, it also gives perspective to look into a change in their cultural practice. This research is completely new in terms

of study as it focuses on Lohorung Rai and their practice of the traditional conflict resolution process and knowledge transfer.

2.13 Methodological Concern

One of the biggest problems in researches like this is the methodological dilemma. It is always challenging as to which methods should be adopted in such multidisciplinary research. Following the books by Hardman (2000) and Rai (2017), it was not nearly accurate for this research to go through their methodological argument. Hardman had followed ethnography, but the researcher believed that ethnography would not suffice the intention of research. The researcher believed that ethnography covers almost every part of the cultural actions whereas the research only requires a few concerns.

But it was probabilistically true that partially the research would be moving towards a bit of anthropological dimension rather than others. This was, however, supported by a few pieces of literatures done during the review of cultural concepts, ritual concepts, and conflict resolution concepts. Since, very few authors had tried earlier to deal with the conflict resolution challenges, it was difficult to pave the way on own in terms of methodological concern. The only concern to the researcher was how well it could be justified and narrated.

2.13.1 Methodological Issues

Most of the peace researches attracts either multi-discipline and or inter-discipline making it challenging and complex for researchers. So, many of the researchers try to stick to one of the paradigms and then lean towards the nearest methods appropriate for the research. This has helped in conceptualizing many ideas and concepts in studies arguing more than one discipline. Though the mode of inquiry may differ

according to cases, it also brings about the debate of purity or rationality in the mode of inquiry.

Purity in the mode of inquiry here refers to the approach by which contextual argument is brought upon. Like, the “elicitive” approach, the approach adopted and often argued by Lederach (1995: 38) as an approach that emphasizes on “understanding things in local perspective”. This is inclined towards the “emic” approach but in deeper essence. Similarly, Avruch provides the importance of the “emic” approach, in understanding the culture and sufficiency of the “emic” for these types of studies (Avruch, 1998:68). On the other hand rationality, as a mode of inquiry, is based on the methodological judgment of the researcher according to the need and demand of the subject. However, the researcher believes that the only problem with rationality is that every rational choice or argument cannot be sufficient to elucidate any event or action. In these cases most of the researcher may bring one or more methodological concerns into action which sometimes may distort the essence of the research.

Studying indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms involves the essence of both the peace research approach and others like anthropology, social science, management, and others. Many of the pure academic researchers like Levi and Benjamin (1977), Geertz (1978) and many others focused their study purely based on anthropological approach. This helped them define the existence of community on well-established methods (those used in modern-day academics). However, this sometimes leads to alienate some of the features within the community like particular rituals, festivals, which are difficult to understand, define, and narrate only in terms of content. These narrations also require “context” upon which they are performed for complete

understanding. Thus, context is important along with content while doing any kind of anthropological flavored studies.

Al-Krenawi and Graham (1999)'s article discusses staying very near to the anthropological approach to understanding things in the community (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999: 163). While studying the conflict resolution process in the Bedouin community, they tried to fix more than one approach in understanding the process. Dividing the entire component into different fragments, they have primarily applied two ways of extracting the information case study and interview (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999: 163-164). Deliberately winding up a theoretical approach in understanding the concept of the traditional approach, they have applied an interpretation model in general inquiry (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999: 164). This has helped them in bringing different underlying hooked concepts of such a process.

Wolf (2000) studying Berbers and Bedouins implied a more narrative way of understanding their conflict resolution process. He pointed out the use of general inquiry and narration, collecting the information asking two sets of questions (Wolf, 2000: 358). His main intention was to reconnect modern conflict resolution practice and traditional practice, through the collected information of two tribe handling age-old conflicts. Being from the geography field, he tried to connect the concern of geography and conflict with rich information.

Hill (1982) in her article brings about the debate of solving the conflict by two different paradigms. The methods include the workshop method which ultimately theorizes the conflict both in general and in particular. She also opens the debate on the role of an introduced third person in conflict resolution. Levi and Benjamin (1977) in his article highly appreciates the human as well as situational behavior for a

proper resolution. They bring out the optimal correlation between the focus and flexibility with the human capacity for enduring conflict resolution. The primary focus relays on collecting all the required information that is required to define a conflict. This helps to define the roots of the conflict. The next important aspect requires the flexibility of humans that makes it more accessible in changing the direction as required for enduring peace. Then comes the involvement of a third-party whose primary function is during the process. Hill (1982) and Levi and Benjamin (1977) are focused on a more participatory nature of methodological requirements. They have tried to stick very near to the emic approach and analyze the arguments or approaches adopted by the community itself.

Diamant (2000) and Pearson (2001) are also close to the emic approach narrating the approaches adopted by the community. Diamant (2000) brings into light the importance of mediation and its different derivatives in culturally and socially rich societies like China. Pearson (2001) in his article rightly argues the change in the physical setting of the disputes that makes it more difficult to resolve than expected. The implementation of existing peace accords in countries troubled by domestic fighting turns out to be a knottier policy problem than expected and subject to lingering distrust and miscommunication.

Departing a bit far from Hill, Levi and Benjamin, Diamant, and Pearson, Avruch (1998) argues in a deeper understanding of the cultural traits to put upon a cultural idea. Avruch (1998) points out the cultural context and its relevancy while resolving the conflict. Avruch is especially concerned with how culture has been defined as perceived or deemed relevant or irrelevant by students and practitioners of conflict resolution and international relations.

Upreti (2009) on the other hand highlights a different route in understanding conflict and conflict resolution. His methodological argument sticks with the grass-root inquiry. This is subtle in the longitudinal study but very handy if the research focuses on a horizontal kind of study. And Collier, Hoffer, Elliot, Hegre, Reynal-Querol and Sambanis (2003) utilize a positivist approach to describe conflict with the help of certain indicators. This may give us data about our where about but lacks the humanizing element of narration. This in peace research will give somewhat different connotation but the positive side is that we will be having some data which can speak on its own under certain condition. Anderson (2006) argues that to understand anything related to the community, it is essential that the mode of inquiry must be very near to the community. In explaining so, he is very near to what Hill, Levi-Benjamin, and others have argued. And his point is narrating with an emic approach will give rich and strong explanations to the communal actions.

Barnard (2000) on the other hand differs a bit far from the arguments. He points the importance of the root of the concept. He argues that as peace study is a gradual depth study departing from anthropology, so the mode of inquiry must align very near to anthropology. This will give ample opportunity for the researcher to understand the human-social-human interaction while narrating any events. While Butler (2009) and Kalvyas, Shapiro and Masoud (2002) are hinting on the need for more than one concept while understanding the studies like “security”, “peace and conflict”. This argument stands true as multi-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary studies need to be looked at from more than one dimension.

Many of the other authors in conflict and peace research have applied the descriptive way of analyzing things, like Brukum (1998: 40), Upreti (2009) have pointed in

focusing on descriptive inquiry marking its importance with situation and context.

These short descriptions give us ample space to consider something which is close to the “emic” approach or supports the action. Thus one of the better ways to follow for this dissertation would be looking into the context and situation more descriptive way than others. So, for this study, the methodological understanding that the researcher took was inclined with the phenomenon and the one fits the requirement of understanding and explaining the events.

2.13.2 Towards Descriptive Phenomenology

Many developing countries acquire complex community-based justice and conflict resolution systems that have been active for generations, managing conflict between families, tribes, and villages (Werner, 2010: 61). Werner (2010) believes that- “in recent years, conflict resolution professionals and various international agencies have acknowledged some of these indigenous methods of conflict resolution as viable instruments of peacebuilding. Increasingly indigenous and modern institutions have both been active in promoting healing and reconciliation in war-torn states”. Werner (2010) in this regards explains-

“Various attempts at integration of indigenous mechanism of peacebuilding and modern theoretical dimension have been made, but perfecting these methods remains elusive. Each country has its own history and culture along with traditional attitudes and approaches to justice. International efforts to establish a democratic society, with the institutions particular to it, may exacerbate an already tense situation between ethnic groups as well as alienate the local population. Acknowledging the need for local ownership by embracing indigenous mechanism of peacebuilding with which the communities are familiar may add legitimacy to international undertakings. Furthermore, such concepts as democracy can be adjusted, expanded, and integrated with traditional processes and definitions, making them culturally appropriate for

various and different settings. Promoting and adapting indigenous mechanism of peacebuilding are often challenging when considering international norms and human rights practices. For example, many existing structures are based on patriarchic models, which exclude female participation. Such traditional models although adopted in the past have been transformed to meet criteria established by the standards of contemporary international human rights, which advocate the engagement of women. To ensure that local peace practices are accepted by the population, they must be culturally relevant. Culture provides the worldview and understanding of events that shape conflict, as well as its resolution and any subsequent building of stable peace. Without cultural legitimacy, peacebuilding is doomed to ineffectiveness (Werner, 2010: 61)".

Werner points that it is not only the traditional mechanism that is playing a crucial role in bringing justice system closer to people but is also posing challenges from different aspects like Human Rights, democratic values, and other international norms and values. She also points that alongside these challenges persists, there are certain benefits that local community enjoys like justice in their style, the way they can know it and understand it, attachment of justice system with local community brings value and respect which helps to bind the community for long term solution to the conflict.

This context set up was necessary to understand the need of explaining the conflict resolution process through narration, story, and others as it encompasses communities, families, and society in general. Even though the study is inclined near to the "anthropological" study, the researcher has not planned to narrate in the depth of everything but bring the thick description of a certain phenomenon. In doing so, the researcher will be adopting "descriptive phenomenology" to understand conflict resolution. As Werner (2010) points the value associated with the community, it is essential to respect and acknowledge the idea used by the community. Thus, the study

needs to understand the phenomenon and the action to properly describe the context and text of the stories, narration brought forward.

As Nepal is a multicultural, multi-lingual, and multi-ethnic country that consists of many ideas and composition still unnoticed about culture, dialects and ethnic properties, the concept of culture is of utmost importance to understand if we want to understand the social pattern inside the community. This understanding of culture through different dimensions and angles helps us to focus on relating aspects into different modules, which sometimes fits one and loses others. The purity in each culture's preface provides a unique experience to the outsiders. Some may even refer to this as "cultural shock", but for many, this will be an entirely new experience to be understood. The attributes presented in the above literature are a few of the traits that even the Lohorung community carries with themselves.

Lohorung culture in a similar sense is unique and pure for outsiders. Even being Nepali, this can be an entirely new idea in their original setting of GairePangma. The cultural heritage of the Lohorung community is preserved not only by the dwellers of Pangma but also by the adjoining communities who know the history and cultural values. Also, the migrant population within Nepal and outside Nepal has had put an effort to collect and preserve the historical values, cultural practices, and identity by introducing themselves into the migrant community as well.

Thus, for the research's point of view, it would be important to look into conflict resolution from a "phenomenological" point of view incorporating the essentials from culture and ritual. The methodological argument on this is to preserve what people think of their performances and the mode by which they preserve their existence.

2.14 Conclusion

The most difficult assessment that popped up was understanding the nature of the conflict in their terms. It has been and will always be an immense challenge to understand the details within the understanding of conflict at the community level. Most of the literature suggests “understanding conflict in their terms” and then evaluating. As an outsider to the community it always falls short of the best narrative to be developed. Most of the literature suggested that concepts like these cannot be understood in isolation. It needs a contextual understanding. Culture and ritual are part of the chain that needs to be previewed before moving towards conflict and conflict resolution.

Understanding conflict and its sources gave an upward notion of how it can penetrate the social values and system. Through different point of origin, conflict tries to defy the social fabric and give twitchy feeling to the community. The threatened part during the conflict is always individual and society. Both individuals and society then try to maintain the equilibrium by offering resolution schema. Some of the resolution processes are inbuilt within the society and some are adopted by society. With both possibilities, society gives ample space to perform the resolution. The global and Nepali context reveal that the conflict resolution at the local level are different and community manifested processes. These processes are different according to the place and the nature of the conflict. With broader questions of how conflict resolution process is done in a community, the examples have clearly shown track through which the study can be stacked. The understanding of the cultural practice through which conflict resolution is performed helps understand the process better.

The traditional cultural practices are endangered due to rapid globalization. These practices are difficult to preserve as the new generations move from their traditional

boundary to a new and more sophisticated space. This gave an understanding of the impact due to modernization. Though this is a broader question and one particular aspect cannot be linked with it, the horizon is open for discussion. This also challenges the scope for knowledge generation and the transfer to new. Understanding the process has given room to explore more on the Lohorung community with proper methodological stance. A variety of chances to cope with methodological difficulty, the researcher is now more focused on attaining the task with “descriptive phenomenology”. Though there are spaces of biases, the researcher has tried to avoid as much as possible to cut down the self-understanding of the narratives.

With literature on Lohorung, it was clear that some of the broader questions were narrowed down to more specific as specified through the research gap. Those gaps are the exploring areas of the research.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Paradigm

The idea of understanding the concept within the community brings the research to a point that the researcher does not know anything about the conflict resolution practice mode of the community itself. The broader mindset was to overcome the approach of understanding the concept of CR within the group and methodological difficulty.

3.1.1 Theoretical Framework

It is an ultimate dream for a researcher to see things performed within the community and it is even more special when the researcher himself/ herself be part of the greater event. Conflict resolutions, in particular, are still done traditionally but in a very small proportion as compared to other traditional events. Especially Rais from the North-Eastern region were still practicing their traditional mechanism with more paperwork and proper documentation. Unfortunately, except for the “*Sheer Uthaune*” process, only a few processes involved elders in decision making. Regardless of this, the myths, stories, narrations, and songs were within the community as their jewelry. For that reason, the researcher decided to look upon these myths, narratives, stories, and songs to understand what were the local practices. Therefore a better and more convenient approach and the methodological argument was required. In search of the approach and methodology of research, literature was reviewed. Some of the literature argued sticking with ethnography which would provide sound understanding of the subject. Since the idea was to collect myths, narrations, stories, and songs, ethnography would have been too large for the research. Therefore, researcher adopted phenomenology as a research philosophy and methodology.

The researcher has tried to embed phenomenological research both in terms of philosophical discussion and methods of the research as suggested by McCarthy “Phenomenology is both a philosophy and a research methodology (Morse & Field, 1995 cited in McCarthy, 2015: 466). This is because, as pointed by Groenewald “..Husserl rejected the belief that objects in the external world exist independently and that the information about objects is reliable. He argued that people can be certain about how things appear in, or present themselves to, their consciousness” (Eagleton, 1983; Fouche, 1993 cited in Groenewald, 2004: 43). The development of the phenomenological approach in research was done by Husserl as he stood as the pioneer figure. His argument of interpretation lies with the community itself plays a significant role in directing any kind of qualitative research.

As a philosophical approach it provides a clear window as to how the objects are to be viewed. It provides the “way objects around us are seen” and the “intention of the explorer”. As pointed by Groenewald “ Heidegger more used the concept of “Being There”(Groenewald, 2004: 43), which is a bit different from that of Husserl’s idea of phenomenology in terms of the degree by the researcher uses his/her own form of interpretation. Husserl’s idea is the interpretation by the respondents whereas Heidegger’s idea is inclined towards a bit flexible as the researcher is himself/herself there. In a typical situation, the researcher may swing from Heidegger’s point of view to Husserl’s idea, but more confined in sticking with Heidegger’s concern of phenomenology.

For data collection this allows the researcher to explore more and produce a kind of thick description of what has been collected. But the description itself lies with the respondents and the only analysis is open for detailing. So, for this research, the researcher has moved a bit away from phenomenology and then situate between

phenomenology and hermeneutics. Hermeneutics, whereas, allows the researcher to interpret the data and the idea from the researchers. This is not to say that the researcher moved towards the hermeneutic but positions between them. This, in particular, is helpful for this research as this will allow interpreting key concepts and ideas that are flowing within the community.

3.1.2 Ontological Frame

The concept of conflict and its understanding in indigenous context is relative to the context. It means that the concept of conflict and conflict resolution cannot only be understood unilaterally. Individuals may have different meanings of same argument without distort the holistic approach of the concept. The degree of assumption of understanding may vary, but it gives ample space to understand in uneven version. Uneven version can or cannot be in two opposing direction, yet it gives something that individuals understand. It is the context which may play crucial role in setting up the argument.

The context shapes the meaning of conflict and then translates its understanding for the applicability in their social setting. There cannot be one specific meaning to one action thus cannot be replicated. Thus, the concerns discussed within this dissertation may not be even near to what the total picture may look like in reality. The likely scenario may be where, the most appropriate explanations may be missed out. But, the essential part is understanding of reality and its existence as non-rigid.

This ontological position supported the researcher not only in ascertaining how the actions are interpreted within the community but also allows ascribing the tangible (but subjective) meaning to that. This ontological frame helped in attributing the idea which is associated with Lohorong people and their views on what conflict and

conflict resolution means to them and how have they shaped their peace practice in earlier days.

3.1.3 Epistemological Horizon

The community itself is dynamic creating knowledges for their own use. In earlier days, most of the requirements were to be fulfilled by locals. They did not have any external concerns and information that would help to cater their needs. Thus, the knowledge was created by sheer need of the community in dynamic process. The knowledge understood within this research is based on socially constructed values.

The understanding of conflict and conflict resolution has been created to with certain meanings and experiences. The meaning may be subjective to experience. As experience may add values to such dynamic process. In due course of time, some of the settlement within Lohorung community might have picked newer version while others might have brought in the traditional understanding. This in a way may look like two different versions living within same community. But the main idea is to fulfil the needs of the community. This caters their need of maintaining their values and social fabric. This needs nexus of emic approach to understand how their knowledge has been developed and used. Staying outside the group may not be beneficial in understanding the core concept behind developing concepts of conflict and conflict resolution.

3.1.4 Axiology

Axiology is the philosophical position of the researcher during the research. Since the research is phenomenological with socially constructed ontology and interpretivist epistemology, the researcher is value bound. This means the researcher had to create some boundaries of own to make feel that the researcher is also part of what has been

studied. The researcher cannot locate themselves out of the value that the research is bound with. The value that the social norm and cultural position put on should be acquired by the researcher.

3.2 Research Design

To understand the social, cultural context and rituals associated with conflict resolution, theoretically and philosophically, it was challenging to accommodate specific research design that can serve and cater to the descriptive phenomenology brought from both hermeneutical approach and phenomenology. Hence, descriptive design using qualitative arguments and a thick description was adopted to justify the needs of the philosophical and theoretical boundaries. The research required a more elaborated form of narration and also requires answering questions related to “what”, the research has adopted a descriptive research design. Thus, this research having qualitative concern is more towards inductive research nature.

The philosophy of theoretical consideration required unhooking the lived experience of the people and the surroundings as well as describing the process of conflict resolution. This in turn made the approach qualitative. The primary intention of the researcher was to explore major concerns and concepts surfaced by the common people. Though this is not opinion poll rather is focused on the qualitative values and input brought in, sometimes the data brought forward came as opinion, which was either omitted or re-confirmed by the researcher. The qualitative analysis was important to see the uncountable feelings of the site.

3.3 Study Area

This study area *Pangma* is a small village of Sankhuwasabha district and is situated at Province 1 of Nepal which lies at the eastern side of Nepal. The location of the

research site is nearest to Dhankuta, Dharan, and Itahari. Sankhuwasabha is located Northern part of Province 1 bordering to Terhathum, Bhojpur, and other regions. This region got more popular recently due to the location of Arun III hydropower project. Manebhanjyang is located west of Sankhuwasabha district and it is the nearest mini-market for the locals of *Pangma*. Local farmers perform small markets during a day in a week.

The primary research site was four *Pangma* which is the primary settlement of the Lohorung community: *Danda Pangma*, *Gaire Pangma*, *Loke Pangma*, and *Yankhrung*. Among them *Gaire Pangma* is believed to be the primary settlement of the ancestors of Lohorung (Rai, 2017), but he believes that this needs much stronger empirical evidence (Rai, 2017). However, Lohorung people are scattered throughout this region *Dhupu*, *Heluwa*, *Angla*, *Didhing*, *Malingtar*, *Kharduwa*, *Yafudanda*, *Khorande*, *Khoktima*, *Simle*, *Malta*, *Berdeu* and other regions of TumlingTaar and Sankhuwasabha. A small group had migrated to Sindhuwa of Dhankuta. Along with this place, the majority of the population resides at Dharan, Biratnagar, Kathmandu, and many other regions. Many of the places either have a very thin population or were difficult to reach, so the researcher considered spending time at *Gaire Pangma* and surroundings and collecting stories and listening to narratives.

However, the researcher only reached Itahari for the performance of the ritual “Eksamang”. This was due to ease in accessibility and presence of people from different places including most of the places mentioned above. The total population as mentioned by the census, 2011 is 1153 (CBS, 2011), who has kept under the heading Lohorung. But, many believe that this is the only population who only writes Lohorung as their surname. Still, the majority of the people write “Rai” as their

surname so, the bulk of the population had been merged into the Rai group. They believe the population is near to five thousand.

3.4 Universe and Sampling Method

The universe for the study was the number of households in the four *Pangmas* of the Lohorung community. The universe excludes the household of other community members or recent migrants. The universe of this study was 182 (this quantity is based on the numbers given by the locals and not any statistical data) households in the four *Pangmas*. Among many other places *Pangma* was selected because it is considered as native places by the majority of the people. Also, most of the rituals are done traditionally and not affected by the modernization or even migration. However, it cannot be ignored that the lifestyle of locals at *Pangma* had changed over the period of time. Also, people have preserved many essential elements of the community for future generations.

The sampling was done purposively. This was to eliminate any kind of misinformation or under-information. At times, many of the respondents did not have any specific stories or ideas to share, and yet they shared their childhood and their ideas. Also, the researcher was living with the community and tried to maintain a presence in most of the occasions and rituals. The researcher visited and witnessed the ritual “*Eksamman*” for four consecutive years and understood the importance and significance of the people of the community. Though many of the literature suggested “narrative inquiry” based research opting samples based on the narrations. But, due to the nature of the theoretical argument of phenomenology, it was essential to understand both the “living context” of the society and the “natural description” of the narrations.

Except for know-how learned through living with them briefly, a total of 187 narratives (both long and short) from 23 people (out of 50 participants, narration from 23 has been gathered and 27 were merely socialization or linking talks) were gathered. Of 187 narratives, most of the narratives were repetitive and only around 80-85 narratives were in pure form i.e. new in every sense. Of these narratives almost 45 narratives account for conflict resolution and remaining accounted for origin, migration, tradition, settlement, agriculture pattern, and others. Two of the community members gave the researcher a major account of the ritual and practices. These twenty-three people were searched and visited by the researcher to collect the narratives and the two people from the community were asked by a few of the elders to teach me different things about the community.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

Lohorung Rai identifies themselves as one of the groups of Kirat Rai. They have their own understanding of being Lohorung Rai which may slightly differ than the state's definition of Lohorung. This study defines and understands Lohorung Rai as they are understood by Society of Kirat Lohorung Rai (Kirat Lohorung Rai Samaj). As state's definition baskets all sub groups of Rai in one larger section, this may distort their uniqueness and difference within each other.

Since the research has adopted a phenomenological approach, the unit of analysis is "living experience or lived experience" of an individual as positioned by Society of Kirat Lohorung Rai. This is with due consideration of the research question on how the conflict resolution was done in older times within the community. It is connected with the observed and experienced value that had been stayed with the people over a generation.

However, the researcher has not only focused on individual experience but also the experiences gained through the old narratives, songs, and other forms. As the researcher has adopted phenomenology closer to hermeneutics, the interpretation of respondents is taken into greater consideration than the researcher creating own interpretation. This in a way is assimilation with a greater volume of respondents' experience and interpretation than the researchers.

3.6 Nature and Sources of Data

The data collected is purely qualitative. The primary source of information collecting primary information was the field study. The field study of the researcher is divided into three segments. The first segment is living with the community. During the three years period the researcher stayed more than a year with the community. The second segment is the presence in ritual performance. In terms of presence in rituals, four consecutive years of the visit on a particular ritual was done. The third segment was collecting narratives from the community members and other members from the neighboring village. Narration is used as a key source of the study. The narrations were not only collected from the Lohorung group but also outsiders just to understand the basic context of how outsiders perceive the group.

The first segment of data collection gave the researcher an overview of how the community stayed in their local habitat. The time spending with the community also includes exploring some of the areas where the Lohorung community had said to dwell in the past but now they do not. This stay was important to understand the context on which most of the narrations were said and interpret how the community member would interpret. This also highlighted how the community had groomed their future generations.

The second segment was most important to understand the spiritual connection between the people. It also focused on the bonding between the people. As most of the rituals were done in masses, it brought a sense of ownership to most of the respondents. This gave the researcher a purity in performance by the people.

The third segment of field research gave the researcher an ample array of stories, short songs, jokes, tales, and folk songs which could be taken as a key source of information. Of these collected narration the researcher has tried not to create “constellation of stories” as argued by Craig (2009: 604) rather a collection of most relevant narration to better understand conflict resolution practices in the community.

To better understand the logical dimension of identity-related secondary information from journals and articles in newspapers and magazines historical and current information was collected. Since the Lohorong community lacks proper documentation, there was only one book available until 2017- book by Charlotte E. Hardman published in 2000 and 2017 book by L.N. (Thule) Rai. These two books have served in many ways. Since Hardman did her research during the mid-70s she has accounted for many key aspects and if any discrepancy existed, the researcher would refer to that if any clue existed. Other than these books different other materials related to Kirats and other ethnic groups, academic articles are reviewed.

3.7 Data Collection Tools and Techniques

To gather data and information, different approaches were adopted. Primarily, data were gathered through the collection of stories and narration. It is also important to mention that none of the stories or any other narration were in written form rather they all were in oral form. So the data had to be recorded with proper consent and then analyzed. These collected narrations were important sources of information and

living with the group helped to understand them with meaning. Also participating in the rituals helped the researcher understand the overall approach in detail.

Conclusively, the researcher had adopted three basic data collection techniques:

3.7.1 Interview

The researcher would be reluctant to say the use of either unstructured or semi-structured interviews rather have sat and talked with different locals to listen to the narrations, stories, songs, myths. However, sometimes tag questions were asked, but they were mainly done to get further clarification on the already said idea. The general way of starting the conversation was passing the greetings for the community people who knew the researcher was there for the research. And for the new ones or the ones who were either from other villages or other *Pangma*, the conversation would generally start from the questions.

The researcher would not use pure interview, but theoretically, this was an interview. From an anthropological point of view this was something near to excavating some stories lying deep inside the individual. The research still called it an interview but since it is not much near to “theoretically defined” interview, and had added randomness to it, so it was called interview random.

Though many people were interviewed, the idea was to collect narrations from them. The researcher has excluded the count from which the researcher did not get the narrations and 23 individuals were only included as they gave almost 187 narratives. This includes all the narrations like the origin of Kirat, settlement, Sankhuwasabha, conflict resolution, marriage, rituals, and many other related to Lohorung. Of these collected narratives almost 45 accounts for both short and long narration, stories, songs, and tales related to conflict resolution.

Two of the community members were not interviewed, but they gave the account of many cultural aspects and ritual aspects. They were also included under interview as in most cases they were trying to answer the researcher's question. So, in a way two different forms of interviews conversing into one idea of generating knowledge were conceptualized.

3.7.2 Observation

One of the most difficult tasks of observation as a tool of data collection is breaking the ice between the community and the researcher. As explained by Geertz (1973) "...at the beginning the community members look as if we were not even present there...", the difficulty in assimilation remains one of the biggest hurdles of all. But, during the research, the researcher had not faced any kind of hurdle, but welcoming hands who were always interested to let others know about them. But it was difficult to be one of them and spend days in their style. This was initially due to the kind and warm nature of people. Once they knew about the purpose, they welcomed and helped in any way possible.

It is also important to let know that any outsiders are not allowed to enter the ritual place and even the researcher was not allowed to enter the core area. But, the researcher was allowed to look at and understand the ritual process from proximity. As most of the rituals and daily activities are still done according to traditional rules, it was interesting to understand them in a slightly different way than ever thought.

Observation includes understanding the daily lifestyle of Lohorong people and their interaction with nature and surroundings. Also, one of the interesting ideas was to understand the interconnectedness between the people within the community. It also covered the performance of rituals and being received as a guest. These experiences

had helped to understand the narrations in greater detail. Observation in particular helped the researcher to break the preconceived mentality (probably urban mentality), which in many sense supported the way data had to be analyzed.

3.8 Data Analysis Process

With a phenomenological way of perceiving and driving the research, data analysis was the next challenge to be faced. The collection of a large number of recorded narratives had to be transcribed and analyzed thereafter. Audio recording and written notes were two major forms of the data recording process. Collected data in its raw forms were analyzed in two different ways. Written data were categorized from the very beginning and so on the categorical groups were formed. Whereas audio recordings were transcribed in its raw form and then regrouped. These regrouped data were constantly evaluated with other key aspects of the social and cultural sphere.

Collected data has been used in three ways. The first way- the narrations and statements made by individuals are synthesized and link with some other narrations for match up. In this the narrations are finally boiled down to key statements and then further elaborated. The second way- the collected narrations are brought as stated in bulk and then explained and elaborated. The third way- the collected self-narrating statements, stories, and others are brought in with the context. In a third way no further explanation is done.

The collected data were sorted in order to find out the pattern of either similarities or dissimilarities. Since most of the data were easy and simple, they were lined up with the most nearest analysis. The researcher then had opportunity to add value or trim down unwanted excess information brought down from the data. These additions were done to enhance or to uplift the quoted sayings or answers. Then they were

grouped as per the objectives of the study. These groupings were then sub grouped according to the need.

The collected information is matched with either other narrations or with secondary to reach a certain point. But, mostly the narrations are simple and easy to understand, secondary sources are only used to point the casual relation with something related.

To be specific on the research approach and designed opted the researcher had taken help of Hycner's (1985) steps on data analysis. Hycner's focus is to avoid technical errors like redundancy and the chances of having the different meanings of the same idea. Though it was not possible to follow each step argued by Hycner, major steps were followed carefully. The analysis was done along with the following steps considering Hycner's (1985: 280-291) steps:

3.8.1 Transcription

Transcription of written notes and audio record and field notes was done with the help of professional skillful enough for doing the task. The transcript documents were then rechecked and carefully analyzed the selection of words, phrases, and particularly the weight of the sentence. To avoid the repetitiveness of narration, selected narrations were transcribed into the document. The transcription was done directly from the Nepali audio language to English. The transcription of audio was done in literal form and not in summary form. Similarly field notes were matched and transcribed into English from the Nepali language. The researcher himself had done the task of transliteration from Nepali to the English language.

3.8.2 Bracketing and the Phenomenological Reduction

This particular step was done to purify the data through segregation. As suggested by Hycher (1985), "the process involves reading the transcription and listening to audio

to understand whether the collected narrations signify any phenomenon or not”. The key question for this step was- When do we consider a phenomenon as a phenomenon was the major question for this step. Bracketing helps to mark the importance of any data relating it with a particular phenomenon”.

Bracketing also argues on “suspending” the researcher’s point of view as much as possible. In this particular step, the researcher had tried to include their own perception as well but only to the extent that clarifies the statement. So, in a way the researcher is diluting a bit the essence of phenomenology. But this was done to express the researchers' point gained through spending some time within the community.

3.8.3 Listening to the Interview for a Sense of the Whole

This step is re-narration of things that had been collected and bracketed. To gain a sense of what had been documented and what had been bracketed and reduced, the interview had to be re-listened. This step is essential because it points to whether reduction has lost the sense from the local’s perspective and overpowered the researcher’s perspective. In this very step, it was carefully analyzed whether the researcher’s perception made sense or not.

3.8.4 Delineating Units of General Meaning

This step was to settle and sediment what actual meaning of the overall transcribed data meant. This point tries to eliminate all unspecified meaning brought and rigidly stick to the particular things which made sense. The researcher tried to avoid less relevant information or information with discrepancies in meaning during this very step.

3.8.5 Delineating Units of Meaning Relevant to the Research Question

In this step, the researcher tried to dislocate the information according to the questions raised before the research began. This also marked the boundary up to which the pack of information could be used in further analysis. This process as suggested by Hycher (1985) is more important if the research is purely focused on the specific question rather than just bringing holistic information.

3.8.6 Eliminating Redundancies

After delineating relevant to the research question, redundancies in data, stories, and others were removed. This step by step procedure acted as a “checklist” to inform the researcher about what to do next. The most difficult to remove were redundancies in information which occurs in between some different narration. It usually happened that one person gave information and the same information occurred but in a very different way. This however was challenging at times where some meaning went different. And it became a pain when more than two interviewees gave an account of the same thing differently. Redundancies like these were difficult to eliminate and were again verified by the researcher whether they meant the same or not.

3.8.7 Clustering

Clustering was extremely helpful in detail analysis. Clustering was done by breaking the entire data set into four different clusters. These clusters consist of information related to origin, conflict resolution, ritual and process, and intergenerational transfer. Clustering gave a solid foundation to form chapters and subchapters of the dissertation.

3.8.8 Writing Summary

The cluster formation and determining themes gave a way to write down the summarized version of the transcription and field notes. Here the researcher had tried not to focus on any other issues rather than to conflict resolution and its processes. Major efforts were put on detailing the content of summarizing the essence of conflict resolution.

3.8.9 Revisit and Readjust in Summary

One of the important aspects of phenomenological based research is to reconfirm what has been collected. For this, besides the help from locals at *Pangma*, the researcher got help from elders visiting for the ritual “Eksammang” and few people that the researcher met in the capital city. Readjusting the summary was particularly important as this would bring or replace some of the key terminologies used by the Lohorong.

3.9 Reliability and Validity

Since the study was phenomenological in nature, reliability, and validity in this research was difficult from the view point of generalizability. Many of the social science researches are performed under specific context and surroundings. Change in certain social settings and others may impede the outcomes to a greater degree.

Reliability and validity both depend on the degree up to which the researcher has paid attention over data extraction. In social science research, this is a challenge in itself.

Even with the unique social context and others, the researcher had tried to maintain the reliability and validity of the research.

3.9.1 Reliability

The research was a grounded understanding of the action within the Lohorung community. So, it was a major concern of the researcher to detail the data collection and the analysis processes to enhance the reliability of the research. To maintain the reliability of the research, the researcher had tried to stress three major concerns of reliability. However, the fourth concern on “participant’s biases” contradicts with the interpretivist argument. Hence it has not been associated with the concern of reliability.

3.9.1.1 Elimination of Respondents’ Error

The researcher made a good effort to understand the contextual settings to eliminate any chances of respondents’ error. These contextual settings were the factors that might be affecting their narrations like taking the formal interview, taking them in their style, and timing of interviews. The researcher believed that people generally give restricted answers if they were dealt like respondents and freely gave answers if they were asked normally. Also, talking closely to the native style of talking (not the language), gave them a chance to express with openness. Errors like these come unnoticed and were tried to minimize as much as possible.

3.9.1.2 Elimination of the Researcher’s Error

Particularly in this phenomenological research, where the researcher is aligning closer to interpretation as well, chances were of occurring errors. This kind of error was tried to eliminate by discussing the interpretation by the researcher with the community. To eliminate this kind of error, the researcher would talk only one or two people in a day. This would also give mental relief minimizing the chances of any errors.

3.9.1.3 Elimination of the Researcher's Biases

To eliminate this kind of error, the researcher set aside any kind of perception or judgment away from the responses. Like as research progressed, sometimes the research believed that the community looks more or less like any other group. But, this was just a perception and would hamper the questions or questioning style to a greater degree. So, the researcher let the respondents flow their narrations and did not ask any cross question until they would ask if the researcher wanted any particular answers. This was an approach adopted by the researcher to mitigate the biases.

3.9.2 Validity

The validity of research starts from the very beginning of the theme that one has chosen and the methodological choices that are required. Validity as per the researcher's understanding is important as it links theme with methodological concern with the analysis done. So, to be valid, the researcher has tried to focus on three major points:

3.9.2.1 Construct Validity

To reach this validity researcher has referred to different books and journals before deciding what methodological approach is suitable for the research. The tools of data collection, way of analysis, and others were studied and analyzed before finalizing the research. However, the researcher has taken some kind of risk of staying in between the boundary of phenomenology and hermeneutics. This was to accept the methodological challenge posed by the theme itself.

The researcher has collected all the necessary data and has collected and measured what needs to be to reach the point of analysis. This gives us the point where it can be

claimed that the data used for the interpretation are the exact data that was meant to be collected.

3.9.2.2 Internal Validity

The researcher claims that research has tried to set up a relation between the variables that the study intended to. Though this is more inclined towards narrations, yet it brings some essence to confirm the relation between the variables like social setting, rituals, and conflict resolution.

3.9.2.3 External Validity

This validity refers to the degree up to which it can be generalized to other relevant groups or settings. This, however, is difficult to be generalized to different settings or groups. Even though the Lohorung community falls under greater community “Rai”, there are different groups who have a somewhat similar approach to conflict resolution, but not the same. As the researcher is towards interpretation rather than positivist, the researcher does not claim to external validity in any other group or setting. The researcher can only claim external validity within the Lohorung group.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

In this particular study, the researcher has tried to maintain ethical concerns and other considerations to eliminate any kind of biases and errors. The researcher has not put his own words where the respondents were supposed to answer. The researcher was always concerned with the dignity of the people and respect for the community entirely during the study. The researcher has taken care of any sort of ethical issues with the utmost sensitivity. Data were classified only after the proper consultation of the respondents, and where necessary anonymity was maintained. The respondents and other associated people on the research were made fully informed about the use,

methodology, and objectives of the research. Respondents had every right not to respond to the issues raised. The researcher has highly considered the integrity and quality of scientific research.

The researcher had obtained prior permission from the central committee of the Lohorung Community to conduct the field study. They were aware of the purpose and approach of the researcher.

Also, the community members were informed before the study about the purpose and intention of the study.

The researcher had maintained anonymity among the respondents who did not want to disclose their names and sometimes the place of the interview. This was to protect and respect their right.

The respondents had talked with the community member and others maintaining “Do no Harm”, to restrain any kind of threat that may arise and assured that their self-image, feelings, and dignity would be protected.

3.11 Limitation of the Study

The study had certain limitations. Some of these limitations were related to the respondents. Even though many respondents were either interviewed or were talked to, only 23 respondents were considered. This was to eliminate the chances of having overall different views of the community. Also, few stories, narrations, and songs of a few other groups were taken. This was not done to compare the groups, but to understand the technicalities of the indigenous groups. Of 23 respondents, only 2 were outside the group and remaining were from the Lohorung community.

The other limitation is related to the social setting. The social setting is limited to two areas, 1) GairePangma and 2) Dharan. These two were key places of study. Though the Lohorung community resides other than these areas as well, due to different limitations, they were not visited.

Some of the responses are strictly one dimensional in nature and it was difficult to ascertain the other dimension of the response. Also, some of the stories did have altering meanings to it. This was due to differences in opinion between the locals. Some of these were either sorted out and then conclusions were taken into consideration or were not included in the part of the analysis.

The other limitation is related to the performance of rituals. Rituals are performed in a very particular way. Only a handful of migrants have adopted other local resources, which might look different than those from *Pangma*, but in the holistic term they are almost the same. So, this research had not included any kind of explanation of these changes and local adoption.

CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF LOHORUNG

This chapter deals with the introduction of the Lohorung Rai community and its rituals. Introducing Lohorung gives a brief overview of their social structure, their testimonies of the evolution of Lohorung, and their ritual performances. The intention of introducing the Lohorung Rai community is to give a brief perspective on who they are and the importance of this in understanding conflict and conflict resolution within the Lohorung Rai community. This is important from the dissertation point of view as this dissertation particularly deals with conflict resolution practices of the Lohorung Rai community.

4.1 Thin Glass of Theoretical Framework

In research like this for every narration collected, there constitutes two distinct ways of interpretations. The first way of doing it is as an outsider and second as an insider. Taking outsider's point of view in same equation will not give precise meaning to what their actual meaning stands. The interpretation of general description may match with the locals but cannot replace the idea from locals. This makes the theoretical framework as thin as air. Outsider's interpretation mixes quickly with the theoretical framework and then resembles the ordeal. But, this makes the entire theoretical framework infectious from non-local arguments. So, in order to make it proper functioning, the description is completely based on the interpretation generated by the participants.

The concern of descriptive phenomenology here applies to collected all data and narrations. The narrations has been illustrated and enhanced only through the

interpretation generated by the participants. In some cases, the duality in word meanings brought confusion to the participants, but was connected with closer meaning given by the community and sometimes even both versions were used. The coherence in use of data and interpretation on same was only possible through their own description. The non-permission of “descriptive phenomenology” on self-interpretation without the context gave a thin glass like sheet from distinguishing the researcher from becoming a participant.

4.2 Understanding Lohorung Through Their Culture and Ritual

One of the group members from *Gaire Pangma* claimed that even if you have different concerns about the Lohorung Rai group, the essential part is to understand their culture and ritual. Without knowing their significant connection between nature and self, you cannot understand the process and consequences. His points were in line with Hardman’s argument of nature as the core of the Lohorung community (Hardman, 2000: 31).

It is a customary practice of the Lohorung community to offer something to nature in return for their support and care to people and the community. This offering brings belief to all the generations within the community and they are interested in preserving their own identity, claimed the same member. The cumulative effort is more than the individual in Lohorung’s case. This brings society close, he added.

Other male member from Lohorung group claimed that every narrations, story, or even songs from past are related to everything related to nature and you cannot understand in isolation. Referring to the conflict and conflict resolution process, he claimed that if you are from a different village and not Lohorung, then both groups had to understand each other’s cultural practices first. He recalled:

“One incident when there was a quarrel between people of *Pangma* and nearby people, both agreed to understand each other’s cultural mark. You can imagine, if you do not understand basic each other’s behaviour then the resolution is not possible. It is not always true that different culture tries to offend others but sometimes their own practice hampers. Also, the resolution processes were done by elders respecting both cultures’ practices”.

Similarly, a female member from *Pangma* recalled that when they were kid and communal festivals like “*Eksamang*” was done, there was no discrimination between people who came to see that. Even the sacred foods (*Prasad*) were given to all without knowing if they were Lohorung or not.

These narrations made it important to understand Lohorung’s cultural and ritual ideas even before discussing conflict and conflict resolution processes. This may be off tack of the main objectives of research but, it is essential to know them before knowing their conflict resolution practices.

4.3 Origin and Legend

The issue with origin within the “*Rai*” community differs to a certain extent. The difference may be the origin of their group name, but none of the groups have claimed others to be false. It is because most of the group name falls under a bigger picture of “*Kirat*”. But the origin within the Lohorung Rai group is important as they share certain social symbols with it. Different clan names within Lohorung Rai is associated with a water source. For them, the water source is the most vital source. One of the participants from Dharan admitted that *Chawa* is the mark one has to see whether it connotes a specific group of Lohorung or not. This does not mean Lohorung cannot

have any other symbols with their names, but Lohorung Rai has always been focused on water source as a primary point for settlement”.

There is no conflict regarding the origin or its legend but there are some differences in presentation. Different people have different versions of the story but most of the stories have the same essence. The legends not only of origin but also of others differ according to different locations of *Pangma*. A participant from *Gaire Pangma* told that most of the legends are slowly disappearing due to the widespread movement of local people and less frequent involvement in local affairs.

Ritual and cultural performances within Lohorung are important for understanding conflict and conflict resolution as this gives hint to the richness of their values. To perform any conflict resolution, one needs to know about the basic rituals. Like a participant expressed that “*Sheer Uthaune*” must be done with specific ingredients and processes. It cannot be done without a proper setting. He said it is important for us to maintain basic life as this brings richness in value and self-confidence. He added that “*Sheer Uthaune*” is not simply a process but a larger picture about reconnecting individuals with their ancestors. Underperformance or mismanagement of such a process can bring bad fortune to the person or family. As stated by Hardman, Lohorung people carry and connect with nature, ancestors, and the surrounding which she refers to a connection between past and future (Hardman, 2000: 103). *Mundumor Pelam* (as referred by Lohorung) is continuity of the past and is always preserved for the future generation. This gives a slight interest in knowing the cultural and ritual practice of Lohorung. The insight in such has provided a pressing impact on how it differs within the different community of Rai.

4.4 Origin of Kirat (Lohorung Rai)

The story of Lohorung starts with the origin of Kirat. As mentioned in *Chapter 14 of Skanda Puran of Swasthani Bratkatha*, how Lord Shiva disguised himself as Kirat and visited the vicinity of near Gaurighat, Pashupatinath (Rai, 2017: 5). He disguised himself as Kirat from Goddess Parvati. Lohorung people believe that as Lord Shiva disguised himself as Kirat. Following this legend it means that “Kirat” was conceptualized before the term itself became popular. So, the belief of Kirat with “*Paruhang and Sumnima*” as holy figures is the same as many other of different groups (Rai, 2017: 5).

Iman Singh Chemzong in 1948 (reprint 2003) on the origin of Kirat describes that- “before the name Kirat, they were called “*Saumar*” clans who used to dwell at the plains of Ganges and exact timing of settlement at plains of Ganges is still unidentified” (Chemzong, 2003: 1). He reached this point referring to the text of Sir John Hammerton’s “Ancient Kingdom” where Hammerton mentions: “..Four thousand years B.C when Snepheru King was constructing Egyptian Pyramid two groups were residing at northern plain of Persian Gulf. Group residing at the northern plains were called *Akad* clan and group at south were called *Saumar* clan. These *Saumar* clans were also called Mongolians. They had their own territory, kinship system, and king. This territory was divided into smaller kingdoms and warring with each other. They even had their laws, language, and rules for each separate kingdom..And around 3000 years before B.C, few people (a group of people) moved towards east towards China and few moved towards plains of Ganges through Kabul and Punjab. Many years later they were referred to as Kirat” (Hammerton, NA: NA cited in Chemzong, 2003: 1-2).

Chemzong also points descriptions and origin of Kirat mentioned in “*Yogin Tantra*” of Hindu ritual texts: “With women from a lady from *Kush Deep* (now north of Kabul), Lord Shiva gave birth to a boy. Since, the boy always used to roam around forest and hunt animals, Kirat name was given. This Kirat clan after the 28th generation was known as *Saumar* clan. *Kuwach* or *Kooch*, *Pallav*, *Yauban*, and *Pulinda* clans were separated from this *Saumar* clan. And there are a few pieces of evidence proving that until 1611A.D, *Saumar* clan were ruling areas at Kamroop” (Chemzong, 2003: 2).

According to Chemzong, Saumar and Kirat clans moved from three directions towards Nepal, and hence the name of clan formed. Kirat who moved from the west were referred Kashi Clan, from the east were referred to as Taisyuan Clan and from the north were referred to as Lasa Clan (Chemzong, 2003: 3).

In the modern day context, before the Gorkha conquest of 1773-74 AD, Kirat accounted for the majority of the population of Eastern hill of Nepal, but now the population has been in decline state. In this regards Hodgson (2000: 397) states that “Kirati people..forthcoming in their present adobe from 2000-2500 years back and that their power was great and their domination extensive, reaching possibly at a time to the delta of the Ganges”. Hodgson is pointing towards their greater conquest before finally capturing Kathmandu Valley and then pushed forward towards the Eastern hill. Although majorly people describe themselves as warriors, and fiercely fighter, on the same note Das describes them “..the Kirat of the north and Limbus of the south were known to the ancients by the name of Kirata, on account of their living by hunting and carrying on trade with the natives of the plains in tusk, yak-tail, shellac, cardamoms, etc from the earliest period” (Das, 1970: 3). Even though the description by the local and by Das if seen in a dilute sense may be true as they were the early dwellers of

hills and also by physical features were strong and fierce to be warriors. Both myth and academic notes do have contributed to defining and tracing the historical development of Kirat as a distinct featured group in Nepal.

Further division of Kirat too had many myths and stories. These myths differ according to the group concerned. But one of the myths more popular towards many of the groups is “separation of brothers” from a point at the base of *Mahabharat Hill Range*. The division of brothers from that point gave them a distinct identity and separated each other in various terms. McDouglas (1979: 4) points the movement of three brothers from *Barahkshetra* (a place at the foot hill of *Mahabharat* hill range in Eastern Nepal along the bank of KoshiRiver) along with their own set of followers. And eventually they set up their independent regions.

The story among the locals extend up to the Sen Dynasty in now Makwanpur area where Kirat was viewed as a highly respected warrior and due to which few of the Kirat was serving in the King of then Morang region who eventually built capital at *Bijaypur*, a place at the foothill of *Bijaypur* hill, with the help of Kirat warriors. The king also spread his power with the help of Kirat. With the spread of the power of Kirat warriors, the King then killed one of the chief Kirat warriors fearing of overtaking his throne. The assassinated Kirat’s relatives and nearer then went to Sen King for help to take the revenge of the death. Willing to support the Kiratis Sen Kingdom then further extended taking care of some of the parts of old Morang territory. Bista (1995) described *Kirat* as *Kirat Rai* and *Kirat Limbu* due to the fact that there are significant difference in their cultural and ritual practice (Bista, 1995: 23). According to him the cosmopolitan nature within Kirat made them differ with each other (Bista, 1995: 23). Also, he mentioned ‘Rai’ as a title rather than any specific group around which there are more than 30 groups (Bista, 1995: 23).

Lohorung like other sun groups of Kirat has a very distinct and specific myth. Many respondents believed that the Lohorung was one of the ten brothers of “Kirat Rai”.

One of the participants from *Pangma* believed that it is a popular myth that Lohorung originated from the word “*Nagelungma*” and “*Khakcherukpa*” meaning the grinding stone roughly translated as “*Lung*” (in Nepali the word roughly translated as *Lohoro* or *Pestle in English*) which later on was roughly pronounced as Lohorung mixing both the words “*Lohoro*” and “*Lung*”. He also added that Lohorung people are strong and stiff in physical structure as they are originated from stone.

Narrative Story 1: Origin

This particular narrative is transferred through local song –“ *Khumbuko Bhote, Soluko Rai.....(meaning Sherpa from Khumbu Region and Rai from Solu, Khumbu and Solu together make today's Solukhumbu)*. One of the participants from Khaling group claimed that this song was made popular by folk singer Kumar Basnet. He also believed that most of the community members claim that this and songs like these have been present within the community to teach youngsters about how the community was formed and where they come from.

He argues that -they believe that Nepal has had a certain community since ancient times and who have been talked about in *Vedas* as well. And they have had their own distinct language as well and almost 30 distinct languages or dialects. They cannot be very sure about it though because so many of the languages seem similar in many ways. The same participants from Khaling group points that- “there are three languages similar to Khaling one is *Dumi* and the second one is *Koyu* though they prefer to call it *Koyi*. These three are said to be very similar to each other. The

communities might have dispersed or become diverted at a certain point but what is certain is that the community which finds its origins at the foothills of Everest”.

For them *Mundhum* is the most important document as it talks about every ritual and the everyday association of an individual with the community. A male participant from Khaling group argued that - *Mundhum of different community describes key aspects like the origins and the link with the origin land*. For instance, the death rituals of the Khalings still sends the souls of the dead ones to Khumbu to this day. They both narrated that- there is a place near Dharan-Chatara called *Silukolu* which we today call *Barahkshetra*. This is the place where the Limbus migrated to the east and the Kiratis migrated to the upper side. Their story begins from there. They sing *Mundhum* for the deceased ones and then slowly giving them rest under trees (*Nyai in their language and chautara in Nepali*). And the priest who leads these rituals keeps on singing *Mundhum* throughout the journey. For the ones who understand the language, it doesn't feel like standing at a grave but an instant connection ensues with the soul and the *Mundhum*.

The priest then slowly once again singing *Mundhum* brings the soul of the deceased one back to the house and connects it to the fire stove on the ancestors' side. This connects the dead one with his ancestors but the soul is sent to the Khumbu valley in a place called *Panggoje*. That is how the Kiratis are said to have evolved in the Khumbu Valley i.e. the connectivity to their death rituals shows that they are connected to Khumbu valley. Now today as anthropological studies have increased, the connections can be seen as well. However, possibly later as the bitterly cold weather might have been hard to face they might have migrated a little downwards. But the death rituals and the sending of the souls to Khumbu after death show their origin.

The folklore says there were two Khaling brothers. From the older wife there were two sons *Mata and Dikpya*. And from the second wife there were *Seluwya* who were eight brothers or as we say *Tyarkowatah*. Now there was a huge struggle between the stepbrothers and that is how they separated. But the folklore connects and says that as the fight ensued between the bothers, the elders of the village decided to examine things. They erected a bamboo pole in the land to know whom the earth has chosen. Now the *Seluway* had previously cut the bamboo and added water and a bee on the inside. There was a stone placed at the roots. The sons of the elder wife were simple people so they just came and worshipped and went away. Then it was time to check whom would the sky accept? As the bamboo was moved water came from inside. Then the sky was worshipped and the bamboo was shaken again. The bee then made the noise. So the brothers said they have won this and the older brothers must now go. In such a way, the conflict between the brothers has been described.

Folklores with songs like these are popular among Khalings of Khumbu valley and they usually did not talk about these as others because people might not like it and there could be conflicts. When one goes through these studies, then he/she will come to know how the community evolved, its origin, conflicts within, and reintegration. In this way many can conclude that conflict between the two families further pushed the one of the community further north. Because the *Seluwyas* took over the land so the other brothers had to move away. And where did they migrate to? further north towards Khumbu.

The first narrator from Khaling group narrated that- the ancestors migrated from *Silukhulu* to Khumbu. He also argued that the place has been called Khumbu because it was inhabited by the *Khulus*. He pointed that though they don't know much about this, still they point that Limbuwan, Khumbuwan today are connected with the

original *Khulus*. These things are still under the need for research and further explanation from both Anthropological point and linguistic point. Many groups till today use the word *Khuwalung* and Khaling in particular say *Shilu Khulu. Mundhum* elaborates on this as well. The *Khulu* name of Dudh Koshi is called *Marsa Ku. Ku* meaning water and the name of the river is *Marsa*. Similarly, Namche Bazaar in Khumbu has two rivers flowing there. One descends from the Gokyo region and the other from Thame which is near Tibet which is called Bhote Koshi. Dudh Pokhari is the origin of Dudh Koshi and Trishuli which originates from Gosainkunda and is known as Bhote Koshi in the Nepali language. Similarly, the origin point of Dudh Koshi i.e. Dudh Pokhari is the origin of the name of Dudh Koshi river. In Khaling they call these two rivers *Glu* and *Marsa*. And the meeting point of these two rivers is *Marsa Dobhan*. That place is called *Laarja Dobhan* today. But, nobody knows the origin of the word *Marsa*.

In Khaling language a snail is called *Beng*. They describe it -as we come down from *Marsa Dobhan* we can see a valley which is situated on top of a rock. The rock is so unique and we can see from above how well it holds the village. That stone is shaped exactly like a snail. If we look from above we can see that well. That place is known as *Bengkaar* these days though we cannot say if the place is named after the snail-like stone structure.

These narratives try to answer two important questions- 1) the origin of Kirat and 2) the connection between all the Kirat. Though it would be very subtle to say that all the Kirats are connected in linguistic terms or cultural terms, they all have some common way of explaining different ideas like origin, cultural context, and language. The narratives presented above have been brought from the Khaling community. This is an attempt to see whether or not something resembles Lohorung or not.

Narrative Story 2: Origin and Settlement of Lohorung

The narrative from this story, popular among the Lohorung group, began with the dispersal of Kiratis from Kathmandu Valley. At that point, as the war began a chunk of *Kiratis* during *Licchavi* era flow towards the eastern part of Nepal. Some came through the route of *Arun* River some went off to other directions toward *Khotang*, *Haleshi* through the route of *Shapta Koshi* river, and settled over there. Then another group arrived at *Arun* River through the route of the *Shapta Koshi* river. And again through the route of *Arun* River the *Lhorung* arrived to the *Sankhuwashabha* district above the *Kumling* area. Usually it is said to be the lower area *Changralegan* and *Chainpur* is toward north-west direction. There is a river in *Chainpur* called *Hima* that is related to *Lhorung*.

A participant from *Gaire Pangma* presented that in their language the word *Hima* refers to blood. And even today during their religious ritual they sacrifice a rooster and present *Hima*. There is a place known as *Dhuku* which is referred to as *Pikthukmachawa* where *Chawa* means to originate whereas *Pik* refers to the ox. He believes that, if we consider the naming of the place, then it can be said that people have settled over there. From there arrived *Tumling* at *Khadbaridhungedhara*. There was a king named *Rewahann* and there is also a rock inside a pond which is worshiped by people. That pond is known as *Tumling* pond. And it is said that during those times, a snake used to come out of the pond and bask in sun but they didn't prefer that place for settlement either.

So they moved on and eventually after arriving here, they settled in *Khadbari*. The forest where present-day *Khadbari bazar* (Administrative head of Sankhuwasabha District) exists was cut down by the early settlers along with Lohorungs. As it

happened a long time back, so no concrete evidence can be gathered. Even other narratives do not have any stories related to this. Later they left their settlement in *Khadbari* as well. It is said that they suffered from some disease (many claim to be malaria, but malaria cannot be seen at an elevation of almost 2100 meters at that time) and many people died as well. So, Lohorung people moved towards the north from *Khadbari Bazar* to rescue their population. Then they finally settled in *Pangma* area, where they are still dwelling. In *Pangma*, the area was plain and the weather was good. The place also has abundant water resources today. Nowadays, the water for the district headquarters is supplied through ward number 4 of *Pangma*. Furthermore, the land is also very fertile and the soil is quite similar to the one found in Kathmandu. So they settled in such ways, and a marriage system was established too. Later brothers and relatives started to move away and settled afar as well.

Narrative Story 3: Origin of the title “Rai”

According to popular belief among people “Rais” has been ordained with Victoria Cross and other prestigious awards and prestige are now associated with the Rai surname. Most of the population feel insecure that if they do not write Rai they might have to start from zero. And many believe that the title “Rai” flourished to a greater extent after WWI as most of the youths want to join the British Army. And many claimed that Rai was like the tax collectors. The people who collected tax from the terraced fields were called Rai.

A participant believed that in 2029 when Solukhumbu separated from Okhaldhunga district, a new district administration office was established in Salleri. The government officials then arrived to record the number of people who belong to various communities in the area. And also provide temporary citizenship to the

people. They called it *Nissa* (a document accorded to as citizenship). And around 2032-33 B.S the officials stayed at the house of the chief of the community. Everyone was wondering what it might be and then they knew it was the citizenship papers. They needed the names of their father, grandfather, and everything. The papers were filled by Rais (tax collector). Rai was like the name of a position. The rest were called *Jimi*. As they went on filling the papers the locals were all listed as Rais. And from that time, we Kiratis have all been addressed as Rais. Now Rais were tax collectors of terrace slopes only. However, many others claim that Rai is something more than a mere tax collector. There seems to be a difference in narratives as well. This difference is seen mostly among the Rais dwelling across the *Arun River*.

The tax collectors of large farmlands (khet) were called *Jimmawal*. The village didn't have large farmlands just terrace so only the Rais were the tax collectors. And during Dashain, a jar of liquor would be taken to the Rais house. That was called *ticket* but people didn't know how to say ticket so everybody said *tikas*. And then a goat would be sacrificed. They would first read the *Malashree* which was like *sholkas* (chanting ritual lines) written in large words and about a hundred pages. The animal was sacrificed after completion of the *shlokas*. The blood would then be dispersed on the floor. Then the place where a goat would be standing, a Rai was down on his arms and knees at the exact spot where the sacrifice happened. And suddenly a tall and strong man arrived and lifted the Rai right away and then pressed both his hands and feet at the wall of the house. Many people were surprised as to why this happened? Then they said the government would come to check whether they had celebrated Dashain or not with the mark on the wall. Many claimed that this system started even before Panchayat; possibly during the Rana regime. The officials '*dor*' would come to check and summon if they did not find the mark on the wall of the front door.

One of the male participants from *Gaire Pangma* claimed that *“Though there have been many studies about the Rai community now by anthropologists and historians, they prefer to call them as a community or caste group. But if we look at the different acts of Nepal and also the regulations of ILO, to be recognized as a community, it also needs to have a language of its own, their place of origin, the historicity, culture, and traditions. Everything has to be recorded and detailed. However, the Rais have neither of these. They neither have a language of their own, their own traditions. So, instead of Rai, we need to see the picture of an individual community like Lohorung, Khaling, Thulung, Bantawa, Chamling, Sampang and others many communities, who as a whole carries a common title Rai”* (Field Study, 2017).

Their version coincides with the fact that most of the Lohorung people has clear idea as to when the suffix Rai attached to their surnames. They also claim that their details are rarely taken by the government employees when it comes to true picture of the community. They are worried, but now most of the Lohorung have used middle name to justify the direct left over.

4.5 Understanding Lohorung Culture and Rituals Through Folktales

4.5.1 Culture and Communication

Communication within a culture and outside the culture may be entirely different.

Communication within a culture is subject to own interpretation whereas outside the culture is subject to external and internal environmental influence and interpretation.

Communication here refers to the act of flowing information in different ways. One of the ways is the flow of information within the same generation and the other is to flow the information to the next generation.

Schirato and Yell (1999) point-“Communication can be understood as the practice of producing meanings and how systems of meaning are negotiated by participants in a culture” (1999: 1). Similarly, Wilce (2017), points “Communication as action or practice” by subjecting the concept of action as a form of communication in animals and birds even before human developed their own communication system” (2017: 31). What is interesting in these two definitions is that Schirato and Yell talk more on bringing sense out of communication whereas Wilce points more on understanding communication in a meaningful sense.

Both definitions are pointing the essential consideration of creating or generating meaning out of the context. Meaning producing doesn't simply refer to givers context but also equally for the receiver. The giver and the receiver should be on the same page to build better communication. In cultural context dress and dressing style, style of communication, rituals, dance and performance, symbols, and others are key to build effective communication.

Lohorung's context is no different than the others. One of the key ways to establish communication within the generation is by action. Different actions like producing unique sounds of a stick, tools, stones, musical instruments, and others act as modes of communication for the locals. Similarly performing rituals, colors attributed to doors, houses, style of the house building act as a way of communicating with each other. Even though language and ideas also serve as modes of communication, they are in a way direct communication whereas symbols like colors, placement of specific objects, and others act as implied ways of communicating.

The other ways of communication are through songs, folktales, poems, and short narratives. This acts both within the generation and intergeneration. But majorly,

these act as one of the best ways to communicate with the next generation. Most of the old aged people do share folktales and other ideas to the community and people so that they can transfer the same to the new generations. The prime example of this oral transfer is “*Mundhum*”. *Mundhum* serves as one of the essential documents (oral) for performing everything within the Lohorung community. Lohorung community does have their *Mundhum* and they try to relate the oral narration of this to the new generation. Though this is one of the best ways of transferring the knowledge, there is a serious concern when any of the generations move out of the line. This vacuum created by either migration or any other way may even cost the entire tradition to wipe out.

4.5.2 Folktales

Folktales are short stories, stories, narratives, quotes, songs, and other oral actions that carry history, culture, and rituals of a community or communities. Many of the folktales carry narrations of a single community, but there are chances that these folktales do carry narratives from more than one community. Though the interpretation of these folktales may range from giving similar meaning to totally contrasting meanings, most of them carry similar information. According to locals (though never considered as an expert on the scientific explanation of these folktales, to which the researcher disagree!) most of the folktales can be explained or understood in two distinct way- 1) from viewpoint of social, political, historical, cultural and others, describing the roots, development, rituals and their significance in society, 2) from the linguistic viewpoint, describing the particularity and or general use of word, phrase, sentences, or even whole folktales.

Due to this, some of the folktales may have a completely different meaning from a historical and linguistic point of view. And those folktales or songs which are widely

used are described easily than the occasional ones. These occasional ones may have a different meaning of the same or nearly similar word (maybe difference in writing but the similarity in pronunciation or difference in pronunciation but the similarity in writing), a comparative study on such linguistically seems more fruitful. Thus in this dissertation, the researcher has tried not to stick with explanation differences related to language but with the holistic explanation of such narration. The primary intentions of such folktales were:-

- To understand the social-economic structures of the Lohorung community.
- To understand the conflict and conflict resolution process.
- To understand political systems (individual and institution)

Most of the cultural, as well as historical contexts within Lohorung community, are orally transferred lacking proper documentation. Or, it can be said that the documentary portion is absent making it difficult to join the social jigsaw puzzle. So, most of the pieces of evidence of past cultural and social heritages need to be collected as well as verified by folktales. Since they have four different primary settlements, chances were there would be more than one explanation for the same or nearly the same folktales. Therefore, cross verification of such explanations were necessary as well. In this attempt, the researcher tried to cross verify the same with the other three primary settlements and also with the other groups dwelling very near to the Lohorung group.

Most of the anthropologist and sociologists believe that in the absence of existence of any particular cultural practice, it is folktales and narratives which bring out the history of such. This practice would ultimately save history and transfer it to the

newer generation. One of the prime examples of such is *Mundhum*. *Mundhum* carries a history of ritual, culture, and all the customary practices of the group. And, since *Mundhum* is orally recited the transfer of such happens orally. Due to this most of the groups who have less population or have scattered populations do not have *Mundhum* in written form. This develops the fear of losing the entire *Mundhum* and its essence. But in recent times due to awareness, most of the groups have already collected their *Mundhum* or are attempting to collect and bring the same in written form.

The same folktale might attract different meanings depending upon the place you ask explanations for. One of the folktales collected describing origin and settlement of Lohorung and Kirat was linked with the recently evolved federal structures. This was done by a few settlement areas including the original habitant of *Gairepangma*. A youth participant from *Pangma*- The explanation in one sense goes like this:-

“It is said that the Shah Dynasty arrived in Nepal from Tista. Some conflicts occurred in that area and a bunch of people migrated to Nepal. Later, during the time of Prithivi Narayan Shah Kirati settlement was referred to as Allo Kirat, and Pallo Kirat and Kathmandu were known as NewaRajya. They also had their own kind of federalism just like Allo and Pallo Kirat and were capable in their own terms. Later Prithivi Narayan Shah started the unification of Nepal which eventually was a good thing but many lives were lost. Later, again the same thing was attempted through politicization which created a lot of chaos. And now we again have federalism which is similar to the one we had in ancient times.

The term Pradesh which people use now is the same as the term AlloKirat and PalloKirat, Limbuwan which was used by people back in those times. They had their

own system of production, promotion, supplies, customs, and tax. And people at that time didn't have much knowledge because of which the idea of preserving and developing these concepts never occurred to the Nepalese. And later with big chaos federalism was established in Nepal. The question today is what will happen now?"
 (Source: Field Study, 2017)

The interesting part of this folktale is that either they have tried to connect their stories with the current undergoing political and structural situations or they are trying to make sense of what the original stories might have said. This is very difficult to justify or verify if the same story is taken in a reverse way. The same story has a different version of explanation in other places including those of non- Lohorung area. However, the second half of the story remains the same, the first half conceptualizes in a bit different way. As explained by a participant- the second explanation goes like this:

"After establishing the Gorkha Kingdom, Prithivi Narayan Shah started to unify Nepal which was later on carried by his sons. They referred to Kirat as Kiratee and Limbuwan. Since, these people were enjoying their own kingdom ship or state-ship, they were entered into a treaty with the Shah dynasty, who asked them for unifying smaller states into a large Nepal. This was due to difficulty in winning with Kirat and difficulty in handling the affairs in the long run. So, they were referred to as AlloKirat and PalloKirat and Limbuwan.

Due to this, some of the traditional structures like a system of production, promotion, supplies, customs, and tax were lost as these people at that time didn't have much knowledge because of which the idea of preserving and developing." (Source: Field Study, 2017)

Though these two versions are slightly different both in historical details and order of explanation, they provide us with the same essence of information. It is now newer generations who have to adopt in the most logical way possible.

Also, folktales do have deeper and richer information that anyone can expect. It is just a matter of refining such information and making it richer to all. Few of the folktales describe how the name of the present day Khadbari was created. The essence of the narrative goes like this:- by three male participants:

“*Khadbari* previously was also called *Khuda-pakhali* (*Khuda*- Sword like Weapon). After the war Prithivi Narayan Shah conquered this area, they washed their *Khuda* here and that is the reason it was known as *KhudaPakhali*. Later *KhudaPakhali* became *Khadbari*. Some others say, during *aausi-poornima* (full moon and new moon), the markets used to open and they used to tightly fit their stuff (*khadne*- placing stuff in the compact way or similar to snug-fitting) with their feet and so it became *Khadbari*.

But one of them said that during *Kirat* era *Lohorung* used *Khawa*. *Khawa* means *Sanadhi* which is used for managing field waters. In those days, land measurement did not exist and had to be dug, and a *Kuleso* (kind of land partition done) was made. They referred it to *Khawa* and that *Khawa* that was dug was called *Khadbari*. So, *Khawa* dug field was called *Khadbari*. Some also refer it to be an improvised version or word *Kawari* (meaning dug field) which finally became *Khadbari*. In earlier days, there were no exact measurement systems for lands used for agricultural purposes, only the title was given just notifying the land specifying the range and not the exact measurement. This would be done by the person digging and creating *Kulesha* which they referred to as *Khawa*. And *Khawa* of that time became *Khadbari*.

During that time things between the king of *Bhojpur* and *Khadbari* used to happen in such ways that if one used to play *dhol* (drum) others also used to do it too. And the king of *Khadbari* who was known as *Reva* sent corns saying he had lots of bullets as much as these corns and that he has made flour out of it grinding it in *jaato* (traditional grinder). It meant that he would grind them exactly the way he had to grind these corn with his bullets. It is said they fought war more in the satirical sense than actual battles. But later they lost on the eastern side. It was called *Dhurbade*. They used to play the *dhur* and the king of *Bhojpur* also used to play *dhur*. So accordingly, the way *dhur* was played as messages and signals were conveyed and the king of *Bhojpur* sent some corn saying he has bullets and king of this place sent flour made out of those corns conveying the message that he will grind his soldiers and bullets like this flour.”

Folktales and songs for these purposes were collected, grouped, and transcribed to find out different ingredients relating to conflicts and conflict resolution. Some of which consist of richer information whereas some only contain traces of information. All of these folktales were rationalized according to the need and sometimes more than one were grouped to get the total essence.

4.6 Social Structures of Lohorung

4.6.1 Group Details

Lohorung community has many surnames or family names or even additional names. They have almost 26 surnames that have a distinct myth and source. Lohorung like many other groups added their surnames, additional names according to the place name, name of rivers, hills, water source, wells, and many others. The myth of

different surnames and family names is so big that it has been again divided into many branches and sub-branches. The popular myths for different surnames are:

4.6.1.1 Chhukuwali (Chewali)

Chhukuwali or *Chewali* are believed to have been migrated from the other side of Arun River along with their brothers. These people settled at the place called Chewa so they are also called Chewali. Due to very notorious behavior (as believed to be poor than others in the village), they were often discarded or punished and sometimes contracts being made out for not doing those activities again. But they kept on repeating the same. Due to this some of the villagers beat one of the leaders of *Chhukuwali* breaking his leg, so the name of the place got *Khorande* (which is still known by the same name). Later they were assimilated within the village providing some funds and lands and other support.

4.6.1.2 Tengsa

Tengsa does have a unique myth about nomenclature. The *Tengsa* couple at Malta village had only two daughters and they were married to two hunter brothers who asked for a night halt. They were later searched by their family members and found at the Malta village. The offspring of these couples were later called as *Tengsa*.

4.6.1.3 Yankhurung

They were believed to live only in one specific place called *Dhupu*. Later due to issues about land and others, they moved from that place and spread out in many different places. As they moved to many different places, and many believed that they moved to highlands near or towards Tibet. They are sometimes made fun of lightly as one moved from highlands.

Similarly, there exist many myths about many surnames and family names. One of the interesting concepts is identifying subgroups with the family name. the subgroup is called *Samek*. *Samek* includes the male and female parts of the holy figure. *Chawa* known to be the water source of the family is also added to identify the particular group members. This removes the dilemma of whether the person falls under the Lohorung group or not. Even though this is a very complicated system of documenting, modern-day recordkeeping within the committee of the Lohorung group focuses on preserving all the surnames, *Samek* and *Chawa*. Many of the surnames have lost their traditional names due to modernity and lack of awareness towards their family subgroup names. This is key to identify and tells the role of one in ritual performance.

4.6.2 Language

The idea of language as a method of displaying one's identity can be seen in works by a range of linguists, including that of Thornborrow (2004), who claims that 'one of the most fundamental ways we have of establishing our identity, and of shaping other people's views of who we are, is through our use of language'. Thornborrow believes that "...one cannot communicate using language without disclosing at least some of this information about one's identity"(Thornborrow, 2004: 72). The language of Lohorung does have some distinct characters and features. The closeness of expression and phrase makes it very difficult for non-native speakers or learners on distinguishing the difference in words. The expression however does have some role to play while describing something, yet it is noteworthy that the words and its syllabi vary like in any other language.

The language of Lohorung is called Lohorung Language and also sometimes called *Yakhaba Khap* or *Anni Khap*. This language has been classified under Tibeto-

Burmese by the linguist and has been included under the speaking language group. They do have their own style of writing but for the script they follow *Devnagri*. Even though they believed that they have their own distinct script due to literacy conditions in old times they were less used. Many of the old people fear that if the rate of language teaching drops then eventually after some times the language will be almost extinct. So to preserve the language, the committee of Lohorung has created directives to save the language. They also believe that language has a prominent role in creating identity among Rai and other groups as well.

4.7 Ritual Narrative

Lohorung community has their specific rituals and practices. Most rituals are performed by the population of the group at large and made aware of to all the members of the community to transmit the sense of ownership. The community does have different ways and ideas to perform those rituals, however, the basic functionalities and concept remain the same. The three basic rituals are Birth Ritual, Marriage Ritual, and Death Ritual

4.7.1 Birth Ritual

Birth Rituals have a special position in all communities. We can see the baby shower booming in the modern world which now has globally become a culture. But the traditional practice is different in many respects. Traditional birth rituals consist of lists of to-do and not to do. These lists are supposed to be followed in the strict sense and are not meant to be superseded. The birth ritual starts even before the baby is born. Before the birth of a child, the mother is not allowed to participate in any kind to animal killing activity and even forbidden to see animal killing. They are not allowed to cross the rope tide to animals, ride horses, participate in sewing work, or

leaf plate making. These are not strict regulations but they are not allowed to do the aforementioned activities.

Even the husband of the women expecting a baby is forbidden to participate in the animal killing, fishing, or hunting activities. During this period holy god is prayed for the wellness of the mother and the child. Birth ritual is followed by six major tasks after the baby is born.

4.7.1.1 Nwaran

It is the first ritual for the baby after birth. In the Lohorung community, *Nwaran* is done to place the child in the clan. There are different rules to follow during this ritual for baby boy and baby girl. If the child is a boy, then this ritual takes place on the 6th day of birth and if the girl on the 5th day, but not on Sundays as it is believed that animal sacrifice should not be done on Sundays. If it's a boy, cock should be sacrificed and for the girl hen should be sacrificed. At least five members should be present including the priest, a helper to the priest, mother and father of the child, and at least one house member. But the number of people can exceed this number. And also it is interesting that this ritual should be done during the morning before the sun rises. And it is taken as a bad sign if someone comes in between the ritual performance, so normally the ritual is done before the sunrise so that no one comes.

They possess some unique features and concepts that cannot be found in any other group like the prohibition of specific things like plant leaf. The banana leaf cannot be used during this ritual. Also, the placement of sacrificing animals during the ritual is different for son and daughter. This according to them is symbolic as they wanted any visitor to know if the child is a boy or a girl. And this looks like a unique symbol for the identity.

4.7.1.2 Name Keeping

Name keeping is also done on the same day as *Nwaran*. The priest asks the holy god about the name and they pick the letter first and then the name. Generally, the name is kept by the priest. Since, the priest murmurs, the names or the starting letter of the name is kept after he provides either the starting letter or the name itself.

4.7.1.3 Ear Piercing

Ear piercing is also one of the rituals done during *Nwaran*. This is treated as the “hurting act” for the new child. But, many of the parents shift the ear-piercing ritual after 6-7 months. They can do it after the time but must be only performed on an auspicious day as stipulated by the priest. This act is done with the belief that even death is cheated after the ear is pierced of the child.

4.7.1.4 Rice Feeding

Rice feeding ceremony is done within six months of the birth of the baby.

4.7.1.5 Hair Cutting

For the first time hair cutting, odd age is preferred. Only boys do this ritual. Maternal uncle has a vital role in hair cutting ceremony. Before doing this ritual, babies are not allowed to cut hair.

4.7.1.6 Gunyu Choli

Like hair cutting for the boy, Gunyu Choli is for the girls. This is also performed during the odd years like 5, 7, 9, and 11. This should be done as a mandatory task before marriage.

4.7.2 Marriage Ritual

One of the interesting rituals is the marriage ritual. Unlike others there are two types of ways by which this can be performed. Either it can be formal arrange marriage or it can happen by eloping. In earlier times, eloping was famous and still is but humbly. This means elope is generally followed by the parent's consent. During earlier times, except for these marriages, few other types of marriage existed. Like marrying sister-in-law, marrying another's wife, marrying the deceased brother's wife, but are not termed as good marriages and are almost extinct. Marrying a widow with an appropriate male may still exist but very less in numbers.

4.7.2.1 Arrange Marriage

Arrange marriages are typically considered as a good marriage and the children from these couples are considered good. Arrange marriage requires strict processes and should be followed by all with the consent of the family. Marriage within the clan is strictly prohibited. One cannot marry up to 4 generations of the mother's family. If the generation has not split, then marriage is not allowed. Marrying cousins of both mother and father's side is strictly prohibited as they are considered own brother and sister. During the arrange marriage, ten processes or procedure should be followed:

Lani Time (Approval), *Bangapa* (Mutual Consent), *Sombag* (Gifts from male), *SibumwabungNgame*(Date fixing), *Bagdata* (Marriage), *Hengkhowa*(Transfer Clan), *Duran* (7th day of marriage, take the girl to her original home), *Sorom*(Return of female to male's home), *Sangma or Sangchame*(Gifts exchange to relatives after having a baby)

Forever ritual it is mandatory that a bottle of brewed wine and other gifts should be presented. Empty-handed travel is not treated as a good return act. The gift should include pork meat and wine. The nature of gift differs according to whom it is

presented. For example, if the gift is presented to Maternal home than it should include pork thigh and a bottle of wine and if presented to uncles then it should include left thigh of pork and a bottle of wine etc.

4.7.2.2 Elope

In older days elope were very popular and were strictly under the surveillance of the old aged people and strict social boundary. And they would approve this marriage process as a legitimate way. The rule of eloping marriage constructed as if the girl agrees to stay with the man, the family would leave her there the same night after knowing that the girl has eloped. But if the girl disagrees, then she would be brought back. But due to modernization, this idea has been modified, and now elope are not what they used to be in the past.

Nowadays elope does happen and is notified by the boy's family or friends about the status and with girl's consent other formal processes are initiated. Elope requires to follow the same procedure as arrange marriage but only the first step is missed.

Without formally shifting the clan of girl, the girl is never accepted in the family. The steps in eloping are the same as arranged marriage without the first step.

4.7.2.3 Death Ritual

Death ritual as many other rituals has significant meaning in the Lohorung community. The death and position of a deceased person depend upon how the person has died and who has died. There are separate rituals and proceedings according to age. The categorizations made are: Natural Death, Unnatural/ Uneventful Death, and Child Death.

People believe that the person dying natural death has place *Kul-than* (ancestral place) at home whereas people dying unnatural death have placed in the forest. It is not

believed that after death, the soul travels either to heaven or hell. And all the proceedings are done by the son of the family, if not, by the nephew and follows on the trail of a son for the nearest.

4.8 Customs Narratives

Lohorung like other groups under Rai are not idol worshippers. They are nature worshippers. They have their own specific worship style and timeframe. Even though they incline more towards the “Tibeto-Mongolian” race but they like to call themselves as unique Kirati. Though some studies have tried to prove the “Tibeto-Mongolian” linkage, proper linkage could be found only with traces of Genetic studies, which for now seems a distant effort. The customary narrative can be discussed with two detailed narratives: Festivals and Religious connections.

4.8.1 Festivals

There are different festivals in the Lohorung community. These festivals are celebrated as per the traditional rituals that have been followed. One of the most important festivals is *Ubhauli (Eksamang)*. *Ubhauli*, the generic name, and *Eksamang*, the specific name, denotes the celebration primarily for remembrance of ancestors and also for the good production of crops. Similarly, *Udhauli* is celebrated after harvesting the crop. *Ubhauli* is considered bigger in terms of a celebration than *Udhauli*. The other celebrations are *Nwagi*, which comprises the day of remembering ancestors. This festival is closer to the individual celebration. The other festivals are *Shrawane Sankranti* (end of the month of Shrawan) and *Maghe Sankranti* (end of the month of Magh).

4.8.1.1 Ubhauri (Eksammang)

The days near to *Buddha Purnima* (also known as *Baishake Purnima*), also known to be the full moon day of the birth day of Lord Buddha which falls during the month of Aril/ May. For the Lohorung community, *Ubhauri* is considered to be the biggest festival in terms of celebration. *Ubhauri* starts during the time frame of the full moon of April/ May. As this is the biggest festival, this is celebrated in an open area preferably near forest and water. Both water and forest are required for the celebration. In a very auspicious way, basic infrastructures are set up at the designated place a day before the main day. The area is cleaned and sources like water and others are made ready for the next day.

The main ritual performance (*puja*) of *Eksammang* needs one whole day. In order to complete the whole performance, the place of performance (*Kul-Than*) is traditionally decorated and placed. The performance is carried by at least one priest, normally two, who does the basic rituals and the important rituals of ancestor remembrance and offering gifts, foods, and others. This is followed by traditional dance and feast. The feast comprises basic foods like rice, vegetables, pork, chicken, and pickle. Along with the feast, ancestral offerings are cooked and distributed among the people. Also, during this festival, the ritual oath (*bhakar*) is paid off in the presence of priests and other elders.

4.9 Analysis

Lohorung community have unique rituals and customs features. The rituals have unique characteristics and features like others and not necessarily too different than others. But, surely, one who knows and views it will identify it as a unique performance and is noticeable. The analysis is divided into two parts;

- Ritual as identity
- Ritual as a factor of social cohesion

4.9.1 Ritual as Identity

Ritual performance in many ways is a strong reflection of “symbols” of a particular community representing its identity. Many pieces of the literature suggest the same in one way or the other. Like Turner’s (1969) idea of “liminality” is somewhat related to the identity of the group. Turner’s idea can also be viewed as the extension of Durkheim’s (1995) concept of “effervescence”. Both the concept of “liminality” and “effervescence” is closely related to the idea of the identity by which a group can be viewed from an outsider’s perspective as something distinct and very unique. But for Staal (1989) ritual performance is pure activity without any meaning or goal and the benefit in terms of both “individual spirituality” and “collective identity” (“useful side-effects”).

In pure essence, we cannot give one basic narrative regarding his crosslinking ritual as meaningless. With every ritual attaches a meaning. These meanings are carried by generations and unless any significant alteration is seen, it carries the same meaning as defined in original pretexts. His argument is mostly based on the “non-universal form of dualism”. Here too, upon agreeing on the non-universal aspect of dualism one cannot reject the ideas construed by different pieces of literature on the universality of dualism based on the studies of ethnic groups. For them rituals are part of the group and individual itself. The existence of both of these factors depends entirely on the reality of dualism. There exists an opposition that has been practiced and this gives a new nomenclature to the opposition, but the significant idea is how the opposition can be perceived as a new, the by-product of identity as Staal (1989) describes.

This brings the basic theoretical framework that we are looking through –Structural Perspective. If the idea or concept of identity is solid and consolidated with one particular group, then the duality doesn't exist, but if it exists, then the existences of a lower frame of structures are inherent. During the interview, the researcher was intrigued to understand the fibers of lower structures that may exist or may have been in close nexus with the group. Though it is not possible to articulate through small researches like this to express the exact link between the structures of any indigenous groups, it is likely to say that each group does have some affinity with other groups living close to the proximity. The nearer groups as the interviewers describe are termed as a different group who have different living styles only because they live in different geographical conditions than the group. Lohorung has a close connection with some of the groups who now may have either turned themselves into Lohorung or others. So, what brings them having some identity features like Lohorung? This is one of the most interesting questions brought forward and the answers may be some close association in the way they live, language (very close to some of the words), rituals they perform. In particular, while talking about language, denial was submitted as language may have some immigrant words, phrases, or even writing style, but in particular the pronunciation of the word and the meaning carried in a very specific way brings the other group one step closer to the Lohorung. As they are very much particular about the way a word is pronounced and meanings are carried.

Another important question of does the change in sub-structures has a role in fixing some kind of changes to the structure itself is important. This question will set whether the identity can be viewed through the lower submerged structures or not. The block structures as described as a different set of groups offering some dilemma over identity to one can be one of the very small components on measuring. An

“organic block- a society”, have different natural and human interaction counting under the frame of substructures. The substructures do not claim for any kind of divergence on account of identity. The way the rituals are performed and the materials preserved during that give them a unique identity through which they distinguish themselves as a separate group.

Like the use of natural settings in a different way attracts the way by which a symbol of distinct territorial fit is created. This creation affects the way anyone views the group or an individual of the group creating its own specific identity. It is obvious that certain rituals are bounded by a distinct and unique location, and even if it is not so, it is catered by special directions or geographical requirements. Thus one can know who is performing the ritual and create an image of a certain identity. The use of certain natural resources accounts for a distinct identity. For example, it is required to use musical instruments made out of horns of wild buffalo in the case of Khaling Rai during the process of *Udhauli* celebration. The distinct sound it produces brings the identity of the group. Likewise, the nature and taste of wine brewed during the ritual procession give the visual of a certain identity.

Similarly, the use of distinct flags and colored clothes accounts for the visible identity of the group. This is a very distinct pattern by which they tell others that the ritual and other processes are carried out by the specific group and not by others. The respondents share that during the older days when they had no other means to tell people the location of the ritual being taken place and to distinguish the group from others, they used either different colored clothes or flags. That is the reason why every group has a very distinct color even in the same type of clothes they wear. For this one has to understand the rituals and their viewpoint.

4.9.2 Ritual as a Factor of Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is the key to survival when it comes to indigenous groups. Most of the groups live as an egalitarian society in a large family. But we cannot ignore the modernity whereby many of the families have now moved into urban areas and separated into tiny units neglecting the concept of a large family. Though the internal migration of the whole family is a common phenomenon, the movement of an entire community from one place to the other is very rare. Thus these communities while performing any rituals do invite all the community members who help to strengthen group cohesion.

One of the features of ritual performance in the indigenous community is the presence of all the community members and work division between them. The work is divided between the members as per the scripts in rituals. This does not give any burden to an individual while bringing all the group members as one solid teamwork. Like during the performance of *Ubhauri*, each member of the community is asked to perform a certain type of task according to the capacity and need. Each community member performs the task voluntarily bringing all the communities together. With this and many others like these associations, people build a very stable connection within the group which is critical and important in terms of building a solid relationship with the community.

The extent to which rituals are performed and is structured have specific orders and narrations. Each structure possesses a unique feature that needs to address and attract individuals from the community creating homogenous cohesion between them. The rituals have a specific role in an individual's life cycle. For accommodation of oneself in such a cycle, individuals present themselves in orders and narrations of the rituals.

As the indigenous communities like Lohorung are nature worshippers, one cannot deny and ignore the importance of the group in which they belong.

The community believes that rituals bring all group members as one. The group elders thus encourage all the youngsters to actively participate in ritual performance. This according to them provides them a way to experience and build a stronger bond within the community. This brings them to support and coordinate with the members of the group. As per them a group's solidification is all about coordination and performance by group members. This truly is a point of group solidification process and helps create a bond between them.

CHAPTER V

LOHORUNG CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

5.1 Introduction

Conflict and conflict resolution are not a new phenomenon for Lohorung people. With the evolution of time and government regulations, some of the practices have lost its original form while few are still in their place. For Lohorung the concept of conflict and conflict resolution dates back even before their actual settlement began. They try to link with their origin and how they got up at Pangma. They have songs, narrations, and others which illustrates that their initiation is not free from conflict. However, most of the narrations which talk about conflict do not talk about the intensity of such. It can only be assumed that other than warfare, most of the conflicts were at a social level.

One of the elders at *Gaire Pangma* stated that their ancestors have struggled more than the current generations to protect their native land. They have sacrificed more and got a fertile and pleasant weather Pangma. The understanding of conflict from their perspective is very straight forward. They said that conflict means war or a problem. Some of the narrations claimed argument and some group confrontation as conflict. For them these were different than the bigger picture of conflict they have understood. But, surprisingly, they have all bags of conflict and the resolution process with different names or procedures.

In the beginning, it was difficult to extract exact narrations from people as they viewed conflict either as domestic chores or bigger wars. They had a preconceived idea that conflict is always between two or more than two people, which is not false

and for rest like intrapersonal conflicts they have different traditions and healing processes. They do not call it a resolution process but rather they see it as a healing process. The difference between these two words according to them is- “resolution is a process and can be new to many, but healing is engraved process within the people”. It was an ownership issue with the words. However, the respondents did not deny that wordings or naming were done from very ancient times and now they have and are currently facing a similar situation.

Further explaining the process, one of the participants argued that “in ancient times naming was an issue as it was new for them. People were discovering new things and actions every day so naming was an issue. Even now we have to name many things as most of our new generations do not speak our language, so we have to translate it into Nepali”. This, for them, is to preserve their cultural value, even if it comes at the cost of losing their language. However, an initiative to preserve their language and culture is carried by the younger generation side by side. They have tactfully dealt with both of them. Preserving language is an issue as many of the native speakers differ in many senses. There are confusions in meanings, words, and their implications. But, there are no arguments over that issue. They solve it by mutual consent. In a way they are practicing conflict resolution skills on the way to a minor problem.

Conflict for them is part of life. With their understanding and narrations different forms of conflict can be traced out. These have different names and values in their social structure, but the result and the consequences are similar. They also perform similar skills as in conflict resolution. As they are an indigenous group, they have their own set of understanding conflict and conflict resolution. Some of the words describing conflict are presented in Annex I with their meanings and closest translation in English.

Often these words are not used alone, they are used along with different phrases and other words describing the scenario. In most of the cases, the words are used with sounds like “ssss” and “mmm” to emphasize their focus on the words or phrase. The words or phrases also have slight variations amongst the four villages. Though there are very few speakers of the language, the variations have now been settled in Nepali language, but still there are even variations for single word or phrase.

5.2 Conflicts within Lohorung

It was fascinating to observe that understanding of conflict now had already been visualized and conceptualized way back earlier than we have ever imagined. It would not be an exaggeration to point out that these societies (and indigenous communities like these all around the world) were way advanced in understanding deeper human values and even have some sort of mechanisms to cope with these. Though many believed that there were only two forms of conflict i.e. conflict within community and conflict with the outside community, others believed that conflict within Lohorung can be narrated in three distinct ways.

- Intrapersonal Conflicts
- Interpersonal Conflicts
- Inter-group Conflicts

5.2.1 Intrapersonal Conflict

For many Lohorung, intrapersonal conflict doesn't fall in any spectrum of conflicts as it involves self. However, the psychoanalysis of conflict as pointed by Wasburn - “inbuilt ideas” of an individual as an important aspect of conflict (Wasburn, 1984: 190). Also, citing Freud (1924) Wasburn argued that “...superego, or internal representative of traditional values and ideas of society, develops in response to a

confrontation between an individual and society” (Wasburn, 1984: 190). This analysis of Wasburn is an illustration of how conflict is defined and devised within the self.

With this realm of understanding, the researcher has included intrapersonal conflict which Lohorung popularly refers nowadays as “*Sheer Girnu*” or loosely translated as “Lowering of Prestige” as one of the conflicts within Lohorung community.

Intrapersonal conflict is dealt with the utmost care and they have placed this conflict within proximity to the other two. The intrapersonal conflict highlights the problems within the individual. It is closely related to the psychological conflicts within. Many psychologists today refer this to internal problems like anxiety, depression, trauma, and others and believed that counseling may help this sort of problem. Hardman has noticed over ten reasons for the conflict including problems with food, clothing, money and others (Hardman, 2000: 258). Many participants believed that intrapersonal conflict occurs due to many reasons. According to different narratives and participants this ranges of reasons can be collectively categorized into two broader reasons: 1.) Guilt Feeling and 2) Breakage in spiritual bond.

5.2.1.1 Guilt Feeling

Intrapersonal conflicts, they believe as a consequence of any guilt feelings associated either with self or any other person (be it family members, friends, or any other members of the society). Many participants believe that guilt feeling seems more realistic if we connect it with the context. The context as explained by many of the community members is the action. Any action that violates the basic norms brings a kind of guilt feeling to the individual. Some of the participants also highlighted that “guilt feeling is not owned, but sometimes thrown at you”. A similar list has been highlighted by Hardman like- “if older people tell you off, or get angry with you”, “if somebody hits you or beats you”, “if somebody insults you”, “if you feel ill and

somebody says you are going to die” (Hardman, 2000: 258). They also highlighted that it is not always necessary that the guilt feeling must have some kind of connection with the actions (i.e. context) it may simply be the discomfort or disturbance in everyday activities as well. Like the list by Hardman- “if other people have a lot to eat but you do not have”, “if one only has bad clothes to wear”, “if people give money to all but not you”(Hardman, 2000: 258).

Both reasons associated are part of the community accepted “intrapersonal conflict”. The community is more open and accepts the concept than most of the other community does it today. This guilt feeling may or may not be raised by the same person. Many people believe that this intrapersonal conflict is generally raised by the person himself/ herself or by the family members and in some cases by the outsiders and in some cases by the priest.

5.2.1.2 Breakage in Spiritual Bond

Breakage in spiritual bond does have many reasons like forgetting to perform special rites and rituals, no time devotion to ancestors, failing to keep the promise for special oath, etc. One of the main points highlighted by many individuals was the idea that connected intrapersonal conflict was linking any kind of promise made by any individual or family or group. While observing rituals, many participants made their promise either some years ago or the previous year. On fulfillment of such, one has to offer presents, gifts, fruits, animals, and others as a form of gratitude.

Many participants argued that breakage in the spiritual bond is not a one-way phenomenon. It is the result of a person’s response to not performing certain promised action. They also added that elders of the family always keep track of these performances. They have a huge role in keeping everything in place. Lohorung community is closely knitted and these performances are reminded by other

community members as well. Like one of the participants from Pangma village said that generally spiritual oath (*Bhakal*) is taken in private and these are well discussed between the community members as well. Then one of the roles of community members is to recall such oath. This bars the community members from breaking the bond. But in cases, when the bond breaks, this may result in a drop in prestige.

5.2.2 Interpersonal Conflict

As argued by many including the elderly within the community of *GairePangma*, there are very few accurately describable instances of interpersonal conflicts. However, interpersonal conflicts within a family can be found but not in much abundance. This was supported by the presence of a less number of folktales describing interpersonal conflicts. Many argued that they did not have any kind of interpersonal conflict within the community in large numbers. However, a few people argue that these fewer folktales were to hide the bad features of the community or let the younger generation know that the group had good relations within themselves and eventually they would never have any conflicts within. Many of them described interpersonal conflict related to decision making. Many of the decision making concerns within a family were routed through the chief of the family which created some sort of problems to the younger generations both in the past and even today. And sometimes the decision of family had to pass through elders creating a situation of tension between the family and elders.

Conflicts within the family members were also sometimes related to marriage approval and in most cases later family would approve the marriage even if the marriage was outside the group. Property disputes however were not much seen due to migration. But, noticeable conflicts were not described as every family and their members were closely connected with the communal value. *Loke Pangma, Danda*

Pangma, and Yankhrung do have some folktales describing some instances like the conflict within the community for land and agro product. Conflicts related to land were not in particular related outside the family, but mostly within the family. Some even described conflicts related to a monetary transaction. Since the Lohorung people were well off (as most of them locally relied on agriculture or small business or British Army or Singapore Police), major incident on such accounts was not present. Cross-examination was difficult as many people have already migrated.

5.2.3 Intergroup Conflicts

Lohorung community has a long history of own settlement in and around Pangma village of Sankhuwasabha District. They have four primary settlements and have a history of how the population was settled in these different places. The nature of settlement of the Lohorung community is important to understand as we are talking about intergroup conflict. As *Gaire Pangma* is the original location of the Lohorung Community (Rai, 2017: 12), three other settlements were either to resolve the conflict or to build the internal security from uncertain threats.

There are instances where the folktales describe the conflict between Lohorung and some other groups. The conflicts were mainly related to settlement of Lohorung people, resources use and sometimes even minute non-reasoning problems escalating into bigger problems. These folktales describe how conflict escalated and how they were resolved either by reaching consensus or by eliminating the entire problem. As *Pangma* is located at the bed of hill, the surrounding settlements were always trying to either replicate or to know how things were done in better ways as Lohorung. Sometimes actions like these germinate problems and the resolving actions for these were a tactical decision made by the elders. These tactical decisions were mostly

identifying the problem and then addressing in stepwise procession so that every opportunity was provided to correct the mistakes.

5.3 Lohorung's Conflict Vs Theoretical Model

One of the most essential theories in understanding development of conflict is Galtung's ABC triangle (Galtung, 2007:15). Galtung's A-attitude of parties involved, B- behaviour of parties involved and C- contradiction between the parties well explains how conflict gradually ignites and then escalates over time. Lohorung's conflict also falls under the explanatory horizon of Galtung's ABC triangle. However, the ABC triangle is commonly used for large scale conflicts like armed conflicts. But, the knot to knot comparison can be made to see if any divergences can be seen. Galtung's ABC triangle is more like cyclic event where each individual action follows each other creating vicious cycle of conflicts. Breaking of such can be challenging but attainable.

Intrapersonal Conflict

The understanding of intrapersonal conflict for Lohorung is near to harming the 'self' individual. They believe that the sufferer is individual himself/ herself. This is true as the problem lies within the consequences is expressed through self. The reason may be different depending upon the influence exerted. It may be third party induced like verbal or physical abuse by third party or even breakage in spiritual bond where there is no third party. Comparing it with Galtung's ABC triangle, this fits with behavioural aspect where the behaviour, B, of Galtung's ABC triangle attracts the reason for conflict. Many believes that there is change in attitude, A, of the person as well. But, the contradiction, C, of ABC triangle do not fit in this premise. There seems some disagreement in understanding cause of conflict with Galtung's ABC as regards

Lohorung's intrapersonal conflict. The prime gap in comparison is Galtung's C or contradiction which creates difficulty in attaining goals between individual. This means it needs two or more parties to see the effect, which in this case is a lacking. It seems that Galtung's ABC cannot clearly spell the reasons for conflict within in Lohorung's case. As it says that each step of A, B and C is touched upon while explaining cause of conflict, Lohorung's intrapersonal conflict only steps two of the points of A and B and do not touch upon C.

Intrapersonal conflict without third party i.e. breakage in spiritual bond is even difficult to explain through ABC model. As, the real reason of influence to individual is not known, it is difficult to see if there is change in external behaviour or attitude. Though many participants claim that the effect of intrapersonal conflict is primarily seen as change in attitude and behaviour, but they are rarely hostile to outsiders. So, the change is not that easy to notice. So, it means there is not much compatibility in explaining intrapersonal conflict through Galtung's ABC triangle as at least one of the ingredients is either absent or inconsistent with it.

This intrapersonal conflict is rather close to Burton's human need approach (1990: 12). His idea is more influenced by Maslow's need theory. Burton's idea on "universal needs of human" (Burton, 1990: 14, Burton and Dukes, 1990: 27) focuses on how human internally creates vacuum of want creating gap between self and others. But it is debatable if Lohorung's intrapersonal conflict creates such vacuum or not. It may require further vertical study on such to interpret the argument. But it is sure that the ridge an individual creates or is created within is only fulfilled through "spiritual connection". So, in Burton's sense this still may be need but, both problem and need seems to be abstract and intangible. This even creates problem in understanding intrapersonal conflict.

Interpersonal and Intergroup Conflict

Interpersonal and intergroup conflicts consists at least two different parties, which according to Galtung's ABC triangle seems fit in explaining the components of attitude and behaviour. The attitude and behaviour component of the triangle explains shift from one form to other. Similarly in Lohorung's conflict, the shift in such is observed. Many participants explain that the change in behaviour and attitude are attributes which are shown in retaliation to the response from the other party. This change in attitude and behaviour for them is like metaphorical explanation of human surrounding relation. The change is perceived as non-mature aggression resulting in incompatibility of goals.

This incompatibility of goals is prime source of conflict in smaller scale and in larger scale. Smaller or household conflicts between two or more individuals have incompatibility in smaller matters and can be easily understood. But, in larger conflicts, the position of incompatibility is hard to explain and is difficult to analyse the actual divergence in goal. But, Galtung's ABC triangle can well describe point of references for the two types of conflict.

As argued by many peace practioners "each conflict is new and unique in some way or other" seems plausible as both theoretical models as not ables to clearly depict at least for intrapersonal conflict. This does not mean these conflicts cannot be understood in any way, but lack of proper understanding of community structure may hinder the overall understanding.

5.4 Evolution of Conflict Resolution and its Understanding Overtime

Lohorung Rai or simply Lohorung community has seen a shift from the traditional way of living to the ultramodern way of life. This change is due to migration for

works especially in the British Army, Singapore Police, Brunei Police, Hong Kong, and gulf countries. Most of the people have migrated to different parts of Terai and Kathmandu. The most moved settlements are Dharan and Kathmandu. With a change in settlement place and habits, some of the cultural traits are modified accordingly. The modification is to ease the cultural practices to accommodate all Lohorung within the city. Shiva Lohorung Rai States that- “people always wanted to participate in cultural activity, but they cannot go to *Pangma* village, so they try to manage their rituals wherever they are. Like people living around Dharan, Itahari, Jhapa, Biratnagar, and sometimes even from Kathmandu come to Tarhara to celebrate *Eksamang* ritual. It is not contradictory to an earlier way of doing but keeping our culture alive. We cannot practice exactly like in the earlier days but try to keep everything as it is. Sometimes the essential requirements are brought from *Pangma* but for non-essentials we rely on local resources or the things from this (*Char Kose Jhadi*) forest”. His statement made it clear that Lohorung people and the community try to keep their things as it is. But as Shiva Lohorung Rai stated non-essentials can be replaced with most suitable gradually track offs with the original form. Sometimes later this might see a complete change but it may take much longer time.

One of the short poems of Lohorung loosely translated as – “*we are bound to change but change is natural and we will change with nature*” (Translated by a participant in Nepali). This argument by him and many others is significant in understanding the cultural and ritual practices of Lohorung Rai. They have given a significant definition to which they refer as modernization. Two of the participants stated that – “in earlier days we used to fill water from that (pointing) water source, but now we almost have a tap system in our houses. Even though it is still not a complete tap system, but we are moving away from the traditional water carriage system”. There is a conflicting

emotion about this. Some of them are sad in the sense that they are ruling out their traditional system and some are happy on the part that they now no longer have to carry water. It can be observed that things have changed in how they perceive the place and surroundings. On conflict and conflict resolution, many agreed that the practices that were done in the past now no longer exist except that of intrapersonal conflict. They use the almost same way of healing but have gone a bit of change according to time as well.

From “Let's settle this conflict here” to “We do not deal conflict here now”

Two of the participants and many others believe that their community has seen changes in conflict resolution after the “modern justice system” came to their village and other parts. They also claimed that these systems changed not only due to village level government presence but due to mandatory legal systems like the intervention of police and courts. They also admitted that this was all for their good. However, the system that existed for centuries vanished and now only stays in the stories. But the real fear is that most of the stories are in Lohorung language and speakers are in the decreasing trend. Eventually they believe that this will just be another story to be recalled.

Many participants believe that conflicts in earlier days were settled within the Lohorung community. If there were problems between individuals or couple problems or individuals from the non Lohorung community, and then Lohorung was keen to resolve their matter. This was seen as a matter of pride as they had been living there with harmony. Now we have moved like many others have done, claimed a participant. She explained that problems were always treated as an opportunity to grow and learn new things. If the cases were too large for the community, then they

were referred to the district head appointed by the King. But for remaining cases, the community was sufficient to deal and resolve the matter.

Few elders from the community recall- “when we were kids, we had seen hands and legs of thieves were secured in a wooden structure similar to “pillory in a foreign land”. They were held for a few days until they confess their crime. Sometimes they were beaten by sticks especially on their backs. They were warned not to commit any crime and sometimes punished by throwing away from the village. Pushing away from the village was done mostly to non Lohorung people who would dwell nearby and come to our village just for stealing.” This he recalls as the way they used to tackle their problems. Use of stick in many other conflicts was common and many admit as one of the ways to punish people who commit a crime or indulge in conflict over some issues.

Some of their points reminded the researcher of Hall, who stated -“Paradoxically, studying the models that men create to explain natures tells you more about the men than about the part of nature being studied” (Hall, 1976: 14). As some argued more of what they have seen or heard rather than what it looks like in general. Like one of the participants commented that- conflict in earlier days was more between the devil and good rather than humans. Claiming his argument, others told that the conflict between evils and gods were in ancient time, later between good people and bad people and now between everyone. They argued that conflict resolution between evils and gods was an attempt to perfect nature. And between others is to perfect the social bonding. They also admit that the real meaning of such narrations of past lies entirely with the person and sometimes they can be unknowingly false.

The gradual shift from conflict resolution within the Lohorung community to judicial courts happened that mostly no one noticed. Many participants cannot pick the time when they stopped performing their traditional practice and then shifted to police and government systems. Few of them recall the general practices that they have heard about conflicts and conflict resolution within the village but cannot recall when exactly the process ceased.

They have now reached a point where they say that they now do not deal with conflict in the village (except *Sheer Uthaune*) and it is controlled by the government system. Though there are attempts to settle minute conflicts within villages like fights between individuals, animals damaging crops. These settlements are done in the presence of their local area chief (ward officer or ward chairman). This is way far from what they used to do in earlier times. Their point of view is simple now- we are part of a large system and we should follow that. This shows that there has been a profound change in a way the community perceives justice.

Their meaning of conflict and conflict resolution has changed over time. In earlier days they used to own the process and preserve social harmony. In the present they rely on legal system which may sometimes dilute social fabric. Lohorungs are socially covert, meaning that they believe that they are part of society. They do not feel that society is part of them. This understanding between them has mostly held them as a single unit now. Change in the global sphere and their exposure have brought them back to their roots. The prime example is writing books and recording their cultural and ritual values by L.N. Rai (2018). Many believe that this will give better information to those who are far away from their native land.

Upon inquiry, if the change in understanding was due to outsider's intervention, they replied that Lohorung people had been living with other ethnic and caste groups since earlier days. This shows that the Lohorung community does not fear outsiders. This was to inquire if any alien concepts were introduced to them as Lederach pointed- "Most of the (indigenous) communities do take new concepts as the alien concept and they try to respond with their preconceived mental status" (Lederach, 1995, 38). This shows that the communities do not voluntarily accept the concept rather it should be modified according to their needs. Sometimes they change themselves and sometimes the concept. The community has not changed by any new concepts rather they have developed within themselves.

Interestingly, many have not noticed the change in their concept. They take it as a change in the overall system rather than a change in their system. One participant, in particular, pointed out that change is there, and we (our elders and we) have change for good. Without change many would be left out and there might be an identity crisis for them and eventually forget them as Lohorung. There are cases where people know they are Rai but do not know which Rai. This is common among youngsters but slowly they are recognizing themselves part of their system.

With the influence of local and global changes, the Lohorung community has undergone changes and these changes have brought them closer. Being far from the homeland, they are still attached to their cultural and ritual practices.

5.5 Process of Resolution

There were no specific modules for the conflict resolution process. However, through scattered information, the process seems simple and well-directed. With the narrations from villagers, there seem to be three ways to enter into the resolution process for

three different types of conflict. The participants were specific about intrapersonal conflict, interpersonal conflict within the village, and intergroup conflict. This process of resolution will be talking about complaining mechanisms, handling, and final processing. Few of the participants claimed that it was according to need and not the steps itself. They were not sure about the steps, but few stories, songs, and short poems narrated hints about it.

Pattharka sathi, patthar hun (Stone befriends stone)

Mancheka sathi manche (Human befriends human)

Milena bhane dekhdaina gun (Disagreement may overlap goodwills)

Kada ra bhari tadainai thun (Stop thorns and bad loads)

Kuro puryaune hudaina baigun (Messengers are not always bad)

Sabai milaune hamra purkha hun. (Ancestors were ones who reconciled all)

(Field Study, 2017)

This was a bit difficult to translate from the original version as some would go for a different meaning. With four Lohorung villages within *Pangma*, some of the words have differently understood meaning. But, the overall essence remains the same.

Rather than translating word by word, the essence was translated. In this short poem (or short song) there is no direct indication of conflict or conflict resolution. But, a closer look at this gives some meaning to conflict and conflict resolution.

A participant from *Loke Pangma* stated that the first and second line does not mean revenge, but a message that humans should respect all. But the third line talks about the resolution approach. It is about resolving conflicts in a win-win situation but states

more about if the resolution does not go according to plan. It states that if it does not then no one sees the effort put in, which means someone from the conflicting parties, may be germinating antagonism with others. Subtly, the communities and parties to conflict acknowledge the efforts of the elders. Also, the fourth line expresses about misinformation and bad wordings must be kept aside even before coming to the resolution.

The last two lines give important information. The second last line speaks about the person who submits or reports about the event. It silently says that who reports are not bad guys or complaining about it but it is trying to help people get rid of their problems. And the last line regards elders who are always there to solve the problems. “*Purkha*” in the last line may refer to ancestors but they are referring to elders. But they also believe that ancestors are always present there for them, so the referral as an ancestor is not wrong completely. This narration gives us three phases of conflict resolution process: complaint receiving, handling the complaint, and finalizing the process.

Complain Receiving

According to narration, other than the parties to the conflict or immediate family members, complaints, or reports about the event can be done by anyone who either witnessed it or knows about it first hand. Many participants believed that it is always either the eye witness or immediate family members who complain. But, lodging complaints are different among different categories of conflicts. It is not the same complaining or reporting between intrapersonal conflict and interpersonal conflict. There are certain differences between the complaints procedure and the word in use.

The word “complaining” in intrapersonal conflict is often not present rather it is an “observable” phenomenon. Since intrapersonal conflicts are observed with the person’s health and mental condition, it is either the family members or elders who notice the concern. Sometimes, as Hardman points, “beating or hitting may result in hurting mind i.e. drop in the prestige of person” (Hardman, 2000: 258), then the witness may notify elders or others about the event.

For intrapersonal conflicts, the mode of complaining or notifying is simple. It is either the third party or the parties to conflict carry the complaint. However, upon inquiry if there are any specific mechanisms or procedures to complain, most of them said “no”. Many believed that gift in the form of wine is generally accepted as token as acknowledge of listening to them by the elders. Or, the elders are served with wine after the complaint is lodged.

In the case of intergroup conflicts, there is a lack of specific procedures as per the people’s knowledge. Many claimed that-if the conflict is between Lohorung and other groups, and then people from the Lohorung group approach elders regarding the matter. This is also done by some third person, upon which the person or group in conflict is called upon to clarify the issue. The correlation between the complaints from the third person and the conflicting party is reconciled and dealt accordingly. Also, the complaints may be launched by conflicting parties other than the Lohorung group. In this case the complaint is heard and then the date is given for resolution or asked to call their elders.

Conflict Handling

A participant from *Gaire Pangma* claimed that handling the conflicting situation is the same with different conflicts. If family members are parties to the conflict, after

notifying elders, they are given specific dates to meet them. Accordingly, for other complaints or any notifications received, consultations among elders are the first part of any conflict-handling procedures. Sometimes, elders from different villages meet for proper consultation. This is done to ensure to understand the gravity of such conflict and if there is any past precedence. After the consultation, the elders approach for way or a procedure that needs to be followed. Some of the procedures are done during specific rituals and others are given space within some rituals.

Even if there are no rituals shortly, the elders rather than pushing the resolution far, call for a short celebration. This according to him and many is to get social recognition to the conflict resolution process. This hooks the person or group to finalize their case and return normal within the social sphere. However, for intrapersonal conflict, the elders choose immediate action for the problem. This is done to save the person from saving his bond between him and his ancestors. A female from the Lohorong community claimed that- “in modern-day, it is something like saving a person from depression or any other mental problems”. Though she did not claim that every intrapersonal conflict is due to mental issues but she claimed that it may also be due to problems that are scratching a person from inside. With the word “inside” she said it is also “*mann*” (heart) not only “*mastiska*” (brain). There is no clear cut demarcation between these two words but they have been used interchangeably throughout the narrations.

A participant from *Gaire Pangma* also stated that intrapersonal conflict is not always perceived or understood by outsiders. Sometimes, “if one feels, then he/she can ask for “*Sheer Uthaune*” process”. Here “if one feels” does not have a specific meaning, but lies within the context of time. The process of informing such is entirely a person’s accordance. No hard and fast rule has to be followed. Since “*Sheer*

Uthaune” process is done by the priest, this has to be confirmed by the priest. The confirmation comes with ingredients and time. After arranging ingredients, the priest is called upon. But, sometimes, depending upon the case, the priest may execute immediately.

Conflict handling comes with fixing three important things, date, venue, and ritual. However, sometimes ritual may not be important, for which they plan a general event. Fixing date requires widespread consultation with villagers and elders from other places. Also, fixing the date requires conceptualizing the importance and urgency of conflict. The venue is another important aspect. The venue is not a much-contested issue but it is an important one. The venue is decided by elders with the consultation.

Generally, the consultation includes understanding the conflict and its importance in restoring peace in society. Also, looking at the precedents is one of the pre-preparation done by elders. This is not to contest any earlier decisions. Interestingly the precedents were not written rather they were orally transmitted to others. Elders would also look for such oral stories or narrations.

Conflict Resolution or Finalizing the Process

For other than intrapersonal conflicts, finalizing the conflict resolution process is done in three steps. The first step is giving the parties to speak up about the conflict.

Though, during the complaint receiving, elders hear about the conflict as well but, here they do it so that the community witnesses their story. No narrations or stories could be found about who starts the first of the two parties. Another participant from GairePangma stated that maybe it is always a victim who starts first, but there is no

empirical evidence to it. He also added that since, real victims and perpetrators are difficult to identify sometimes, it is elders who decide who starts first. The parties are given a chance to speak the truth about the conflict and the problems associated with them. Many participants claimed that simplicity in the hearing process is necessary. This will help the parties to conflict open up about their conflicting issues.

The second step is hearing from witnesses or a third party. Third parties to the conflict for many are important as they have bigger roles in clarifying the issues. A female participant stated that the Lohorong community gives value and importance to everyone on every occasion. Though male and female aspect of social structure was always there, both were of equal importance during such processing. From the same village, a male participant stated that if the third party was an indirect victim, then the issues were further discussed and his/her statements were also considered as an important one. But, if the third party was the only witness, then his/her perspective was collected to get a general impression.

During this, outsiders (not even witness) were also allowed to speak on behalf of the conflict. This for many was important as outsiders may highlight the problems the parties have created with their conflict. However, in the absence of specific information, most of them claimed that it is part of their cultural practice to listen to all and value them in society.

Some of the participants even claim that priests were called to feel the connection between the statements by the parties to the conflict. In their point it is similar “*Jokhana Herne*” (to feel the spirit). This was to ensure that parties were talking truth and only truth. Some claimed that this was done even before the starting of the resolution process. They claimed that this was done to evaluate the date. They chose

the auspicious date as negative vibrations would not impend the process. This was also done to notify ancestors about the process and bless them for better results.

The third step is consultation between elders for a better verdict. The verdicts were given by the elders. Sometimes, before the verdict, the consultation with neighbors, community members were also done to ensure a proper result. During this process, many claimed that cross-questioning and examining facts were done. Cross questioning and examining were done directly by the elders and they always seek answers related to the conflict. Satisfactory answers would expedite the process while unsatisfactory or “beating the bush” answers would lengthen the process. There are few explanations on how many days would it take to resolve the conflict. However, many claimed that since auspicious dates are considered for conflict resolution, this process would complete within a day.

After the clarification is given by individuals, the verdict is given by the elders. Normally, no one contests the verdict. Sometimes the verdict is challenged by either of the parties of the conflict. In this scenario, further consultation is done to reach a proper resolution. Many participants narrated that there are almost no cases where parties to conflict within Lohorung would contest the verdict. Few participants said that normally the social pressure is large. This curtails them from escaping from the verdict. Even then there might be cases where any of the parties have ignored the verdict. Normally, these people would flee from the village and never return.

However, for the intergroup conflicts ignoring verdicts was not frequent, but it existed. A participant from Gaire Pangma stated that some outsiders were warned not to create problems in Gaire Pangma. They were then punished by barring from using the path through the village but they came back and created troubles. They were then

again punished by elders. Ignoring verdict like this were there but were not common in cases where village elders or leader from another village was involved. They try to exchange mutual respect between the villages. For loners making them respect the verdict was problematic and difficult.

For intrapersonal conflict, the resolution process begins and ends with an individual. Generally, intrapersonal conflicts required a specialized process like “*Sheer Uthaune*” to complete the process. In this process, the priest would raise the prestige (Hardman, 2000: 258) by connecting the broken relation between individual and spirit (ancestors). They believe that Lohorong were connected with nature by their ancestors, so the major motive of this process is to establish the importance of individual along with nature and ancestors.

The ending of the conflict resolution process is by celebration. If it is done within a particular ritual, then the celebration of ritual is continued, if not the celebration begins with the end of the process. The finalization of the process is indicated by offering wines and meat to the other party of the conflict. Accepting such in the presence of elders mark matter resolved and start the celebration. These celebrations generally would include all community members or only family members of conflicting parties, depending upon the case. A local from GairePangma pointed those celebrations mark importance in finalizing the conflict and telling people that conflict is over and peace is restored.

5.6 Options for Resolution

With vast territorial occupancy from *DandaPangma*, *GairePangma*, *LokePangma*, *Yankhrung*, *Dhupu*, *Heluwa*, *Angla*, *Didhing*, *Malingtar*, *Kharduwa*, *Yafudanda*, *Khorande*, *Khoktima*, *Simle*, *Malta*, *Berdeu* to many other nearby surroundings of

Sankhuwasabha District, Lohorung have covered a vast array of area unlike many others who are confined to a specific location or specific area, their cultural idea and rituals are affected by the territory and the surroundings they dwell. During a ritual some places prefer using a specific flower, but if the flower is not found in any other location, then the flower is replaced by some other native to that place. This is how ethnic communities have adapted to different geographic locations. Similarly, a ritual is done before harvesting season “Eksamman” is done in the forest calling all the ancestors and nature. If there are no nearby forests available due to geographical difficulty, this is done in open nearby spaces preferably in the harvesting field. This is how these communities have adjusted their rituals and cultural ideas according to the place they live.

Similarly, the conflict resolution approach may sometimes differ according to the place, but the essence remains the same. The way the approach is adopted never differs but the change or adjustments may be seen according to the need. The way by which the group performs conflict resolution remains the same. This is because all the cultural ideas connect with the elderly population who in case of any confusion or discrepancy play a vital role in resolving for the solution. This now has become more widespread as the Lohorung community has its own central as well as local committee, who has the task to maintain uniformity on every matter related to Lohorung culture. They play a central role in promoting the root cultural events and ideas and transferring them to the younger generation. This has given ample opportunity for the younger generations to learn about their cultural heritage and adopt essential elements from them. This is how a group’s or community’s cultural heritage is carried in the long run.

Conflict resolution techniques of Lohorong consist of the simple technique of identifying the problem, arranging all the basic requirements, treating for the problem, and healing. This technique requires precise knowledge of identifying the typology of problems. Primarily, elders of the community do have visionary concepts on identifying the problems within any individual. However, they can only highlight the problem, they cannot heal the problem if it is within the person. If the problem is associated with the community itself, they in consultation with the priest can reach a certain conclusion. If the problem is even higher and extends beyond the community itself, then the elders play an important role in establishing the connection between the community and the administration. It is also a popular story that most of the cases have been handled by the local community elders and some of the cases which involve out of community person are generally handled by the elders of the two communities. And if and only if the case cannot be sorted out or any of the parties do not accept the verdict, the case goes to the higher administration. Higher administration here means “*Jimwal (or Jimmawal)*” who is translated as head of the local administration in the earlier days. “*Jimwal (or Jimmawal)*” loosely means the person who takes charge of the area or locality.

In earlier days *Jimwal* (generally it is the male who takes the responsibility to be the head and the researcher have not found of a female being head of the community) would look after all the administrative works, judicial works and even tax as well. The tax collected would be transferred to the higher authority but most (almost 99% what the researcher believes but community says 100%) of the judicial assessment was never reconsidered or taken to a higher authority than *Jimwal*. Some of the locals claimed that there are some instances where people would often go the higher authority but have rare cases of reconsidering the verdict. This in particular is due to

the involvement of community elders and *Jimwal* both. *Jimwal* would also consider suggestions from the local elders. And reconsidering the verdict means changing all the existing local structures from very grassroots. Even the reconsideration does have very fewer chances of altering the verdict. But if the issues are related to something different than which community can manage like killing, mass destruction, then the administration would take charge into their hand and would give a verdict without consultation with the locals. But efforts were made to heal the problems.

Healing of the problem is something different and requires knowledge on different levels by different experts. For instance, in case of intrapersonal problems it's only the priest that helps. Along with the priest helping hand comes from family, friends, and elders. These helping hands help to sort out needs and have fewer roles in any kind of performance. Similarly, in the case of interpersonal conflict, the first point of contact is family and elders. The resolution process attracts family and elders on the first hand and others on the second hand. Likewise, in intergroup conflicts, elders are the first point of contact and rest are helping hands. This is the level of contact at different forms of conflict resolution. However, it is not an exhaustive flow of steps and may change according to the need of the individual or group.

Also, resolution or attempt for resolution within the Lohorung community is not directly segregated into individual or institution, but the steps in resolution provide ample indication towards that. For them it is true that resolution starts within the family which acts as an institution from self, which is an individual. The resolution swings from individual to institution or the reverse.

As a political entity, humans are inclined towards the institutions in closer proximity.

Lohorung people have a stronghold over the institution that they have set up as a

larger community encompassing both the human population and nature. The institution roars out in most of their cultural practices and knowledge sharing. The idea is not to differentiate between the individual resolution and institutional resolution but a blend of both working for the betterment of the society at large.

Lohorung community had well defined and setup process to identify the problems and the resolution process. These processes were defined in many folktales and were sometimes carried by people in the form of songs and moral stories. The messages of some of the folktales were unclear and the options of interpretations were left open. These open interpretations were discussed and re-discussed until a concrete concept was reached and if not, there were left open.

The researcher will be discussing a few of the stories, the narration of song, moral stories, and others dividing the entire array into three fragments- intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup. The explanation of each story has a slight variation according to place and sometimes within the same place. If the story quite a lot of variation, then both of the variations were compared and after proper discussion brought into text. This was particularly difficult as diverging concepts were difficult to converse. In such a case, the researcher would pick both and argue or else were compared in any other place so that near narration could be carried.

5.6.1 Resolution for Intrapersonal Conflict:

Resolution for intrapersonal conflict in earlier days was much more convenient (which still prevails today as well) than today. These communities (and many ethnic communities not only in Nepal but in the entire world) understood that as an individual might go from good to bad in terms of cognitive status, they dealt with it simply as treatment of common cold today. This process in the Lohorung community

is known as “*Saya Pagme*” in Lohorung language and “*Sheer Uthaune*” in Nepali, which translates as “Raising the head or Raising the status”. It also directly refers to “raising head” which means to uplift the mood or prestige of the person. They believed and still believe that “*Sheer Uthaune*” basically raises your esteem through a spiritual connection which in today’s world is known as psychological counseling or any medically related counseling.

As counseling heals by boosting the inner strength of an individual, “*Sheer Uthaune*” also boosts the inner strength of an individual through confirmation from the priest and spiritual bonding. This might seem unorthodox but even today this is done to people who have an inner problem. And it works amazingly. Many people within this community undergo “*Sheer Uthaune*” when needed. During the ancient time, there were many instances when people would go self-healing. Here are some of the narratives collected from the community regarding the self-healing process:

Narration 1:

According to this myth- “happy families were living at Pangma and surroundings. People were busy with their agriculture activity. New settlers were coming every now and then. Among these new settlers, some were not accustomed to Lohorung’s culture and tradition. But as time passed, they became integrated. With new settlers come new problems. These new settlers sometimes had problems with the locals, which after some round of negotiation were sorted out but the inner feelings of the locals did not heal. Few of the locals who were involved in these confrontations were called for healing process. They would go “Sheer Uthaune” process for the inner feelings. Though this healing process is simple, it connects one with different aspect of life and spirits and redirects the problems

through positive energy. This builds strength to individual and heals from within.

As our ancestors said- this healing process gives you an inner strength to

overcome any sort of problems". (Field Study, 2017)

Explanation:

Lohorung people are welcoming people and enjoy and cherish their heritage. They do their work and do not bother other people around them. There have been many other ethnic groups along with caste groups in the adjoining villages. When things go bad between the communities, then the elders sit for the resolution. This resolution process generally goes in two or three or even higher rounds of talks and dialogue. This gives everyone ample opportunity to understand what is going around the surroundings. Even if the things cannot be sorted out from the intergroup meetings, both the group used to go for higher authority. They used to discuss the matter in detail and ask for proper resolution. Sometimes these resolutions were jointly finalized and sometimes the higher authority would give a verdict to be implemented. Even if the verdict or joint decision had been delivered, sometimes the party to the problem might still feel something bad within the self. So, the group would decide to perform "*Sheer Uthaune*" for the person. This identification sometimes was by the person himself or by the elders who feel that the process is needed for the person. It is not a forceful obligation, but an opportunity for the person to regain their inner strength. This brings glorious days ahead to the person.

Narration 2:

"Many Lohorunge who goes far away land leaving their country also have problems within them. It might be due to many reasons like work pressure, time

and others. In one particular instance, a guy working abroad had bad feelings and he did not understand what particular instance and incident caused that. He worked for sometimes with these problems but could not sort it out. When he came back for vacation to Nepal, then he consulted with family members about the problems. He was then suggested to undergo “Sheer Uthaune” process. After performing the process, he felt better and understood that there was some kind of breakage between the ancestor and spirits”.

Explanation:

It is not always that person residing within the community may feel lost in inner strength. This may also happen to the ones who are far away from the homeland and serving in any other country. They also have a spiritual connection with their ancestors. They might be engaged in different chores of life and may lose their inner strength. The reason may be multifaceted from bad company to working condition to any kind of sustainability difficulty. The person losing strength is generally vulnerable to physical unfit as well.

When they return homeland from their work land, they perform “*Sheer Uthaune*” to heal themselves and their family members. They know that they also belong to the community and by doing this they are more connected with the community. Also, they let their children know about the community and other important things which help them to learn about their heritage.

Narration 3:

“ “Sheer Uthaune” is not only for those who have some kind of problems but also for those who have difficult jobs to perform. One of the difficult jobs is to mediate

between girl's and boy's family during marriage. This mediation is particularly difficult as the mediator must assure the girl's family that the boy and his family will take good care of the girl. In such the girl's family member may present themselves in a very rude manner. It is not that they are always rude, but have to be just to ensure that girl is going to a good home. The mediator often scolded and sometimes harsh words are used. The family members of the male and the community members then perform the "Sheer Uthaune" process for the mediator to rebuild and restore the dignity and prestige".

Explanation:

During the marriage, the mediator between the girl's and the boy's family has an immensely difficult job to perform. The mediator is asked by the girl's family about all the details of the boy's family. In older days this job was particularly challenging as it was also associated with the total food production of the boy's household and many more things related to agriculture. The mediator had to prove that the boy's family would take good care and have enough food for everyone. During that the family members even had to ask for swearing and harsh words were often used. Only after the family members of girls were confirmed with the situation, they would agree to the marriage.

After the marriage is performed or sometimes even before the marriage is performed, the elders and the community members would perform "Sheer Uthaune" for the mediator as we believe that this person had to listen so much for us. This is a voluntary action and the elders would make believe that this process will eventually uplift the shattered mood of the mediator.

Narration 4:

“In earlier days most of the people knew almost everything about the cultural concept and ways by which different rites and rituals were performed. One of the family members had then thought for performing some special rites. Even after performing the rites within the family there was not much change in inner feelings. So, he went to priest and asked him to perform ‘Sheer Uthaune’ for him. The priest did perform all the process as asked by the person. And after that the person felt better. Yes, sometimes the person himself cannot understand the cause, which the priest can understand by spiritual bonding. This makes us understand that spiritual bonding is essential for everyone inside the community”.

Explanation:

Sometimes the connection between the person and the spirits becomes weak. This is not perpetual but sometimes this happens. This might be due to conditions like breakage in certain oaths (*Bhakal*). This is why people are very careful about these things. But even if it is not the case of *Bhakal*, there might be a situation where even after the performance of certain rituals, people need extra care to regain strength. In particular these are rare and need special attention. In older days, even when people were scared by some bad spirits, they used to perform different healing rituals. Then even if the person does not get the strength, “*Sheer Uthaune*” process would be there to help. Even the family members sometimes cannot understand the real cause of the problem. These problems may or may not be associated with the individual himself, rather the family members.

The head of the family then performs “*Sheer Uthaune*” to get rid of the problems associated with the family. Then the question comes how the process performed to the head of family get rid of the problem for another person. This process of “*Sheer*

Uthaune” actually brings positive energy to the family through the head of the family. The ancestors and spiritual power showers blessing to the family and then they heal through that. So, this is not only exclusively associated with the individual but with the family as well.

5.6.1.1 Resolution Within Self (*Sheer Uthaune*):

“*Sheer Uthaune*” is one of the earliest self -healing processes adopted by the “Rai” community. However, other ethnic groups also have some sort of psychological healing method. Modern-day psychological healing is connected with counselling whereas the ethnic model of healing is more focused on spiritual connection. And mostly offerings do have connections with the healing process undergoes. And also it is important to know that priest has an important role to play as he is the one who establishes the connection between the three, after the connection is established priest understands the problem and ‘*murmurs*’ the problem and asks for the healing. “*Sheer Uthaune*” here is distinctly divided into focused categories.

- *Sheer Uthaune* for Self:

The guilt feeling associated with problems such as guilt feeling, the problem of adoption is dealt with through self-first. Self-healing, as most people expressed, is the way by which people do figure amount what sort of problem one has internalized. One such idea is constructed inside self, individuals can offer prayers and rites to overcome such. And in most cases, such prayers and rites are supported by family and priests. It is not always mandatory to have priests for “*Sheer Uthaune*” if the head of the family can perform the prayers and rites.

During the prayer and rites, the priest or the performer always tries to understand deeply the problem of the individual. Many people strongly believe that a person performing the prayer builds a strong connection between spirits and the person with a problem. After the connection is built the priest or performer then asks spirits and ancestors to heal all the pains and forgive any mistakes and other wrongdoings. Most of the cases then heal the person and brings positive thought.

- **“*Sheer Uthaune*” for Family:**

Sometimes the guilt feeling can be connected with the family. The family might be undergoing some kind of problem and can be connected with one particular individual. It is interesting that even though the guilt feeling might be associated with the family, the impact can only be seen or felt by one individual of the family, and generally it is the head of the family who bears the burden. The rites and other offerings are made in the presence of the priest who establishes the connection with the spirits and ancestors and heals the pain.

- **“*Sheer Uthaune*” for Conflict Between Two Individuals:** Sometimes it is believed that conflict between two individuals of two different families is not due to them but due to some kind of breakage in spiritual bonds between the individuals and spirits and ancestors. They believe that ancestors and the spirits are trying to convey some kind of message related to the family. They, then do the same process of *Sheer Uthaune* with the help of priests. The priest then tries to connect between spirits and ancestors. During this the priest also raises the problem or problems associated with the family. Normally, these problems are related to “breakage with spiritual bond”.

The breakage in spiritual bond might be due to “*bhokal*”, as many participants from the community believe. The “*bhokal*” (oath or promise) is kind of promise made by

an individual or family for the fulfilment of anything. These “*bhakal*” are generally completed during any ritual or specific one as promised by the individual or family. When such “*bhakal*” are fulfilled but relevant tasks are not completed by individuals or families, then this may bring some sort of negative energy to the family. Many local people argue that—“*one of the main causes of breakage in the spiritual bond is breaking the promise made by individuals or families. This happens when someone keeps the promise of mentioning a very specific time frame. But if one has not mentioned any time frame, then “bhakal” is never said to break any kind of breakage or bring any negative energy to the family*”. They also believe that this negative energy never harms the individuals or the family but tries to show symptoms to the family to fulfill their “*bhakal*”.

During the “*Sheer Uthaune*”, it is the task of the priest to pin the exact task that has been missed and needs to be fulfilled within a specific time frame. During this process the offerings from both the individuals are accepted for prayer and they also accept each other’s gift healing the problem. During this process the priest tells exactly who has missed the *bhakal* and needs to perform the rituals related to that. Sometimes, only one of the individuals or family related to the individual might have missed the “*bhakal*” and he should be performing the task. But if the problem is not resolved through “*Sheer Uthaune*” or the priest sees no breakage in bonding, then he tries to restore the relationship between the two. If it does not bring any specific conclusion, then the case is then referred to the community.

5.6.1.2 “*Sheer Uthaune*” Through Family

Family in most communities plays an important role in conflict resolution. Families try to act as a bridge between the individual and the community. As an institution, family teaches the individual all the cultural aspects of the Lohorung community and

establishes connections between the larger institutions. In turn, community reciprocates by giving respect and values to the individual through the family. People within the Lohorung community believe that the three most important things to be considered to be a family are – “*Paccha, Samek and Chawa*” (Surname, Ritual Mantra, and Water Source). Each of these has connections within themselves, surroundings, and community. Thus conflict resolution within or through the family is the first step towards the larger institution. The transformation from family members to community member starts from early childhood. Each child is given a special ritual ceremony where “*Paccha*” and “*Samek*” are spelled on. This provides the child with the identity while interacting with the community.

The family has an important role while “*Sheer Uthaune*” is performed. This process as described earlier sometimes may require acceptance from the family to heal self. Though it is not always an issue of individuals linked with family, within the Lohorung community like many other ethnic groups, ancestors have a special place in rites and rituals and everyday performance of an individual. It is believed that they are the ones who provide all the blessings to an individual. The process of “*Sheer Uthaune*” is somewhat related to connecting individuals with their ancestors and making them learn about the way they used to live and survive along with nature.

If the conflict is more than “*Sheer Uthaune*”, then the family is first to seek for the resolution process. If the conflict is within the family and beyond self-healing, then the head of the family makes the first move for resolution. All the members have gathered around and sought for proper resolution. This process is not complicated, rather requires consensus from the family members. In most of the cases, matters like these are settled by the family members by mutual consent. Inter-caste marriage, issues relating to a property, and resettlement to other places are common family

conflicting issues. Though the Lohorung community is flexible for marriage issues, sometimes this issue may be difficult to address than imagined, whereas property is considered the least complicated issue amongst all the other issues. This is because most of the people living in Pangma area are based on agriculture and they do it as a complete family rather than doing it alone. The British army and Singapore police have shifted either to Kathmandu or nearby cities making it least prone to any kind of conflict within the family.

The family also acts as the first point of mediation between two or more individuals in conflict. The head of the family's role here is to understand the problems between the conflicting parties and try to reconnect the missing piece between them. While doing so, heads of families hold conversations to sort out the actual problem. This meeting is usually done within the families of the conflicting parties not involving other community members. The basic structure of this is that the family head accepts the wrongdoings without any kind of reservation. In doing so, they try to deescalate the conflict between them. The process is then to offer "*sagun*" (gift) to each other. "Sagun" generally comprises home-brewed wine and (pork) meat, fruits, and nuts. Acceptance of "Sagun" is the first sign of positive outcome, the first step towards gentlemen's agreement. Interestingly, there are no formal contracts between the parties yet the parties abide by the words given by the family head.

5.6.1.3 The Process of Self-Healing (*SayaPagem* or *Sheer Uthaune*)

"*SayaPagme* or *Sheer Uthaune*" follows strict procedure and few adjustments are made according to the need. The entire process is completed with one sitting. During the process each of the elements as prescribed by the priest and those by old tradition is listed. These elements or goods should be in specific quality and quantity. There was a difference in opinion as to whether it is necessary to have a specific quantity or

not. Some of the community members argue that it is mandatory to have a specific quantity whereas others argue it is necessary but not mandatory for all of the goods to be in exact quantity. Though, most of them agreed on requirement must fulfill each step, so the quantity of goods also matters. Specific people or persons and ingredients are required for the process, they are:

- a) A person undergoing self-healing (*Hang-* male, *Hangma-* Female)
- b) Priest (*Yatangpa*)
- c) Helper to the priest (*Pheguwang*)
- d) Family Members
- e) Neighbours or other people
- f) Elders

Ingredients those are required:

- a) Metal pot -2
- b) Pot with wine (*Chindo*)- 2
- c) Tongpa- 2
- d) Earth pot with wine- 1
- e) Brass bowl- 2
- f) Rooster- 1
- g) White cloth for *Pagari*-1
- h) Rice
- i) *Khukuri* Knife or *Hasiya* (a tool to cut grass or other things)
- j) Leaves of *Saal* Tree (*Shorearobusta*)
- k) Plate and bowl made out of *Saal*
- l) Ginger

m) Stick

n) Lamp

After arranging all the ingredients mentioned, the process is started with placing the ingredients in a specific order and place. The place of the process is generally near to the sacred place (*Kulthan*) of the house. The person undergoing “*Sheer Uthaune*” (*Hang* or *Hangma*) must be dressed up in Daura Suruwal (*national dress*) or *Gunyu Choli* with a cotton belt (*Patuka*). There should be a *Khukuri* with cover in the *Patuka* for *Hang* and *Hasiya* for *Hangma*. *Hang* or *Hangma* must carry the weapons in their right hand.

Then the elders put white cloth chanting good wishes on the head *Hang* or *Hangma*. This is locally known as *Pagari Guthne* meaning putting a turban on the head. There should be at least one person to the right and left of *Hang* or *Hangma*, more is better. This is believed that the number of people on each side scare the enemies. And to scare the enemies, each of the persons to the left and right of *Hang* or *Hangma* must carry naked weapon *Khukuri* in their hand. Then the lamp is lit by the *Hang* or *Hangma*.

After the setup, the priest (*Yetangpa*) starts chanting the mantras (*Pelam*). During the *Pelam*, with each time priest raises the head, *Hang* or *Hangma* must cut three times with their *Khukuri* on the floor. This is known as enemy cutting. After the three promises, the priest signals the helper priest (*Pheguwang*) to offer rooster. Then the helper priest beat the rooster with a stick at the back and carries it head down position. During this the helper priest holds the beak of the rooster and blood flows from the mouth of the rooster. The blood is then offered in a designated place. When the rooster is killed, then *Hang* or *Hangma* should stand up abruptly along with the people

around him or her. While standing up, the people should chant special words for Hang or Hangma three times. The word says “*PagayoSayaPagayo*” meaning “Head Raised”. Then the people jump and celebrate around with joy.

Then *Hang or Hangma* is showered with good wishes. The offer rooster is then cooked and served as a holy offering. The present people receive the cooked offerings and wishes are passed. The process involves elders, family members, and neighbors along with the priest and his helper. These people also sing their songs for the betterment of the *Hang or Hangma* in days to come and pray for their bright future.

During this process, the priest prays for the person and establishes the relation between the ancestors (spirit) and person. In their own words “gives blessings in the form of positive vibes”. There are also some symptoms, which might suggest if the process went well or not. If instead of blood from the rooster’s mouth, water or something else falls from eyes of mouth or nostrils, then it is said to be bad symptoms. In this case there might be some kind of harm to the *Hang or Hangma*.

After the process is completed many people who have already done “*Sheer Uthaune*” claim that one can feel the difference in personality immediately. This they claim is the settlement of internal bad feeling or conflicts within the self. This process is better as this allows an individual to counter the inner feeling. It is also interesting that the process is normally understood as a routine procedure for the Lohorung people which makes most of the people expressive over some kind of problem.

5.6.1.4 Significance of “*SayaPagme or Sheer Uthaune*” in Conflict Resolution

The process of identifying the problem within and then healing the same helps an individual to gain inner strength and promote himself/herself in regular events. The traditional understanding of inner problems and then connecting it with religious

concern helps individuals to keep the traditional concept intact and then teach new generations the benefit of events like these. Few of the significances are:

- “*Sheer Uthaune*” or “*SayaPagme*” acts as a healing process. So, the basic objective is to heal the person from inside.
- “*Sheer Uthaune*” or “*SayaPagme*” actually is the process of establishing relations between the individual, Hang or Hangma, with the institution, the ancestors. This deepens the cultural bonding between the individual and the community at large.
- “*Sheer Uthaune* or *SyaPagme*” helps to understand that the conflicting feeling within an individual is nothing but merely a process to re-establish the bonding. From a psychological point of view this is most significant as it never lets an individual’s moral down.
- It also gives a sense of being one of the community members. As this is done particularly within the community, it promotes the oneness within the community.
- Though there is much significance of “*Sheer Uthaune*”, many Lohorung people believe that the connection between community members helps understand each other and take care. It is also one of the ways by which every member of the community gain equal status and does not differentiate between the members of the community.

5.6.2 Resolution for Interpersonal Conflicts

Many locals claim that there is less number of narrations that shows that we had some kind of conflict between two individuals or two groups within the community. They also claimed that they had to undergo a much disciplined social and cultural process since childhood which brought “us” feeling between them lessening any chances of a conflict.

Narration 5:

“Many people were involved in fighting between good and bad. We know that good and bad were within the community. These good were those who wanted to stabilize the basic idea of peace and harmony within the community and bad were those who first wanted to have things in their way. Three leaders of both these groups were furious and were difficult to contain. They had their own arguments. This went for a long time until many elders asked them to sit for some resolution. This went in vain. Both declined to agree on a point. Since this place was governed by an administration. Which they called as “Jimwal or Jimmawal” this matter went to the administration. Then the administration called both the good and bad parties to sit for some kind of dialogue. After many rounds of talk the “Sagun” was accepted by both the group. It is also important to know that there was no agreement between them, but accepting “Sagun” is a gesture of gentlemen agreement.

(But some argued that elders group within Lohorung were one who settled the conflict as many declined any kind of administration involvement.)

Explanation:

The short narration through the folk tale explains how the community handled something more than mediation. It is something that tends to bind the group of individuals who are different altogether into one. Many community members argued that this is a primitive technique that has been used for ages. This requires a positive attitude by all the group members as well as the community elders. Many call it more than mediation because the members of the bad and good are more than one-one individuals. Sometimes they try to relate their agenda rather than group agenda and it

is the task of elders to identify such and segregate personal needs from the group's need.

Many elders claim that the technique of segregating is something more than a spiritual connection between the parties and the elderly people. Also, the experience of handling such helps in identifying such an event. Once, the biases of such are separated from individuals, group problems are brought into common consensus and resolution of such is worked on. In some cases, a more democratic approach is adopted. This means all the group members are requested to tell their problems one at a time. This gives ample opportunity for each individual to share their feelings and concerns. The elder believes that when each individual is provided with the opportunity to speak the anger and suspension among each other decreases to a greater extent.

Like in the second narration, the mythical characters of good and bad are given ample opportunity to be listened to. They share their common as well as individual problems with the community. The community, in turn, extends their support and help possible to individuals to turn their problems into common problems. Some also believe that the mythical character of good and bad is not related to a few individuals but the demonic and heroic character inside and an individual. The win over the demonic character is a feature of connection between an individual's nature and community interface. This is achieved by building a structure within them which is mostly invisible to many and any outsiders. This structure between man, community, and nature is the basic bond of their functioning. These people function according to the bonds they have kept intact since the time of the first settlement. The treatments of such action accompany the healing process of the people as well. The other important aspect of such a "mediation" process is the exchange of gifts with each other. The

gifts symbolize the acceptance of each other's existence and establishment of long term relations between the two parties. Also, it symbolizes the mutual respect to the bonds between community, people, and nature as some of the offerings are given to air, water, land, fire, and forest too.

Narration 6:

“The narration tells us how small things may break someone's sentiment and might amplify into big problem. Long time ago when we had plenty of land to cultivate our food, people ad choices of cultivating rice or millet or wheat or whatever they wanted, they were more than happy even it was hard to see the difficult lifestyle. During this time, each family had their own land and they used to cultivate helping each other. One of the family men did not go to help others during cultivation period. These people noticed change in attitude as he had now declined to support other villagers. Nobody knew what went wrong. But rest of the villagers helped each other and then they completed the harvesting. But, the one who declined to support others had his land still barren, he did not get enough people for the support as he himself did not go for the support. He was called by the elders to tell about his problem, but he said that no one wanted to help him. He also argued that why should he go to help others as there were already many people for help. So, he thought he would get help in return without doing anything.

This man even left attending social ceremonies and rituals after few days. People were now worried and concerned. One day elders went his home and asked what had happened, than he said that he was scolded by some community members by not allowing to use his land to drain water. He said –“I declined to drain water from my field because my field is small and won't grow properly if I did that”. So, the person

who scolded was searched for but still he did not have his field harvested. So, the elders asked the villagers to work in his field. Though the initial conflict looked very small, it shook the social fabric for a while. The elders then asked the person who scolded the other to support each other, but both declined. It took few months (almost near to harvesting time) that they both were summoned by the local elders and asked to look for a resolution. They finally agreed to talk and help each other after 9-10 rounds of mediation. This made elders realize that even the smallest of things might be big”.

Explanation:

This problem was stopped before it became too difficult to handle. Our forefathers were way more intelligent than we think. They have produced some outstanding results and understanding of certain problems that we today imagine and cannot believe it. This particular narration is sometimes challenging in the social structure. We have very strong social bonding but sometimes someone may unknowingly tell something to others and they try to hide within social chores. But, since the community is all connected, you come across these things sooner or later. This narration in particular has taught us to stay connected no matter what happens and help each other.

They took over 9 mediation sessions with elders may be individually or jointly. In those days issues like these with this number of talks would be referred to “*Jimwal*”, but the elders tried and succeeded in the resolution process. The talk between one arrogant (not knowing and realizing what he did wrong) and the other (maybe partly victim) is generally difficult to resolve as they both pled not guilty. And it is the role of elders not to prove to them who is guilty or innocent but to make them realize what

they have done and what can be the consequence. And the best part is the self-realization and the resolution. The elderly groups are strong in this aspect.

Narration 7:

“In this short story, people became enemies of people which lead to fighting between themselves for petty issues. This time as there were no specific reasons of conflict, the bad people were difficult to handle. They would fight with other members for petty issues. Even the elders and knowledgeable were not able to control them. Then the case went to administration. They had to search for bad people and then give them proper punishment. Even in this case victims and elders were asked to help the administration to sort out the issue. The administration had to use harsh power to control and give punish them”.

(It was unclear whether the bad people or the victims were from the Lohorung community. And some claimed that both of them were from the same group as there was no involvement of elders from other groups.)

Explanation:

It is not common to see fighting in those days within the community. Though there were some we have not heard of many. In this particular instance, it is believed that few of the bad outsiders somehow manipulated our people and then they became violent to suppress others within the community. Due to this the elders were not able to control them. This somehow went into administration. They then had taken the action.

Narration 8:

“Don’t know the full story of Chamling Hama conspired to kill Yuchogupcha. But as far as I remember Chamlingma used to be very jealous of Yuchogupcha. Something was there between them. Yaganma focus was to destroy Yachogupcha who used to manage all the household chores. Yaganma once invited to her house. She showed him the place to sleep after dinner. Yaganma was like god (Maha) and Yachogupcha was brother. He said he was going to sleep. Yaganma was going to Niman i.e. to collect blood so she arranged weapons Khukuri, Khuda, and had prepared to kill Yachogupa by piercing the weapon into his heart. He found out about that and replaced Yaganma’s grandson with himself as he slept somewhere else. Yaganma thought he was asleep so she heated the rod and plunged it to his heart and collected the blood.

The next day, she thought of continuing her daily works thinking he was dead so she went to check on him only to find her grandson was killed instead. Yochogupa was not there and making her more angry, jealous. So she swore to kill Yochogupa. She started chasing after him. What happened to the grandson’s corpse nobody knows. While running Yochogupa, he jumped and hid behind the banana’s tree branch and stayed there. Yaganma reached there and threw 2-3 pieces of banana. He ate 2-3 pieces and ran away. The running and chasing went on crossing rivers and lands. Finally, they brought the Yankhrung and settled them here to guard against bad people.”

Explanation:

The mythical character rises from an individual’s perception and the stories move accordingly. The characters in this story focus on jealousy and revenge. In small communities like ours, there is no such place for these kinds of things. The desire to

kill one lead in the killing of their grandson is not a good thing to be heard. Then, it is the story that brings a new kind of thinking by our ancestors, the introduction of someone who can take charge of the security of the community. Yankhrung was said to be strongly built and they were there to help everyone in every way possible. They also have done different strategies to save places. I don't remember the conclusion on whether they settled their differences or not, but, surely, people were alert that something had happened and they wanted to initiate settlement for the two.

5.6.2.1 Process of Resolution

The process of resolution of interpersonal conflict is easy to understand, but in practice may require a lot of knowledge and patience to master. The process as described by many as-“.... not uniform but demands certain things to be done...”.

This however cannot be felt today as most of the people within the community prefer going to court or solving by any other means; however the activeness of elders can be seen today in various other aspects of preserving the cultural heritage of Lohorung.

The process that Lohorung follows is the disciplined approach. The younger ones are asked to bow at the feet of the elders. This holds great significance in Lohorung culture. They still follow this custom. As one of the participants said –“*Sometimes back something like this happened and the next day a few of us went there and touched the old man's feet and asked for pardon and then offered him two bottles of alcohol we had brought as a token. He then accepted our alcohol which means he now has accepted the resolution and our apology*” They believed that the teaching has always been respecting the elders, community, and nature

Many believed that it could be the elders of the family who settled the disputes and instruct not to fight with others. They asked the guilty ones to go and ask for

forgiveness. But going empty-handed is not good so they take alcohol as a token of gratitude. A (bottle) *maanaa* of alcohol is offered as a gift. And alcohol is a very important component of all rituals like marriage and others. It all begins with offerings of alcohol. And in case of conflicts or disputes they fundamentally prefer agreement and offer alcohol as a token.

The process of conflict resolution follows the following steps:

a) Family First

The first process is approaching the parties. Along with this step, the families are contacted and asked if they had talked about the matter or not. If the family has not talked about the matter, then the elders would ask them to talk. When the family members are aware of the matter, then they are brought in for dialogues. This includes trying to negotiate between parties and ask them to bring the person for settlement. The first approach is through the family.

b) Dialogue

And when the family cannot decide or are not able to perform the talks, then the elders call for the parties to have a dialogue with them. The elders then ask each of the parties to speak what had happened. They have to clarify the reason behind such conflict.

c) Choices to be Made

Then the elders would ask if they want any specific resolution acceptable to both. If anyone of the parties declines to do so, then they are not entertained for further clarification. But both of the parties are allowed to put forward what they wanted.

d) Analysis of Choices

The elders then seek proper choices through dialogue with other community members and family members about the next procedural steps. Then the parties are again asked for their option for resolution. Generally at this stage most of the parties either go for settlement or go for any kind of negotiation. If the victim had born significant losses, then they might ask for some kind of compensation and if not, the victim might ask for some kind of other settlement like supporting in any work, making the promise of non-repetition.

e) Final Resolution

The resolution accepted by the parties is completed by accepting the Sagun. Since they did not have a contract back then, accepting Sagun would mean accepting terms and conditions. This was particularly binding as there was the involvement of society and social pressure would push to comply with the spoken word.

When the final verdict was not obeyed by any of the parties then it would be solved through a process which they believed is called “*Sabha Basne*” (elderly council).

Many believed that if any of the parties did not act according to the resolution then through “*Sabha*” they would be outcast from the community. If anyone does not agree with the codes of conduct of the community then they are expelled. Earlier they also used to say *Kalopanibhirne* (to move to any other place).

Thus, the process of conflict resolution and other actions are done solely for the benefit of the individual and society. There is some kind of social need and requirement to acknowledge the benefit of settling the disputes within the community. And above all there is social pressure to resolve the conflict and disagreements between them.

5.6.3 Resolution for Intergroup Conflict

There are so many instances when the intergroup conflict between two or more resulted due to either interest in territorial encroachment, harming people for food and shelter, and showing dominance by many groups. The narratives are majorly divided into two basic subheadings. One of the resolution processes is using simple tricks and techniques to win the opponents and stopping them from further conflict. This process was adopted when the conflict is not between individuals but between groups at large.

The Lohorung ancestors have shown beautiful examples of how things can work out.

The other process of resolution is generally adopted when there is a conflict between individuals. Meanwhile, there is always a risk of higher administration intervention and in such case punishments were given sometimes to both of the parties. And to avoid the punishments, the elders used to connect the individuals as “*mit*” a form of relationship which is as close as a brother. “*Mit*” in the eastern part of the world is significant as it is supporting each other with respect and dignity. Two major narratives are explaining these two concepts.

Narration 9:

“In old times this Pangma was attacked by Chuku and were trying to harassed people in different ways. The Chuku is actually very strong and keeps coming from the other side. The people here were helpless. So, the elders called a person named

YangkhrungJodha. Yankhrung are actually from Dhuku and YangkhrungJodha was extremely powerful and they were kept as the guards of the border areas.

So, to protect people and tell Chuku that this land belongs to them YangkhrungJodha made a plan. There was a bird at Jeetpur hillside that jumps around and disappears, he went there and caught that bird and buried it there before Chuku came there.

When Chuku came there, then YankhrungJodha dialogued with Chuku about who is the real holder of the land. He said that this land above belongs to the Pangma and the land here belongs to us. And mother earth is the witness of this. They asked mother earth to be the witness and hit the ground with stick and as soon as he did that, the bird that was buried started squeaking from inside the earth and jumped and then vanished. He then said, Chuku to test for them. Ones Chuku hit the ground with stick, there was no sound. So, Yankhrung claimed that this land belongs to them and Chuku should not disturb them anymore. With this technique people of Pangma were saved from outside encroachment.”

Explanation:

During the old times, there were different groups who always to have a piece of Pangma as it is till place with one of the finest weather within this region. The water sources are not that far. During these times, many groups tried to attack this place and its surrounding. In this and similar case, our ancestors had shown the courage to find and call the strongest and cleverest person around the region. Since most of the intergroup conflicts were in ancient times, the community had to manage the defense for their own. They either had to fight within themselves or had to perform a treaty with other groups. Even with the treaty, the dominant groups would grab a bigger chunk of good things. So, most of the elders had plans to stop having these kinds of

problems. Like, in the above story, if there had not been *Yankhrungs*, the conflict between Chuku and Pangma would be difficult to control. No one can imagine what the consequences would have been. So, from then Yankhrung became an integral part of Pangma and they were there to support the people.

Narration 10:

“Many people from highland would travel around the lower plains through Pangma. Pangma is on the way to lowland. Many people also traveled carrying different goods like carpets, wools, foods, herbs, and many other things. During certain time of year Pangma would be almost filled with people mainly traveling from highlands to lowlands. These travelers mainly had good relations with the community members. But some of the travelers sometimes create problems by teasing ladies, beating some of the boys in the community. In one particular instance, one of the travelers from nearby highland, tried to tease female members and when confronted by boys, they were badly beaten by the guy and his partners. But, somehow in different occasions they were identified as people from another village. These guys were contacted through the elders of the village.

The elders of Pangma then had meetings with the elders from other villages. As the elders of other village knew that they had to pass through Pangma, then they tried to ease the resolution process. Then with the consent of both the group of elders, the two main conflicting guys from Pangma were ties as “mit”. After they were “mits”, they were close as brothers so the highland villagers would often refer Pangma as mit village. This not only resolved the conflict between the two persons but also established good relations between the villages.

Explanation:

Amongst the Lohorungs, we solve the conflicts and disagreements ourselves. We solve the issues ourselves and *mitlagaune* to encourage friendship is one of the ways by which we try to cover difficult situations of conflict resolution. Lohorung people had always been supportive and peaceful during all their life. We don't know about the ancient past but what we have heard so far is that people after settlement in and around *Pangmahave* always tried to remain peaceful and settle their conflicts within themselves. "*Mitlagaune*" as one of the tools has given us and people in Nepal as a whole to promote the culture of friendship and establish a better relation with neighboring villages as well. This also was to ease the difficulty in managing cross-cultural conflict resolution. Managing cross-cultural conflicts during those days was essential and extremely difficult. So, they adopted this method of friendship.

Though we cannot ignore the fact that some of the intruders (individuals) had also been punished since they did not obey the elders and our customary practice, but the instances are very few. We do not even remember the actual instance when our forefathers used power to punish anyone.

5.6.3.1 Process of Intergroup Conflict Resolution

Intergroup conflicts sometimes come with the complexity of different cultural contexts. In these cases Lohorung people have shown a distinct method of resolution and techniques by which most of the time they have reached a win-win situation. But since we do not know the story of the other side, it is assumed the other side is not harmed much. Consultation for the Lohorung people seems one of the key approaches by which they try to resolve most of the problems. During this and other process elders play a vital role as they refer to them as "*JanneSunneManche*" (knowledgeable person). The key steps in the process as described by the participants are (though this list is not exhaustive and can include many other steps in between as per the need) as:

a) Flow of Information About the Problem (Conflict):

The first step in this process is letting others know about the conflict that has arisen. In such the flow of information may be from the victim or the family members to the community and then to the elders. This as per the participants was quick and fast whereas sometimes they took almost a year. The speed of information flow depends upon the nature of conflict and its frequency. Most of the participants agreed that the frequency of these kinds of conflicts depends upon the number of people involved. If groups were involved, then the conflicts were frequent and if individuals were involved then the conflicts were less frequent.

b) Internal Discussion About the Conflict

This was done by the elders to understand exactly who actual parties to the conflict are and whether or not they are victims of the conflict. Sometimes, even without external negotiation, conflicts had been resolved by knowing that the internal community member was responsible for the initiation of the conflict. So, the elders and the village members would try to understand internal matters before beginning the external talks. It shows that they already had understood the intensity if it ever escalates.

c) Meetings Between two Village Elders

After a thorough investigation, the two groups of elders would sit for proper resolution. Until this step somewhere the information to the parties of the conflicts is flown and somewhere the information is stopped. The two elder groups try to negotiate between what had happened and what needs to be done. Normally most of

the time, they reached a point of agreement and tried to settle things within themselves.

d) Call for Parties of Conflict

After the elders had their point of agreement, then they acted as mediator between the two parties to the conflict. Both the elder groups had one common goal to bring both the parties to mutual understanding state. If the elders' group did not reach any conclusion beforehand and the conflicting parties did not agree either, then the case is taken to a higher authority “*Jimwal*”. Usually, the elders had already reached a conclusion and then they fix some kind of verbal and socially binding contract between them. And in most cases if the conflict is between the same genders, then they would go for “*mit*” establishing friendship relations forever.

5.7 Importance of Conflict Resolution in Everyday Life

The concept of “resolution” for Lohorung people lies in two different schemas. The first schema is all about individual and the second schema is social welfare. Both of these schemas have a holistic effect on their everyday life. It is just a measurement of how much an individual has obtained benefits from such a resolution process. The numerical calculation is difficult but the psychological calculation is much better. A participant from Pangma stated that we are in constant connection with people, nature, and other forms of life. This connection has provided them a meaning of their existence. Like he compared Lohorung people with stone and said that “we are believed to be evolved as hard as stone, from where the name Lohorung comes”. This saying according to him does not have only myth but also an acknowledgment of surroundings. A belief that they are as strong as stone, has in fact given them a comparative visualization of their strength. Most of the participants agreed on a few

importance of resolution in their everyday life which was not only related to one form of resolution but overall all forms.

The Concept of Let's Go Together

Lohorung people do not live in isolation nor do they try to detach themselves from their origin. Resolution for them is a solution to a problem, which according to them is short-lived. They believe that helping each other during problems has given a different charm within the community. One of the participants agreed that “members of the Lohorung community if they are living overseas, try to come back to their native land for their holidays. They could have gone to some exotic places overseas or even in Nepal. But they prefer coming here as they are connected with nature and people”.

For them the concept of let's go together is supported by cultural and ritual celebrations together at the community level where everyone participates. One elder responded that after the problem is over celebrations sometimes become burdens. This problem is solved by collective effort i.e. every member brings something for celebration easing the person who had to celebrate. They believe it is not only for one single event but for almost every event.

Mental Wellbeing

Conflict resolution at an individual level is highly regarded as a mental approach. This approach is to provide a sense of relief to an individual. The resolution process at this level is highly regarded, valued, and cherished by all the members of the community. This resolution aims at promoting mental wellbeing, which is shown by the fact that they believe it as a simple fault rather than a big mental problem, which can be fixed.

This belief within them also signs that along with their physical structure, they have sound mental balance. A female participant from Pangma village added that- “this has become part of us and part of cultural heritage, and sometimes we are known for this as well”. But more than knowing, it gave Lohorung people hope to address any problems.

On a higher level conflict resolution approach or interparty or intergroup conflict resolution approach, many participants believe that its part of their traditional system which has addressed difficult situations. Like the examples of outsiders invading Pangma and nearby surroundings were resolved by bringing the Yankhrung Lohorung community to protect the land. According to participants, this was a brilliant idea to stop people from invading Pangma village. This brought mental peace to the entire village. With the absence of higher-level conflict resolution practice, it is a matter of just curiosity about how it would have affected people's everyday life.

Adaptability

Many participants believe that adaptability is one of the features of Lohorung people. They also believe that this is not a single event process but a series of processes. A respondent from the lower side of Pangma stated that- “Lohorung people were scattered in this hill slope and invaders were looking for spots. Lohorung had defeated them both by simple tactics and through many rounds of talks after confrontations. This helped them erase the fear of outsiders. Also, as per their resolution, outsiders were not allowed to settle within Pangma but some other village”. The change in

perception is brought by a resolution approach adopted by them, he stated. The natural part of adaptation evolved with time. But many believed that conflicts in the past might have given them opportunities to develop a sense of change and adapt accordingly. Their argument is based on a few stories that have conflicts and the resolution processes resulting in some sort of change.

Renewing Relation

Many believed that Lohorung people within the community or even outside the community have taken conflict resolution as an opportunity to renew their relationship in a new way. Even for intrapersonal conflicts, they believe the reconnection between ancestors as an opportunity to renew the broken relation. This, in turn, gives them an idea of how these things function and have a place in the social structure.

A participant from Pangma village stated that in older days most people used to work in the field. They used to work with each other and help each other. For them it was an opportunity to pay back all the support provided. The conflicting situation in these situations would not only ruin personal relations but also affect social harmony. So, elders would always ask for resolution and then celebration. This resolution brought a new form of relation through which Lohorung people have evolved and changed accordingly.

5.8 Importance of Knowing Their Idea of “Mediation”

Healing and helping people get out of individual, family, and community trouble is more than the act of just mediation. The mediation for them carries values and care for each other. This care and value system develops mutual respect between individual and surrounding. This dual connection between people and surrounding

compels studies like these to go for the “elicitive” approach as we cannot understand any of these phenomena in isolation.

- The first idea of “*Sheer Uthaune*” sometimes seems to be singularity but we should not forget that even though this is an approach that requires a connection between the spiritual power and an individual. This is “mediation” for them. And the result is self-healing. The involvement of priests serves as the “mediator” between the problematic person and the spirit. This mediation is different than what we have seen in the second folktale.

- The second folktale included two different parties and mediator (the group of elders act as a single unit) and resembles more towards today’s process of mediation. The main argument of the whole “*Sheer Uthaune*” idea is to showcasing how can mediation be visualized differently than what we are practicing today.

5.9 Interpreting Meaning of Resolution Through Culture

Culture reflects people and their interaction with surroundings and also people reflect culture. The two-way reflection between people and culture has a profound impact on highlighting how people and cultures interact with each other. As argued by Bohannan- “culture transcends and enriches matter and life but doesn’t change the way physics, chemistry or biology work. Culture emerges from life just as life emerges from matter “(Bohannan, 1995: 3). Bohannan’s argument defines it more as an abstract force that moves way and away from the surroundings but the central effect is only on humans. This human in turn tries to retreat the culture in its way. It seems to be more compact and full of minute forces which tend to work together with the human value and system. These forces may be relationships, values, norms, beliefs, customs, traits, orientations, and many more. These forces do have a distinct

and special role in people's interaction with their surroundings. These forces can define the surroundings and these surroundings can define forces as well.

Culturally understanding conflict resolution, it shows the behavioral aspect and interaction between individual and society. The interaction between individual and society always consist of nature as a part of the complete whole. Here the behavioral aspect of culture explains humans as the center of the structure, where the constant efflux of an individual is in some way other influencing the cultural trait. The way an individual performs is reflected in his/her argument and responses are generated then. It does not reflect one individual but all members of the community as a whole.

A respondent from *Pangma* village said that conflict and conflict resolution for us is part of life. He referred "*Sheer Uthaune*" process as an important phenomenon for them. He pointed out that "*Saya*" (head) for them is a point through which they have a place in society. For them, it is not only important but also essential to keep it raised all the time. The importance of such action can be seen by placing a procedure to reconnect the lost prestige. Also described as Hardman as an important concern that cannot be described by a single word or meaning (see Hardman, 2000: 256).

The same participants argued that *Saya* (Head) for them means prestige, power and more. It is not only about individuals but also nature and ancestors. The process of "*Saya Pagme*" (*raising head*) is reconnecting the connection between individual, nature, and ancestors. For them, it is part of the culture which shapes and reshapes individual. This resolution process acts as an instrument in defining the behavioral aspect of an individual. The individual in turn proposes reconnection through the cultural gate. Though it is hard to explain, many participants believe that the acknowledgment of such a process is to overcome the individual aspect of cultural

difficulty. Further explaining the issue, an elder from *Gaire Pangma* stated that “imagine you do not have any *Sheer Uthaune* process in the community, what will be the consequence”. He further explained that the problem is not only with an individual’s approach, but there will be a problem with the entire society, as you do not have any cure for that. He added that probably you will treat this as an alien concept and then discard it. People will learn to live with it. But, the problem with people living with it is that they have to modify their culture and make it fit for everyone including those having problems. But is it a real understanding of an individual. He clarified that individual showcasing behavioral aspect is important as it gives you meaning what culture has to offer you. Through culture, the Lohorong community offers to maintain the problem. This is culture is connected with individuals by offering a resolution.

Many participants were in view that conflict resolution from an individual’s perspective is a more subjective interpretation. They believed that though the benefit of higher-level resolution goes to everyone equally, the individual observes place in such a process. The subjective interpretation for a few is different. Some of the participants believe that the conflict resolution process creates change which in some cases becomes too individualist. Their interpretation is based on the punishment given to parties of the conflict. For them, culture is a lens through which they visualize their society. Conflict resolution for them also creates value that is passed from generation to generation.

A respondent from Pangma village argued about creating a belief system, through which they witness the entire process of resolution. This belief system is associated with performing a resolution process that people agree upon. This agreeing process

gives stability to the cultural values as well. A participant from Khandbari said that people in the community have more to offer. They keep on changing and one has to understand the chain of change they make. But he also argues that the change is slow and it takes time to understand.

For Lohorung people culture acts as curtain and glass. Culture acts as a curtain in the sense that people will not understand just from outside. And, culture as glass helps understand Lohorung people by viewing their culture. The curtain shield Lohorung people from direct expose from the outside world. They are confined to their world with their cultural heritage. The glass as culture gives a glimpse of the world around them. This provides an opportunity to understand the surrounding for interaction.

These interactions would help them perform their regular transaction and survive. The integrated structure of complex societies around Pangma is better understood by their interaction. These interactions are also part of Lohorung's cultural action. They have preserved it as they used to be in earlier times.

5.10 Understanding of Ritual

The majority of the participants believe that every ritual that is followed and performed has both internal meaning and external meaning to it. For them, following a ritual interpreting internal goal is to appease the sense of belongingness. It means to satisfy their deed and to show that they do belong to the group itself. And to satisfy the external goals means to teach and prepare the next set of young hands that will be willing to continue the rituals in the exact method and time. Both of them do have significant meaning in a small group like Lohorung, where people struggle every bit to keep their traditional identity alive.

The understanding of rituals can be perceived in two different ways. The first way is from the lenses of “performer” and second as an “outsiders”. The two viewpoints give significantly different but proper evidence of understanding. As a performer, the understanding lies with: i) Sense of satisfaction, ii) who am I (and how am I going to be remembered) iii) My past iv) relation with others v) How I belong here? And as an outsider, the understanding may be different, but majorly focused on: i) what is this all about? ii) Is this common to all of them? iii) why do we differ from them? iv) what does this symbolize?

As a performer, there are different senses of understanding while performing the ritual. The most important concern as a performer is a sense of satisfaction. The satisfaction is both internal and external. Internal by meaning here is healing the spiritual need and external by meaning here is healing the bodily need. The spiritual healing in this part of the world is more necessary than the western world, as we are connected with the concept of almighty power and people of this world. However, one may reject the notion but, as a performer this is the ultimate understanding of ritual performance. Whereas the external bodily healing is connected with the spiritual healing that is received. Betterment in mental concern eventually brings bodily ability. In the case of satisfaction, both spiritual and bodily health is brought under serious concern. As evidenced by most of the participants, in an indigenous group like Lohorung, the under attainment of spiritual requirement brings bodily concern and always seeks spiritual attraction. Even though in modern-day terms many believe this as some kind of bodily disorder or disease and seeks medical treatment, but primary or sometimes later stage treatment requires spiritual treatment. To give both spiritual treatment and medical attention, nowadays, the spiritual healers are also given medical training. This helps to support the individual in critical condition.

As a performer, the rituals they perform tell them who they are. This is by narrative meaning that, they are focused on keeping on their life long traditions to preserve for the future generations. The answer to “who am I?” is well described when a performer takes part in the rituals and put themselves in the shoes of the group. By this they remember their ancestors and position their value in their society. This may also be termed as “commitment” towards the group. Involvement in rituals and traditions can also be seen as an indicator to show the member’s position in the group. Also, in this eastern world where a belief of “transition of life” exists, the performer will always be encouraged to push him or her to a point where the concept of remembrance of ancestor prevails. And, a belief that the performer will also be remembered exactly the way he/she is remembering the ancestor. This pushes the limit and extent of self-identity among the group and brings a collective sense of belongingness.

This also entails the idea of the past one has attained and the future path that will be attained. It is not only the elaboration of what one has done in the past, but also the social and spiritual recognition that has been built. In the absence of every condition, every individual wants to attain spiritual satisfaction and social recognition. Every past is connected with the future course of action that needs to be done to spiritually cleanse itself. The process of identifying their past needs the serious reflection of rituals and traditions that are followed. Lohorung does have unique features on remembering the ancestors and by which each individual knows where they come from and what their destiny is in the future. Though in an abstract sense, the majority of the people are always inclined to the performance of the rituals for every course of action they do take in the future.

Paraphrasing the idea pointed by Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) in reverse it looks, “the idea of interconnectedness within the group members and sense

of inclusion within the society will eventually grow the identity stronger”. The high level of emotional attachment within the group is brought by the performance of such rituals in the group. Relations within the group and sometimes outside the group are considered vital in maintaining the neutral discourse of ritual performance. Rituals and its performance encompass the sense of closeness bringing everybody close enough such that individual assimilation is made possible.

When asked what is meant by relations with others, some view it as “local and subtle relations on a policy level and deep-rooted relations on individual relations”. They argue that as every ritual requires a greater level of support from group members, it's quintessential that they extend their hands in support without which the performance would be difficult. As the population is very low compared to the population of some other groups, Lohorung, do have close amenity within each other. So, the relationships within the group members are deep-rooted. But when it comes to policy level relations or intergroup relations, they differ to a greater degree. The policy relation requires a conversing view which is developed by a central authority applicable to all. In most cases, developed views are non-pragmatic and blanket for some group, which may or may not be covering all the detailed minutes of all associated groups.

The rituals performed ascribes the answer to how do they belong to the community. The rituals from early age bind the group and group members which in turn helps them to identify the viscosity of the group members. Had there not been any specific and special performance of rituals, it would have been difficult for group members to identify themselves of the group. It's the ritual that is driving the group towards its identity.

It is a very common question for new people like the researcher to raise an eyebrow on the way rituals are performed. For an outsider, the performance is always new and unique. This also helps the group to identify themselves both in the short run and long run. The most common question is “what is this all about”? Even though, the external community is not required to know what the particular ritual means, but knowing the meaning would give a sense of knowing the people. The mass gathering during *Ubhauri*, the surrounding people gets attracted and is very keen on knowing what the performance means. Though as of today, most of the population in Nepal do not know about *Ubhauri* performance what they don't know is what is specific about it and what is different in performance. It is not necessary at all to know that but at least people can recognize the group through their performance style.

The population not knowing the difference in performance between different groups will eventually try to link one group with another. Though it is not a new phenomenon and related to the very human tendency, most people in very vicinity try to get the detail of what is undergoing. So for them, the argument of “is it common to all or common within every group” will be most difficult to be answered. The commonality in performance depends upon the natural resources used. The abundance of a particular type of natural resources may bring two different groups in using the very source. Like noticeable similarity in the performance of *Ubhauri* between many groups is the use of the forest. Most of the groups will start or even start and complete their *Ubhauri* celebration in the forest or near the forest. They are nature worshipper which neither mean it is connected to forest nor it is detached from the aspect of the forest. Most of the people who do not belong to the group are connected to the group by some kind of marginal thread which is strong in terms of cultural value. The cultures and rituals are celebrated by the other group as it is celebrated within the

group. The tendency of including every other group is key to answer the cultural differences.

This approach justifies and equilibrates the difference between the group. As a separate group, it is always an uninteresting fact that how the two differ. The different groups, be it any, always tries to assimilate within each other. Like observed in Geertz's (1973) analysis of how Balinese people are connected by some kind of popular activity of cockfighting. This popular activity in Bali dragged the attention of the entire population and brought them as one. Similarly, the rituals, even though only celebrated by one specific group, bring other groups together.

The most important aspect of an outsider is to visualize the ritual as some kind of symbol. The symbol provides particularity and specificity to any act or ritual of any group. Every group has its own symbolic meaning and the meaning or its interpretation draws into some kind of conclusion. This conclusion eventually differentiates the group from any other group. For a Hindu an idol may represent specific god or deity, but for the ethnic group an idol may represent something represent nature or part of nature. Ethnic group worships nature and ancestors, so the meaning of idol only symbolizes only something part of nature.

5.11 Performance of Rituals

Ritual performance for Lohorung means, that they are connected with their ancestors, which for them is an institution. It also signifies living the traditional root followed by the group as a whole. This in general gives ample space to the younger generation to understand the importance of their group values, the importance of being nature worshipper. The performance of rituals encompasses following strict procedures maintaining the use of specific ingredients or materials. There are different rites and

rituals to be performed during the year. This performance allows community members to celebrate, thank nature for taking care, and remember their ancestors. So, with the researcher's question what are the process of ritual celebration, one of the participants replied-

“We start by worshipping the goddess firstly. All of us gather here and conduct Mingmachukme, which means providing water. It is said that our ancestors served water to people here through ChawaDhara we call it Lambawachawa. What we do is collect some water from the tap and in a separate container some liquor. Then all the elderly of the village gather at the mulghar of a Rai, and pray to the gods in their ancient language. They tell the gods about the water, the liquor, and things as such. But a thing to notice here is there is a difference in the things the elderly say. O fire! we who have gathered here, pray to you, with the water from this chawa which was used by our ancestors. We have washed ourselves with this water. And are washing you with this liquor prepared which we call digucha. Please do not be angry with us and please do not listen to others because if you do not listen to us and listen to others, it will be dishonorable for us. Please accept our prayers and be pleased with us. You have arisen from stones and our ancestors have worshipped you. We have washed your hands and feet with this water.”

This is only part of the narration said by one of the participants regarding the performance of annual *bali puja* also known as *Eksamman*. The point here focused is the importance of certain aspects of every kind of ritual performance. One of the important ingredients or materials is water. Lohorung had been connected with the water sources which they call “*Chawa*”. Mostly the family name is influenced by the name of “*Chawa*”. One cannot simply open the tap and bring water from the tap, they have to go to the main water source from which their family name comes and then

have to bring water from there. They also have to purify themselves by cleaning their body from the water of that source. But, nowadays since the water sources are drying up, most people after taking a shower use a few drops of source water to purify them.

The other most important thing is the “*Kulthan*” (sacred place of one's ancestor: generally worship room of the house), which must be cleaned and prepared for a specific ritual. Each annual ritual requires different ways of worship and different arrangements of ingredients. This place must be free from any kind of external influences, dirt so that the ritual can be done without any obstacle.

The third important ingredients are wine or beer. The fermentation process, ingredients used and others must be very specific and must be following strict guidelines. But, nowadays, since the rituals are done in masses, a huge quantity of wine is required. So, for the ritual process separate batch is produced and for consumption separate. This allows the producer to be careful with only one batch and a small quantity of wine can be produced for rituals.

The other important ingredients are things like a metal plate, flowers, leavers of a specific tree, earth pot, and other materials. The quantity of these materials differs according to the ritual. But the important thing is to understand their position during the ritual. They have to be placed in a specific direction or position and while younger generations are taught they are told about these things in greater detail.

5.12 Need of Rituals and Cultures for Resolution

“Rithi Thiti hamro ho hami yesoyo kinar bhayo bhane hami aafailai birsinchau”

Translated as “ Culture and rituals are ours and we are part of them...if we forget them then we will forget ourselves. This was one of the responses given by a local from GairePangma describing how Lohorung people are covered by their culture

throughout their life. He argued that the basic elements to such are human and nature. The interaction between humans and nature produces cultural and ritual activities. He said that “since we cannot change nature, we have to accommodate ourselves accordingly. But, for each group the pattern in accommodation is different. This difference in accommodation will eventually differentiate between ritual performances. Like for Lohorong, *Ubhauri* (the ritual is done before planting crops) is more important than *Udhauri* (ritual done after crops are produced before bringing home). For other groups, *Udhauri* is important than *Ubhauri*. It depends on what community believes is important. And he argued that importance is reciprocating nature.

Two of the local participants from GairePangma and others have argued over a few important points of ritual and cultural practices. But most of them agreed on the platform for many activities, team effort, mode of transmitting knowledge, and also point of revival.

Ritual and Cultural Practice as a Platform for Many Activities

Hinting towards conflict and conflict resolution process, a local from GairePangma, hinted that even if the conflict resolution process is solitary action at that moment, it requires something which can be celebrated in the coming days as well. He added that this is only to remind people activities are done in the past which will be a good lesson for them. Other participants added that rituals and other cultural practices are important as few actions are only one at that particular moment. Like, one cannot complete the final action of ceremonial oath “*Bhakal*” without a ritual. Like birth, marriage and even death are ritual activities for them. These platforms would correspond to other incomplete actions or near-future actions. Participants claimed

that during older days if there was something important that needed to be sorted out, and then elders used to give the nearest cultural activity date. This date would address the problem and seek a resolution.

For them, rituals and cultural practice are not sole but complete set which can work as a platform in performing every action that society needs. Some of them were mandatory actions while others were optional. Like, if conflict resolution practices did not have any cultural or ritual point associated then elders would assign any nearest rituals for such. This gave people a hope to sense the matter as cultural action. But, in case of urgency, smaller rituals were arranged after the resolution was complete. This includes a small celebration like drinking wines and serving meats.

Ritual and Cultural Practice as a Team Effort

Many cultural and ritual activities for Lohorung are done in the group. These practices bring team effort and strengthen social bonding between people. An elderly female participant explained that during these practices, each member of the community is given a specific task to be completed. Someone may get preparation for wine; some may arrange livestock for sacrifice, someone looks for forest flowers, wood, plants, and someone for communication. Even though they look small tasks but without proper team effort no one can complete such practices. An elder from GairePangma narrated that during “*Eksamang*”, we need more than 15-20 volunteers whose task is simply to clean the field and prepare the venue for the performance. Without team effort you cannot imagine the completion of “*Eksamang*” on time. He further added that these team efforts are added benefit during conflict and conflict resolution. Sometimes elders used emotions to manipulate individuals against their conflict with

others. These were also one of the ways by which elders designed and defined teamwork.

The other important thing among them is the trust factor. The bonding between Lohorung people is extremely strong due to their trust with each other. These trust factors are the reasons that Lohorung people always look up at one another during the crisis. Bhakta Lohorung Rai added that due to this trust factor, the resolution process of any conflict becomes easier. In a normal situation, parties to the conflict may disagree on sitting for settlement. This trust factor gives ample ground for the parties to move towards resolution and then work accordingly. He also points towards punishment after resolution. With the social pressure and trust factor in place, punishments are accepted by the culprit without any revolt. The revolt in accepting punishments may result in severe punishments like de-socializing the individual from the group. These are rare situations and often the individual and sometimes groups themselves are responsible for such actions. Another participant from nearby village added that non-acceptance of such punishment will likely bring revolt, thus elders were strict on these things.

Ritual as a Mode of Transmitting Knowledge

Transmitting knowledge as marked by Hardman is done through participation, experience, performance, and observation (Hardman, 2000: 179). One of the better ways of experiencing is through performance. During the rituals and cultural activities, people of each group are allowed to perform a specific task, which they carry on forever and transfer to younger generations. Like a mid-aged female participant pointed out that if, women are assigned tasks of collecting flowers, different plants, and woods, they would be very specific about that. They carry their

children where these kids will learn about all specific ingredients and carry in future activities.

They forbid minor kids from working, but they can observe the activities and learn from there. Nowadays, kids are more involved in singing dancing and creating a festive environment during the festivals. Their keen involvement also helps them to carry these activities in the future. In response to conflict resolution, many claimed that since they do not have it now, most of the younger generations may not know about that. But, “*Sheer Uthaune*” process as one of the resolution approaches, are known by the kids as a family as well as social affairs. They understand the cause and the resolution process and sometimes help within the process. But they have to get good experience before actively engaging in that.

“*Sheer Uthaune*” process involves priests and elder family members. Younger generations get an opportunity to see and realize the process but are not allowed to work for that. But even from observing the process, they get the essence of the value that it carries.

Ritual as a Point of Cultural Revival

Many participants feel that after rapid modernization, people have less attraction towards cultural heritage. Most of the younger generations prefer jobs and technical skills rather than traditional farming. This pushes them far away from the cultural performance. But, rituals pull them as it is also connected with celebration. Younger generations enjoy performance rather than complete involvement. These rituals at

least have brought back younger generations on such practice. The practice has given some meaning to them, even if the meaning is just enjoyment.

This form many is revival action. They believe that the younger generation is at least attracted to cultural performance and may continue the performance in a later stage of their life. One of the participants replied that it's not only due to work but also education that younger generations are moving away. Hard and busy education nowadays has pushed them from active involvement, thus in smaller cultural performances younger generations spend less time.

But, for many this is a perfect opportunity to teach the younger generation about their cultural heritage. Parents also ask their kids to involve themselves and engage in cultural activities so that they can carry the performance. An elder from GairePangma argued that- without proper care, our language is at the verge of extension, we need to care about that too. This is not only concern but also a message that he wants to spread to all that the cultural heritage should be preserved.

5.13 Role of Rituals in Conflict Resolution

Rituals are generally performed on an annual basis. The ritual and traditions are the backbone of the community. In fact rituals are the ones who give each community a unique identity. This not only helps in recognition of the community but also allows them to express themselves in their traditional form. Today with the changing world, rituals are gradually transforming into a modern phenomenon. Though it is a natural process for anyone to evolve gradually, sometimes things happen too quickly for many people to digest. But as Segal (2004) points out that “.....symbolic activity that gives meaning is ritual”, his argument stands more comprehensive nowadays as rituals and their styles are changing but what is not changing is the symbolic form that

it produces. So, if something provides a gesture of something know and repetitive, it should be ritual. Also, as suggested by Kelly and Sequeria (1997) argue that “rituals are a dimension of the strong group” and Sanguinetti (2002) that “they bring about feelings of support and bonding between the members”.

As an outsider, we may look into rituals as a singular activity only related to performance. But in fact, it consists of a cluster of micro-actions that combines to form a bigger picture of ritual. One of the micro-actions comes closer to conflict resolution. Though it does not come indirectly, it acts as one of the major micro-actions of ritual performance. There are few points highlighted by the participants by which we can see the role of rituals in conflict resolution.

5.13.1 Complete Oaths (*Bhakal*)

Bhakals (oaths) are generally taken to get something and in exchange they agree on some kind of offerings. Generally, these offerings are given to the ancestors and good spirits during the ritual performance. When the offerings are done the oath is said to be completed if it the final task. The offerings are done thanking the good spirits for the blessings. When the oaths are not complete, then the symptoms are shown in any form. And this may lead to bad feelings within. To heal from the bad feelings, the process of “*Sheer Uthaune*” is done. And during the process, the priest may indicate missing any oaths made. So, the ritual becomes the point that helps to get rid of such intrapersonal conflict.

5.13.2 Spiritual Connection

Rituals are not just annual celebrations but are also the time when the community people come closer to nature, ancestors, and good spirits. This is as many believe “..a point where we make our bonding stronger” and rejoice the strong bond throughout

the year. And again next year they thank the nature, ancestor and the good spirits for the blessing and celebrate to strengthen the bond. This is also part where an individual uplifts himself/herself from mental pressure and then tries to heal any kind of problems from within.

5.13.3 Communal Bonding

Rituals are annual celebrations and are enjoyed by the entire community. Some of the rituals are performed in mass and others individually. The mass performance brings the community closer. They perform and enjoy the meal and then strengthen their relations. Even if the celebration is done individually, it boosts communal strength.

5.13.4 Helps to Forget Enmities Between People

The annual celebration comes with great joy and occasion to meet old members and greet them. These celebrations try to connect different people and even those who have become distant due to some kind of conflicting issues. Many claims that – “during annual *bali puja* many people who did not speak with each other for certain time greets and speaks with each other”. In a way like many other celebrations, these rituals bring people closer and try to sort out the differences.

5.13.5 Resource Utilization

One of the major hindrances in ritual performance is the availability of resources. The resources have a major role in creating and disturbing relations. During the ritual performance, the elders teach younger generations on how to effectively use the resources and manage them for future use. In a way the elders are trying to curtail any kind of futuristic conflict.

5.14 Social Pressure to Resolve Conflict

Lohorung community is a closely knitted community within their area “*Pangma*”. People value their culture, rituals, and also believe in helping each other in every way possible. There is always encouraging the presence of local people to perform their rituals and festivals. They have created greater space to accumulate all within their community and outside their community to harvest respect and support for each other. One of the community members told that-“*people often seek help within the community. It is not because they cannot resolve problems of their own, but they want to learn how problems can be handled more efficiently with limited resources in the old traditional way*”. They also claim that “*most of the community people, even if they live outside Pangma, tend to learn traditional methods of different sorts for almost everything*”. Though these statements seem too light to describe the Lohorung community, it is seen that community members have now developed a keen interest in bringing their traditional ideas into the surface.

Since community as a whole composes closely fitted people who wish to cooperate, many of these members always wanted to comprehend each other’s problems. This initiates the social pressure from within the community. One of the community shared a folktale: “*Long time ago, when most of the young men were fighting second world war and few young men were back home, people would argue how these men would handle household and communal difficulties. Then there was a small dispute in a family for petty matters. This went on for a week then for a couple of weeks and finally silence was broken to resolve the difference. Pressures in a positive sense were exerted to this family member. Then men, elders, and mothers asked every other individual to understand the need of family and community. These people pulled the idea of “collective support” which was there for a long time*”.

This tale and so many others which might still be spreading the message of love, peace, and harmony and mutual respect brings some of the major concerns highlighted by the community as to why there always is some kind of pressure to resolve conflict. Though there are many other tales, songs, and short narratives highlighting many other different aspects of communal want to resolve pressure, most of them have essence similar to the below-mentioned ideas:

Fear of losing the respect of the family within the social realm compels them to quickly resolve any kind of conflict within or outside the community.

- The question over parental upbringing brings a family to a point where they want to solve the conflict immediately.
- Most of the elders have a type of control (though it is soft control by nature), which can alter the decision of the family or even community positively. This provides an opportunity to help any family search for alternatives to resolve conflicts.
- One of the most important roles of elders is to preserve the cultures. In doing so, none of the elders think of losing the family/families in a bad way pushing them to search for common ground to resolve the conflict.

The space within the community of Lohorung people does have some social pressure as they celebrate most of the rites and rituals commonly. Not only that, even if the rituals have to be performed individually, but social presence is also key to social approval. Like in most of the community this social approval is essential for support, security, and respect by society. Social values like these do have high value inside the community. They have placed the entire community in a tight grip to preserve communal values, cultural ideas, and mutual respect.

5.15 Mapping Lederach's Approach on Lohorung's Conflict Resolution

Approaches

Lederach's argument on understanding cultural sensitivity while performing peace concerns actively fits with Lohorung's core concern of conflict resolution. Lederach's idea of bottom up approach rather than top down model is clear explanation on how conflict should be understood in local terms and how it should be devised locally.

Even on introducing any new peacebuilding model, Lederach's idea is to customize according to the local need and understanding. His key point on such argument is that local conflicts are surrounded by complex cultural roots hence conflict resolution should address such root.

Lohorung's conflict resolution approaches as discussed are simple yet complex layers of understanding different personal as well as social needs. These needs require social confirmation in order to sustain long term. As culture is backed by historical practice, these values are not easily carried by alien interventions. As in every resolution process, Lohorung community do have their own practiced way of performing and interpreting the result, the entire process is native to their own land. Conceptualizing the concept of intrapersonal conflict by Lohorung community is a prime example that moves along the line with Lederach's concern on conflict resolution process. Home grown processes like those of Lohorung are concerned more about eliminating conflict from the social sphere and maintaining strong social fabric.

Social conflicts in many ways have tendencies to bend the normal process of social functioning weakening the social fabric. These social fabrics are often felt as basis of communal existence. Breakage or weakening social fabric may tear apart social values. In turn the whole social structure may collapse threatening their identity. This is not a simple observatory idea but densely populated layers of values.

Lederach's understanding of grounded conflict resolution model based on people's need is partly backed by the value each community consists. These values are different amongst all groups and they are not transmitted outside the group. The transmission is blocked by the priority and need of society. Each society has their own way of understanding priorities in their life. The priorities are sometimes drafted as needs of society and people. Even it may consist of layers and layers of different needs before finally becoming a true priority. Like in Lohorung's case, conflict resolution is not only limiting conflict but also time to teach people that creating problems may result in bad consequences. These consequences may even be harmful in individualistic term. Also, the process teaches people to understand problems and then translate it into their own life style.

Argued by Lederach as local models may have different purpose than just resolving conflicts, it may be more than what is visible outside. Lohorung's conflict resolution model do have one more purpose of transmitting their knowledge to the new generation for their future need confirms Lederach's argument of grounded approach of conflict resolution. In this way community takes each opportunity to transmit their values to their new generation.

5.16 Punishments and its Impact on Socio-Cultural Values

Punishments are important as it tries to maintain social equilibrium within Lohorung community. It is a symbolic action that gives both sense of belief and a threat not to commit any crimes. As Douglas (1986: 48) explains symbol as 'the main instrument of thought and the only regulator of experiences'. She has focused on how communication is structured through the use of the symbol by which she means how people develop the idea of the meaning of life and the world through the use of symbols. In the same way, punishment as a symbol was to educate people that crime

is bad and it ends up in punishments. Neither it is “form of torture as done in past judicial system by courts in Europe and America” (Foucault, 1995: 7). It is more than just a punishment, a way to tell people that bad ways are always punished. As Foucault describes it as “an attempt to humanize” (Foucault, 1995: 7). A participant who has never left the village for long said that punishments were taken as something that tells people about the consequence if one is indulged in any bad activity. He also explained that it was also to restore beliefs within Lohorung people. These beliefs would eventually explain social equality among them.

Through a few narrations and consultations with many participants, it was clear that punishments were not sought after the conclusion to any resolution process. There are very few narrations explaining punishments. Many claimed that now most of the historical pasts have turned into happy ending stories due to which vital information like punishment is missing. But, most of them highlighted for consequences of conflict resolution: reconciliation, compensation, beating with a stick, removing from the village.

Reconciliation

Many claimed that one of the major points of performing conflict resolution was to reconcile the problems between the individuals or groups. Through this they would be given a public pardon, which in a way was good for the society. Reconciliation was done by asking both parties to take an oath that they would not repeat such in the future. An elder from GairePangma stated that oath was not mandatory but it is to ensure that both social and spiritual pressure will bar them from doing any repetitive

actions. Some explained that sometimes reconciliation between the parties would require acceptance by the local people as well.

“Mileko nai ramro, namile ta baigun huncha, arule samjhaune bhanda afulai kahalune jati” (To resolve difference is better, if not problem escalates, Self understanding is better over others assuring)

(मिलेकोनैराम्रो, नमिलेतबाँगुनहुन्छ, अरुलेसम्झाउनेभन्दाआफलाईकहलाउनेजाती)

This piece is the end of a moral story where a person defames others and tries to humiliate others. Then the person receives bad fortune for his deed to others. Thus it is said that you should not think or act bad to others. It is better to console self rather than getting words from others.

The beginning of the moral values is establishing a mutual relation between members of society. Individual of Lohorung community cannot separate himself/herself from the community nor can he/she move on. This is because they are tightly connected through cultural heritage. So, for them reconciling differences and establishing good relations is key to maintain a peaceful society.

Participants claimed that thus with every resolution, it is always an effort to reconcile the difference. They added that this is done because no one wants to be punished and lower his/her prestige in the society.

Compensation

Many participants argued that reconciliation is not the only result of conflict resolution. Sometimes compensating the victims is way out of public pardon. In those days compensations were not in monetary terms but in terms of labor, crops, or any

other things that would help victims restore his/her prestige. An elder from GairePangma said that sometimes compensation was difficult to measure. As one cannot measure the sufferings of individual, compensation was difficult to be precise. In most cases, the elders would ask the victim to see the compensation given by the perpetrators, and then finalize if it was as correct or not.

If the perpetrator was not in good shape with crops or earnings then sometimes compensations were difficult to fix. The other elder said that in those cases labor support was the option through which other parties were compensated. But, elders would measure carefully with the amount of damage done and compensation fixed. If the compensations are agreed upon by the parties, it was final. But, if the compensations were contested, then alternatives were sought upon. The alternatives were selected and approved by victims and perpetrators before levying upon.

Compensation generally accommodates pardon as well. For Lohorung, asking compensation is taking away all the charges and settling the disputes. But this has to be done in both ways i.e. both the parties agree to clear all the charges and settle their disputes in the presence of elders of the community and ask for pardon for their wrongdoings. Many participants claimed that since Lohorung were good people, they would give pardon immediately.

Beating with Stick

In conflicting situations, beating with a stick was done to teach lessons to persons involved in crimes. Some of the crimes like teasing, stealing, saying bad words on a repetitive basis would bring the criminals beating with a stick. But beating with stick done by who was not clear. Many argued that beating was done by police or people from the government.

They do not have any explanation on if elders would order beating. Since they do not have any mechanism or any fixed person or group assigned to punish, it was difficult to ascertain who gives the beating. Many elders claimed that they had seen people handcuffed in wooden structure and being beaten. But they recall less about who was beating and for what offense.

A young participant from DandaPangma claimed that other than those for repetitive crimes, they did not have beatings. He added that people would be scared by that and elders would never want to scare people and make them obey. Rather they always wanted people to live in harmony helping each other.

Removing from Village

The worst punishment one could imagine was removal from the village. Many participants believed that it is a rare punishment and many people would not recommend the same. Different participants argued a variety of grounds for removal of the village and many agreed on heinous crimes, disobeying the elder's verdict on a repetitive basis.

They used the word "*DandaKataune*" (make cross the hill) or simply removing from the village. For many, this punishment was not even present. They claimed that if you can find Lohorung group out of this village in one or two numbers than you can assume they have received that punishment. But, he claimed that it is very difficult now to verify the same, as the outset person or family might have assimilated with other groups. They do not have Lohorung identity, so it is now very difficult to identify them.

They also agreed that non-Lohorung people or groups were not allowed to enter the village or use the village route amidst conflict. These non-Lohorung groups then had to reroute their path from other locations. But otherwise this punishment was rare.

Heinous crime is hard to define as none of the participants or most of the people the researcher have talked with or listened to do not know the categories of that. Of many crimes, they referred to the murder as a heinous crime. But, the researcher believes that these answers are infused with today's perception. There are no descriptions of such crimes. However, most of them agree that murdering anyone would seize all properties and throw out of the village. To stop such behavior, most of the conflicts were either settled or tried to be cleared out.

Impacts on Socio-Cultural Values

Punishments certainly bring certain socio-cultural impacts either through an individual's behavior or social interaction. Lohorung is no exception to others on that. Many believed that punishment was meant to be a message to people. These messages carried both warning and relief. Warnings messages were to those who had already been involved in some sort of conflicts or trying to disturb the social balance. These messages were not direct rather they were more metaphorical and subtle. One had to guess the consequences upon getting such punishment. And relief messages to other members of the society who believe that bad action results in bad consequences. This is a more individualist sort of opinion built by participants. Many participants believe that warnings worked more than relief messages.

These warnings were not to threaten people or create any cleavage between the population but just to open them up against bad doings. Many participants believed that punishments were less and the reason for that is many Lohorung people were

disciplined and were always following their cultural path. Many also believed that Lohorung was almost isolated in the upper hill slope which made it nearly impossible for most of the other to ignite bad things. For Lohorung, living a simple life was part of their cultural practice.

However, some of the participants believed that punishments in a way have certain negative as well as positive impacts on cultural heritage. The positive impact is that it brings change, which is much needed to cope in ever-changing world. This change has enabled them to respect their past heritage. According to an elder with whom the researcher is in constant touch of Pangma- people will notice that Lohorung people had also gone certain changes according to need. This change brought cultural change as well like change in meat-eating habit was induced by fear of punishment. With government initiative and punishment, our forefathers have changed their meat-eating habits significantly. Now you can only see those meats which people prefer and is allowed. This fear of change is countered by punishments, he added. This is change in cultural practice.

He also, added that people will now try to accommodate the best things and available resources because they know that change is not bad. Like, if some cultural performances are done outside *Pangma*, it is not necessary to have exact ingredients. They can have some and change things according to availability. This for many seems a very small change, but for Lohorung and indigenous groups are much larger. It is not always possible for them to support changes like that.

Upon inquiry about negative consequences, he stated that- one of the negatives would be people becomes less friendly. They do not want to celebrate festivals with each other. During the ritual performance, they want to exclude someone. This increases

the social distance between people. The impact on such is profound. People lived in this place not because they did not have any other place to go but because they wanted to live in harmony. An elder lady from a nearby village said that many people set out of villages due to fear of people. She claimed that Lohorung has not seen such, but believed that actions like these might have been in our history, no one recalls.

She added that this movement of people will have two kinds of impact. The first impact is that we will have less population, which is a concern in itself. We need a population for protection as well. And the second impact is the loss in cultural practice. When the population keeps on decreasing, then regular cultural performance becomes hectic for many. On the other side, the movement of people will discourage them from telling identity. She claimed that on one hand we will become culturally lazy in performance and on the other hand moved population will merge their identity with others. In both the case we will lose our cultural heritage.

Many other participants agreed on her statement and added that people will lose conscious effort towards cultural values. Punishments as such are not bad, but random and rampant punishment will weaken the social and cultural ties. They claimed that – we have not seen in Lohorung’s case but in many other cases we have seen that struggle for power becomes too frequent. This struggle will divide society and eventually fall the culture.

5.17 Implementation of Verdicts

There were lots of arguments and counter-arguments regarding this issue between people from different villages. The common response was that the implementation of the verdicts given by elders was analyzed in two ways. One of the narratives says:

“The result of conflict between people of this village and some other people of the different village was to forget about the issue and move ahead. But after a few days, the two different people from those groups came into a confrontation. The issue was who is going to graze their cattle. This however was not the first time, this was the second incident in nearly one full moon (nearly a month). The elders reviewed what they had done for resolution of the same issue a month earlier. Then they found that they had given a warning to both and asked them to settle the issue. They also asked to graze their cattle on alternate days, so that they both do not meet. But the repetition of similar action (though by different individuals) gave them problems as it was a big question on elder's verdict.

To resolve the issue, elders too gave them same verdict, but this time he asked few villagers from both the side to inspect the people. Also, elders on few days interval went for checking. This act by elders and villagers jointly strictly implemented the verdict and then the repetition of such actions was never seen at that time. They also strictly instructed both the parties from both groups to follow the instructions given and were always accompanied by villagers. This in a way was the better implementation of resolution verdict and helped in the de-escalation of conflict.

Many participants claimed that during farming season, it was difficult to implement the verdicts as many people were engaged in farming activities. For other seasons, the implementation was clear, that villagers and elders were both in place to inspect the issue. In this narrative as well it is clear that elders were prime implementers of such verdict. They were the ones who checked the issue and other matters related to the resolution process. They also invited local people or villagers for support. As elders were not able to walk a long way for inspection, local villagers were always there to inspect the issue and report it back to elders. Some participants even claimed that if

the issue was between more than one village then elders from both the village requested villagers to inspect and report back to elders. While reporting the issue, elders from both the villagers were present. They then decided the implementation status and upon satisfactory results were obtained regular inspection were halted. But, according to participants elders observed much longer before completely halting such inspection.

Many other participants from GairePangma argued that it was not easy to check the implementation status of any verdict. For a few days or some brief period, regular inspection either from villagers or elders was done. But, this was not always the case. As it was difficult to walk up or down through these hills, the implementation entirely depends upon the person. The fear of social exclusion was always there, so the proper inspection was not needed. The elders would give a verdict and the punishment receiver has to follow it strictly. The villagers in a way worked as a check and balance mechanism. If there was no repetition of such a problem shortly, the cases were deemed dissolved.

This is one side of the implementation where many of the respondents believed that the insiders and sometimes the social and moral pressure act as a bridge to implement. But, many others from *DandaPangma* and nearby surrounding believe that police or people from the government side visited the place to check whether the verdict was implemented or not. As they also added that proper jail terms were not clearly defined in any of the narratives. But few elders recalled that they have seen people from local authority coming to check the implementation status. They then inform the head of the local authority about the same. Before informing about the implementation, they would necessarily talk with elders of the village. So, these participants believed that people from local authority were there to ensure the implementation.

Though both the arguments were legitimate, one of the participants from GairePangma said that you cannot precisely define the date of such narratives, so one can assume that both versions are true in their way. Analyzing on the issue, it was clear that the first implementation was done by elders followed by local villagers and then in some cases people from the local authority.

CHAPTER VI

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER AND MODERNIZATION

6.1 Introduction: Knowledge Transfer

One of the most important aspects of indigenous communities is knowledge transfer. It is not an easy process. The transfer process for the community is relatively plain and simple, but for an outsider, it is difficult to see and understand. As pointed by Bolhassan and Dornier, the knowledge transfer is sacred and is more valuable in social terms (Bolhassan & Dornier, 2014: 3379). Knowledge transfer within the Lohorung community, as in the case of many other indigenous groups, requires years and years of training and precision. These are not done in a short period but they take a good amount of time. For some skills to develop it takes life-long. Like in most of the communities, the transfer of special knowledge to new generations is not easy. Like Bolhassan and Dornier have pointed three ways by which any knowledge can be transferred, amongst which the top tier of knowledge is not accessible to all or not given to all. Only the special and chosen ones are given that place (Bolhassan & Dornier, 2014: 3381). In most of the indigenous communities the most difficult knowledge of transfer is that of priests or *Dhami* as they call among Nepali indigenous groups. This transfer of knowledge of this level is unique to each community and they have special place and value of this knowledge.

Hardman (2000) argued that knowledge transfer in the Lohorung community is through learning experience by participating and experiencing. From early childhood Lohorung children are engaged in social activities. Since most kids like celebrations,

they are automatically attracted to such celebrations. The children are included in simple and joyful works. One of the participants recalled:

“When we were kids we always liked the celebration. These celebrations were not only in one house or two but all community members were celebrating. We were specially told by our parents to bring small musical instruments along with us. We used to sit in the tree shade and then play. Though it was not seriously musical we knew that we have to learn these instruments somehow. Also, our parents and elders asked us to carry a wine pot. Though we were not allowed to drink we used to presume on how to carry that. Most of the friends of my time learned to carry and use those things when we were kids. And now we still carry those things (when we need) exactly like that. We copied our elders and parents. Also, we used to listen to songs, and other talks our elders used to do. This was especially when there were celebrations and later we used to mimic them while playing with friends. Some of the things we learned in that way”. (Field Study, 2017)

The way new generations learn things is not specific or rigid. The kids do not have to undergo any kind of test for them to be eligible, but it was observed that many people learned most of the things from an early age. Like one of the participants explained that “you are once or twice taught how to slaughter animals for meat and not always. Once the elders are sure that you can do it, they never instructed rather they used to sit and watch and if anything was wrong, they would correct it”. They argued that elders are supportive in teaching younger generations for so many different things of Lohorung culture that they are like “living library”. They always teach us by their action on how to connect self with nature and ancestors.

Their narrations and discussion give two distinct paths of knowledge transfer. The first one is knowledge transfer to the younger generation and the second is special knowledge like *Dhami*. But, almost all agreed that new *Dhami* cannot be made just by transferring knowledge. *Dhami* has different routes to be dealt with. It is believed to be sacred and not everyone can get that knowledge.

6.2 Becoming a Priest

6.2.1 Khaling Priest (Dhami)

This is one of the most interesting narratives that the researcher collected. Though this narrative belongs to Khaling Rai and not Lohorung, the researcher wanted to highlight this particular portion of intergenerational transfer as in both the cases of Lohorung and Khaling. The person describing Khaling asked me to understand the idea of intergenerational transfer through the lens of looking at how the priest or *Dhami* are selected.

“Khaling Rai”- “here are two procedures of the selection of Dhami. One is through the generational heritage i.e. if there is someone, whose family has been Dhami and conduct “waas puja”, and conduct the death rituals. The clan that has been doing this is allowed to continue with performing the Dhami rituals. If the father who does this dies, then his son carries it forward. If one son is unwilling, then other sons will have to do it. So if a man has five sons just one of them must continue becoming Dhami. They sit down and decide who will be carrying forward the heritage. And the person always has an assistant to help around, almost like a chief and a deputy.

There is another NaagiPujne. In these cases, they are selected by the gods themselves to perform these rituals. It is like some god must enter their body. And once he has been selected by the gods as the Nagi Pujari (the priest) he cannot discard it or say

no. The gods themselves select the specific person and enter them so they must not say no. Now regarding the Dhami, one cannot become a Dhami just because they want to or cannot leave just because they want to.

My father is a dhami too and a proper one who uses the drums (dhol). But there is a slight difference between other kirats and us. We do not beat the dhol (drum) when we do bhumi puja we only blow the horn of wild buffalo and beat cymbals but never beat drum when doing “waas puja”. This has been made very clear in our rituals. And then we refer to some as Serenoksochau. They use the smaller drums called Dhyangro and some use bigger ones called Dholak. The Dholak is used only by extremely powerful Dhamis. This is due to some kind of grading done. The powerful ones use Dholak and others use smaller drums. The Mundhum guidance for these different drums is different. And then there is sesmay i.e. the power that resides within a Dhami. We call it sesmay but I don't know the exact word for that in Nepali. Something like Dhami Shakti. Something like the Dhami has within which helps him to understand the necessary circumstances and rituals to be conducted. We could call it mantra or tantrashakti that resides within the dhami.

My father had seven sisters but all of them were in distress and sorrow. So a Dhami created a sort of barrier between them. I think they said three of them. When people saw them they would look at them as mad women. There was a huge stone in the middle of the village forest and they used to go and dance there. People said they were mad but the Dhami said they were possessed by the gods. Also almost twelve years back, someone two years younger than me suddenly disappeared from the village. People searched for the person everywhere and also in the forest if the person was there. But the people couldn't find the person anywhere however the person saw them searching for him. That person is still alive.

He is not yet a Dhami but he is possessed by the gods. A similar thing happened to my father's sisters so a Dhami protected them. Now only two of them are left, others have passed away with age. So this is something that passes on in the family blood. It is not something you can acquire with a fancy or liking. And you cannot leave being a Dhami once you have been initiated. You might be fascinated by these things. They also might seem to be supernatural and science has not yet been able to delve deeper into ideas like these. If you go to them and show the soil of any land they will observe it and say whether it will be suitable for you or not”.

Of all the points made in narration by the person, the most important part is how one person is selected as a priest or *Dhami*. The points made here are:

Dhami or priest in a way is continuity of the family heritage. It should be followed by any of the family members when the father cannot perform further.

Dhami or priest in another way comes directly as a gifted power. It is not what one can learn or by-hard. The person receives the power and then he cannot deny it. He has to serve it according to the power given.

This is somewhat related to the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another. In the first case, since one of the family members decides to be *Dhami*, he gets some kind of practice through learning by observing his father. And the community elders help in this process as well, but other things come with continuous performance.

6.2.2 Lohorung's Priest

Dhami for many indigenous communities is a very important position. *Yetangpa* as *Lohorung* people call them are part of the community who have high regard and value. They act as a bridge between nature and society and also between individuals and ancestors. They are regarded as the chosen ones in the *Lohorung* community. On

a regular day, *Yetangpa* may be a regular farmer or worker, but during the rituals and custom practices they are regarded as one who connects with ancestors and performs the action. Hardman regards them as one who connects past, present, and future through *Pelam*(Mundhum) (Hardman, 2000: 104). *Yetangpacan* performs rites and rituals through *Pelam*, which for many Lohorung is unknown. Most of the elders know it as the pathway to perform the rituals and practice their customs. But, most of the respondents agreed that you cannot understand what words are being spoken by *Yetangpa* while performing rituals.

During a trip to Dharan (a nearby plain of Sankhuwasabha hills), the researcher met one of the *Yetangpas* who was there to perform “Eksammang” (Bali puja) festival. He revealed that *Yetangpa* in the Lohorung community can be the person who is gifted by superpower teacher during the sleep. He cannot be trained nor can understand anything just by looking at the performance.

Yetangpa specializes in the area of *Pelam* and may not be aware of the ingredients and their locations. It is the helper priest *Phekuwang* who knows what ingredients are required and in which quantity.

Many of the respondents do not know how the new *Yetangpa* receives knowledge in their dreams. However, they know that after they get the knowledge, the new *Yetangpa* can murmur Mundhum and perform the rituals. It is though hard to understand how the exact procedure is replicated by the new *Yetangpa* as he is the one who recites the mantra known as *Pelam*. Many claims that since *Yetangpa* receives knowledge from the guru in his dream, the *Yetangpa*, then recites everything there. Also, the *Mundhum* of Lohorung is special as there is no documentation. Even the researcher asked why *Mundhum* was not published as a book, and then the respondents said that it cannot be recorded and even when recorded, the recording

cannot be understood as it is murmuring knowledge. That's why it is also known as "*ThurthureVed*".

One of the respondents claimed that- "there used to be many priests around Dharan and Itahari but some have left and some died. Currently we have three priests two of whom are very old now and can't participate in the rituals. If they can't participate, we will have to call priests from other villages". How one becomes a priest or *Yetangpa* in the Lohorung community is also interesting as this also accounts for the transfer of knowledge. The only process by which *Yetangpa* can be called is through a dream. And nobody knows how one is chosen and why. This for many is a mystery which the researcher believes will stay with the *Yetangpas* and will never be revealed.

The transfer of knowledge is done and it according to many respondents is done by spiritual "guru" regularly. Upon further inquiry of its frequency, nobody knows it exactly how frequent it is.

6.3 Knowledge Transfer to the Younger Generation

Different knowledge about cultural practice and other rituals take place since very childhood. Many claimed that there is no specific process to do that but generally the curious kids learn from their parents about what is going on and they learn the process. One of the respondents said that-

"According to our ancestors our parents are our gods because they are the ones who gave us birth and life. Right after we are born our mothers teach us all the good things, the right things which we must do and follow and the wrong things which we must avoid like cheating and stealing. It is exactly what all the other religions also teach us similar things like prohibiting us from sinning. So, god here is being compared to mother. We can see everything clearly how our mother gives us birth, a

life, so here mother herself is compared to god. Secondly, the things she teaches us all the life lessons are similar things that could be found after many years of researches and study. So it can be concluded that the mother is the nature who is the ultimate creator. What if the sun, the water, the air, the land forgets their main functions? In that case it is impossible for anybody to survive. So nature herself is god, we worship our nature. All the unseen is god but I feel that there is no such thing as god. God is something which we can see and feel”.

Many agreed to the point that mothers are the first who teach the new generation about all the knowledge and fathers are ones who make them participate in different rituals and ceremonies. They also argued that there is no such specific process by which they can list how the knowledge is transferred. One of the respondents said that- *“I learned all the cultural practice by observing my father and elders in the neighborhood and also from mother who used to explain to me what is going on. Later on I started to practice and then continued it. Now my kids are doing the same”.*

Younger generations are always keen on learning new things. With their empty cognitive sense, they are bound to pick anything. An indigenous practice for many is not only the art of living but living in harmony with nature. One of the respondents from *GairePangma* stated that the learning process in the Lohorung community is not different than many others. He claimed that he learned his language from his family. He also learned other skills like planting crops, plowing, farming, picking woods, making wine, participating in celebrations, and others through their parents and elders. They make you learn, unlearn, and learn again and again so many times that you almost become master of that work. He explained that most of the Lohorung people who have grown up in *GairePangma* village do know everything about all the rituals. But he also claimed that few might have forgotten due to long gaps at work or

those who moved to Terai or Kathmandu early. He explained that this is done to connect the Lohorung people with nature. For example if you get a bigger chunk of fodders from the forest for your livestock, then the elders will teach you that these must be done so that you can get tomorrow as well. In a way they are teaching you to act sustainably.

And sometimes the elders teach you without saying a word. In those cases where one needs support or guidance, elders, maybe parents, neighbors, or other community members, are always there and they teach you patiently. One female respondent said that she learned the process of winemaking without any proper guidance. She said- “my mother always wanted me to help her. So she always asked me to bring different things according to her needs. I knew exactly how much by this process. And she added that she liked winemaking from childhood when her mother used to carry her in her back wrapped in her shawl. She said “when I grew old and started helping my mother, I had already liked it because I knew the ambiance since my childhood”. Other male participants added that he learned woodcutting skill just following his fathers in the forest. He added that “I used to follow my father in the forest and see how skilfully he used to cut old and worn out part”. He added that since sometimes earlier we have stopped doing that as there are other alternatives.

Many respondents said that kids in this community are not dragged to work but, they keenly participate in different functions. Knowingly or unknowingly they become part of their culture which they have to carry on. The elders here are not only teaching young generations just about their culture but also the skill to live their life and work. Like one of the elder participants from *GairePangma* said that he became part of the Singapore Police and then Brunei Force, just by knowing Limbu's language. He said, “the recruiter back then came from the Limbu community who spoke a different

language than ours. My elders here told me to learn the language. And fortunately there was one teacher who used to teach Limbu language. So, I learned the language and joined the force”.

For Lohorung people, skill to learn is not simply related to culture and their activities, but more than that. Elders and others taught the younger generations how to cope with any situations and be fit in difficult times. These lessons were not easy to learn and they were not by any means things to be experienced. They had to listen to the elder’s experience, their father’s hardship, and many more. This made them strong and made them a good learner.

But they also agreed that due to rapid migration, there have been some changes in the attitude of new generations on learning things. Most of the kids who either live in cities or live abroad experience cultural practices only during rituals or ceremonies, which have now created challenges in preserving their heritage. It is evident from the language of Lohorung. There are only a few people now who can speak Lohorung language. Most of the new generation even cannot understand a few words.

With these problems on the line, the Lohorung community has created Local Committee, Central Committee, who does the task of organizing different events and programs on creating awareness among the new generation. They also publish books and calendars and other educational materials helpful for new generations to learn.

Experiencing and Observing

Even today many women who works to collect fodders for their animals or even work in the field do carry their child wrapped by woolen clothes (shawl). They do it because they do not want to leave their child alone at home. If their partners

(husband) are present at home, they have to look at the child for a while. In that case too men tend to carry their baby and roam around. In both the cases, many Lohorung believe that the child is experiencing the surrounding. *“This teaches the child about the immediate surrounding which helps them to adapt accordingly”* claimed one of the participants. The other claimed that *“when the child is carried by women or men who performs the agricultural work, then most of the child learns about the hand movement simply by experiencing the movement created by the carrier”*. They also claimed that after few years when the child gets any plant and sees the surface structure like what he/she has experiences, than that child also produces same motion just like his carrier did. They compared this with modern day kids knowing to use smart phones.

Many of the respondents believed that since most of the men are out of village for work (mostly in British Army or Singapore police or Gulf), women do have challenges of doing most of the households and bringing experience to their children. For most of the women it is related with hardship; raising their children and doing basic agricultural work. Few of the respondents differ in the concept that child were carried because there were no one to look after them. And they also claimed that it is not entirely related with experiencing something which may be applicable in their life.

In contrast, one of the respondents claimed that, *“I remember my father carrying me in his back and then going to forest to collect special plant (medicinal). Though, I got opportunity to go with him even at the later age, I recall the smell from the plant since my child hood”*. His claim may or may not be absolute accurate, but it is certain that the knowledge accumulated by kids of newer generation gets excited by this kind of activity. Many recall the smell, feel and other attributes from the very childhood.

This experience of kids from very early age is then strengthened by observing. Most of the Lohorung people have seen their parents working from distance. They used to play along with other kids and observe their parents working. They then would imitate their parents. This also gave them better experience about the working procedure. One of the participants recalled-“ *when I was a kid, I used to see my father measuring exactly how much ingredients are required to make alcohol. My father was very particular about the measurements. He even used to measure marcha (yeast) by keeping it in palm and then closing both hands and then checking the gap between the palms. His precise measurement skill is now embedded in me. I now do the same thing while measuring the marcha (yeast) while preparing the alcohol. Even I know how my father used to shake (move utensils) while measuring the ingredients*”. His point of learning and then replicating the same is how knowledge is accumulated by younger generations and then transferred in their daily life. There are many stories like cutting woods in precise manner, in a way such that the tree is not harmed, specific tree leaves for animals, medicinal plants, planting vegetables and so many other related with every day life which many believe that they do it exactly like their parents or relatives.

Observation is not confined to specific age. Any age group may observe and then try to replicate the knowledge they have learned from just observation. Even today, most of the younger generations who are far from their native village do observe key performances and rituals along with their grand parents or parents. This gives them an opportunity to understand and know about their cultural importance. It gives them a space where they can practice their own cultural and ritual heritage.

Involvement

As explained people from Gaire Pangma village, involvement may require certain age to be completed, but not mandatory. If the ritual is to be performed by male members of family and father is not present, then his son may get himself involved in such ritual. But, if the son is too small, then he may just observe. So, observing and involving may be two different segments of a same action, involvement consists of certain criterion. One of the participants explained *“there is no such creteria as to when a family member can start involving. Like female members start helping mother from very early age. Similarly, a male member collects fodder and sometimes even takes animal fro grazing from early age. But, parents and community members are careful about the fact on use of weapons. They do not allow kids to get hurt or hurt others. For other actions there is no barring. But, to involve self in ritual process or any cultural activity, there is no boundary. In whatever capacity they can, community members welcome them. In the begening, they tease the kids and even entertain themselves from kids action. But it is part of how to create joy in work”*.

Many also agreed that it is not only action oriented involvement like plounging fields, clearing field for *Eksamman*, butchering but also mere presence may accunt as involvement. Like in community meeting, kids may come and join their parents and listen to what elders have to say. It is not mandatory to speak up or prove a position. They can remain there and witness community action as part of that.

One participant explained- *“one of the most impartnat knowledge that we as older generations want to transfer to new one is about the impartance of knowing who we are. The impartance of knowing how we are connected with this land and the natural settings. It is also important to notice to take that what cultural value we carry. In the long run, after we leave this earth, it is the job of this new generation to carry our ancestral legacies”*. Some of the participants are in the view that people learn if they

involve themselves in different work. Like most of them agreed that it is difficult to live in this area without any resource, and to create resources they have to involve themselves. Many believe that involvement and listening to elders help them to become a better person.

6.4 Modernization and Knowledge Transfer

Modernization is attached to a newer generation more than in the past. The changes due to modernization are happening more rapidly than ever. There are no boundaries to both knowledge and practice. It can be argued that modernization has created a better path for new generations. This has brought both positive and negative consequences on knowledge transfer.

Positive Consequences

A respondent from GairePangma stated that new technological inventions and changes have given a new generation to compare and see different cultural practices in their lifetime. He added that “in the past, we could only imagine of our surroundings and whenever someone from the village went to the British Army or Singapore Police, they first had some sort of cultural shock. He recalled seeing big buildings for the first time and people (both male and female) walking for their jobs. He never imagined women working. He said it was during the cold war and then he had seen people randomly moving from place to place”. And then he said that after returning to the village for vacation, he talked with his friend and family and used to joke about that. He said that “in a way, this was more than cultural shock. This was a chilling experience for a person like me. I could not sleep for days”. His version of the story for new generations looks like a fairytale story and only enjoys that. But they could not realize the gravity of different experiences people had back then.

His argument of diluting cultural shock is helping people get rid of such cultural shock. These for him will encourage people to learn new things about their culture. So the issue of knowledge transfer gets easier with knowing some other cultures. The dissertation of his argument is creating curiosity. This curiosity gives a space to understand and learn cultural traits deeply. Also, this in a way is providing opportunities for people from any culture to adjust anywhere around the world. This as of today is much more important than anything because boundary nowadays only exists in maps and not with skills one has. One of the participants from GairePangma believes that kids of younger generations are moving away from traditional practices. This not only for him but for many is a challenging situation. But he adds that this push can also create a pull. He explained that if young generations are away and forget their culture, then when they find their culture back, they stick with it more than usual. He stated the example of Lohorung young generations who are living abroad always care for their cultural practice and are keen to join whenever they can. This is a positive sign, as you do not have to drag people to follow the culture. They come, follow, and then keep it for new generations to come.

His argument comes close to Sing's argument on "confusion over modernization with westernization" (Singh, 2012: 154). Sing's take on Indian societies hitting with modernization without taking into consideration the past and historical accounts have created dilemmas over clarity. Sing's argument on one point coincides with the participant of GairePangma where the participant talks more of being as they were rather than changing into something new. The participant added that Lohorung people or people from other groups have not drastically changed into something new. He agreed that they have changed a bit but not completely as many thought of in earlier

days. His argument is pointing the promising accompany of their native culture with the new culture.

His point enhances the value of culture for the new generation. The wants and needs of the new generation are satisfied even if they are far away from their native land.

But the question that needs to be researched is the longevity of such parallel assimilation. Nobody knows how long the people of the new generation will accompany such a parallel culture. This might be food for thought for new research uptake, but requires a new dimension in the study.

Negative Consequences

For many the real problem with modernization is difficulty in knowledge transfer. In earlier days the active participation and involvement gave a new generation of Lohorung with the same cultural skill. But with modernization and technological development this is going to be rare. People are less and less actively interested in cultural participation. One participant explained that school time, office time has created less time for cultural action. Though many agree that even people are trying to meet during holidays and free time to learn new things, but certainly this is not enough. This according to many has created differentiation between Lohorung who knows their culture and who does not know.

Also, modernization is associated with an individual's behavior or attitude and so is knowledge transfer. An individual's behavior is the biggest response that knowledge gaining can foresee. Many believe that the change in the globalized world is impacting attitude towards culture. Many of the participants believe that they are not sure whether differences in attitude will change any knowledge gaining strategy. But they are certain that the attitude towards learning is likely to decline. For many, non-

participation in cultural performance is one of the biggest signs of change in attitude. But some believe that it is very early to say that the attitude has changed.

Similarly, some consequences are not necessarily experienced by all the cultures but are certainly in a way to reach almost all traditional cultures. One of the arguments of Singh is on change in social structure overtime (Singh, 2012: 155). These structures according to him had served long and now are at a verse of change. (Singh, 2012: 156). Not certainly Singh is not pointing on a complete change, but his direction is also referring to mild change. These mild changes are visible as they create minute gaps. Like, one of the participants said that people from Pangma have moved to different parts of Nepal and the world. They have gone for good and are working for the welfare of Lohorung people but are also deprived of social practice. Their children do not know what they practice and their roots. This for the same generation is mild change, but with a new generation, it creates a pit in a vacuum. This gap or vacuum is certainly a large hole for knowledge sharing. In a small community any small gap becomes a generation of difference.

Many participants agreed on the point of cultural departure of the new generation. The new generation moves away from cultural practices and other forms of celebrations. This can problematize the cultural root. Extinction is not far away. The statistical data on Lohorung shows a decline in the number of Lohorung people. Hardman's literature shows almost 4500 Lohorung in Pangma village (Hardman, 2000: 1). There is no fragmentation of the population in the 2001 census about Lohorung Rai. They are mostly included under the broader category of Rai. And in 2011 census shows a total of 1153 (CBS, 2011: 147). Ignoring the fact that some of the population still uses Rai as their family name and Lohorung as their middle name, the category might have pulled to a broader category of Rai, the population living in hills and mountains,

according to the same report is only 1023 (CBS, 2011: 147). This is a sharp decline in population even within Pangma village. Now less than 500 people live within Pangma village. This decline in population mainly is due to migration. The migration to nearby flat land and Kathmandu is ever increasing. This for many is the mark of modernization. They agreed that people do not like hardship nowadays and like modern facilities. Therefore, they give on moving. The triggering factor of migration is knowledge sharing. Many elderly Lohorung people living abroad or in other parts of Nepal teach their young generation about their values and culture. But, new generations are slightly behind on giving such training to their kids.

The other impact of modernization is fear of depletion of cultural values. Migration and assimilation with others have created a mist fear among many that one day it will be wiped out. Many participants pointed on the fact that they have heard so many indigenous communities wiped out as there were no people left of that group. They hinted that this might be due to assimilation with other groups. Meanwhile the technological change has brought them near, but only in a virtual sense. People prefer to meet virtually rather than spend time and money visiting the high hills. This depleting understanding of cultural values will eventually sink the knowledge-generating and knowledge-sharing platform. With these distortions, the cultural roots of any group will be in question.

Modernization like technological change has created two different breeds of population. One of the groups does have access to technology and others do not. This gap for a small indigenous group like Lohorung is much bigger as the population living in Pangma might be cut off from the rest of the population living elsewhere. There is a fear among the people that with this context the new generation may forget that the Lohorungs live here in high uphill. As Lohorung people believe their native

land as Pangma, forgetting Pangma people leads to forget their roots. This detachment will not only create a cultural problem but also an identity issue.

This change in approach due to globalization has impeded the knowledge sharing habits of Lohorung people and all other indigenous tribes. The globalized world acts as a fluid and tries to remove boundary but traditional boundaries are not just melting but their learnings are evaporating as well.

6.5 Ritual and Modernization

Modernization has impacted rituals in both a negative and positive way. It would not be an exaggeration to say that traditional sound beat, music, dress attract more youth than any other does. Like people participating in *ChandiNach* (a special dance performed by almost every Rai group to perform their rituals) these days uproar the number of people distantly visualizing in the past. This has given some kind of solidification in the identity and preservation of the specific identity of the group.

Koster (2003) has described a phenomenon that he called “ritual overflow”. He describes it “as the state where the symbols and rituals break out of their confinement of a “sacred space” and are taken out to the battlefield and the streets”. In a nearer sense, due to some kind of attraction many people move towards the group and use the symbols other than they are meant for. This breaks the ritual trap creating an unwanted way of understanding the rituals and symbols. This can be attributed to rapid urbanization rather than development, most of the individual belonging the groups are falling apart and they are moving out from the traditional belief of the group. The assimilation of people has brought loose connection towards the group creating unnecessary surficial bonding. This bonding is trying to mutate the actions of one group with other groups leading to diluted identity. Is this good or bad maybe the

question of further research but is sure that it is bringing a spotlight on the people of the group.

According to the data from the fieldwork, there is now a vast difference between older and younger generations in the perception of rituals. Old generations are really worried about the survival of Lohorung culture and want to keep their traditional rituals alive, whereas the young generation claims that in the name of saving culture it is not arguable to follow all rituals from the past as exactly as it was done in the past.

Further, they argued that they can follow some modern rituals that make life easier and more comfortable. For example, they appreciate the use of modern facilities, food habits, etc. during rituals and ceremonies. However, they do not neglect their norms and values totally and still have love and respect for their culture. The study also shows that young Lohorung is attracted to both modern rituals and traditional rituals. However, some traditional aspects of rituals are still in existence and the young generations also are in favor to continue them, such as trying to use their language at least at home or with the group, supporting the older generation for preserving rituals, participating in every ritual.

Although some rituals are transformed to ease as resources are being scarce, Lohorung is still able to maintain a distinct cultural identity under their traditional festivals and rituals, which brings them closer to each other as a community. The role they play in different festivals and rituals are solid in maintaining their cultural activity and identity. Besides, the Lohorung cultural organization is encouraging young people to speak their language and to wear their traditional clothing. Different awareness programs are meant to save their cultural identity. The Lohorung

organization emphasizes the importance of their communal cultural practices, such as the ritual, as spaces of cultural reform and preservation.

In traditional societies modernizations give new dimensions to life and culture. This may be positive from the social point of view but in terms of the traditional culture, the impacts of modernization can play a negative role. They may cause ‘serious friction and tension’ (Naofusa, 1983: 23). The traditional cultures of traditional societies are facing the risk of declining and disappearing. Modernization and globalization pose an irreparable danger to the loss of indigenous people like the Lohorung as a whole.

Culture is changing with times so it cannot be denied that traditions do change. In the case of Lohorungs, their traditional beliefs, perceptions, rituals are also influenced by such changes. It is not completely possible to avoid such a society. Therefore, the researcher believes, it is better for any culture to preserve its identity and keep it alive.

The best way to protect and preserve the culture is to detect the middle path of “revitalizing their cultural elements”. The older generations have the responsibility to pass their rituals and culture to the younger generations so that younger generations “revitalize” them. Moreover, it is especially important to indigenous communities to maintain their distinct identity because they often find themselves in a minority position. Culture plays a vital role to sustain identity in the long run. Therefore, such communities should harmonize tradition and modernization cultural tools to preserve their identity. The same process should be applied in the case of the ritual system of the Lohorungs so that the distinct identity of Lohorung can be preserved in the long run.

6.6 Impact on Lohorung Identity due to Modernization

Nepal is not exempted from globalization and modernization. Lohorung has experienced some changes in their traditional ritual and their perception of ritual, community, and culture but to a lesser degree compared to other communities. Consequently, their identity is getting transformed, for instance in the encounter with other cultures, through the global media and new technology. Nowadays, traditional concepts about the meaning and significance of rituals, therefore, have changed. People 'forget' to practice some of the traditional rituals. By this the communal relations and practices in Lohorung society are affected. The impacts of modernization are central factors to the change of ritual and eventually identity, and with them also culture and community. Thus, this study focuses on the identity of Lohorung, illustrated by the customary practices of rituals. The ritual system and the identity within it must, therefore, be understood in a larger context. Thus, in this dissertation, the researcher has also focused on some of the important characteristics of Lohorung society: history, life passage rituals, social system, and their traditions and culture and it's nexus with the identity.

Because of the changed political and economic situation of the country as a whole, Lohorung people are compelled to change their rituals and modernize their culture but keeping in the essence of it and bringing more and more youngsters in. Similarly, the interaction with other people migrated and the state policy pressured them to change their patterns and practice. Today, most of the Lohorung areas are surrounded by people of other groups, which influences Lohorung to adjust some of their rituals. For example, the use of self-woven dresses have been replaced by modern clothing, language has the effect of other languages as many of the youngsters start speaking

Nepali rather than Lohorung, etc. are influences from the surrounding. Some concepts of ritual have been transformed because of the modern education system in the country.

To some extent, the influence of other religions makes them follow a modern way of ritual as other religions have a distinct tradition than Lohorung. Moreover, the fast-growing urbanization and the flourishing of new technology, information, and communication lead the traditional society into modern society that has an impact on Lohorung culture including rituals and eventually their identity.

The researcher argues that cultural identity is a must for the recognition of any indigenous community of the world. With globalization, they face several challenges that make it difficult to preserve their tradition and culture. When the government of Nepal touched the concept of language and religion, the indigenous culture of Nepal faces several problems. Though, indigenous people are uninterested to accept it, the state and the modernity forces are strong, shaping every sphere of life, including the ritual of the Lohorung.

According to the data from the fieldwork, there is now a vast difference between older and younger generations in the perception of rituals. Old generations are really worried about the survival of Lohorung culture and want to keep their traditional rituals alive, whereas the young generation claims that in the name of saving culture it is not arguable to follow all rituals from the past as exactly as it was done in the past. This is slowly transforming their identity as a whole.

Further, they argued that they can follow some modern rituals that make life easier and more comfortable. For example, they appreciate the use of modern facilities, food habits, etc. during rituals and ceremonies. However, they do not neglect their norms

and values totally and still have love and respect for their culture. The study also shows that young Lohorung is attracted to both modern rituals and traditional rituals as well. However, some traditional aspects of rituals are still in existence and the young generations also are in favour to continue them, such as trying to use their language at least at home or with the group, supporting the older generation for preserving rituals, participating in every ritual.

Although some rituals are transformed to ease as resources are being scarce, Lohorung is still able to maintain a distinct cultural identity under their traditional festivals and rituals, which brings them closer to each other as a community. The role they play in different festivals and rituals are solid in maintaining their cultural activity and identity. Besides, the Lohorung cultural organization is encouraging young people to speak their language and to wear their traditional clothing. Different awareness programs are meant to save their cultural identity. The Lohorung organization emphasizes the importance of their communal cultural practices, such as the ritual, as spaces of cultural reform and preservation.

In traditional societies modernizations give new dimensions to life of people. This may be positive from the social point of view but in terms of the traditional culture, the impacts of modernization can play a negative role. They may cause 'serious friction and tension' (Naofusa, 1983). The traditional cultures of traditional societies are facing the risk of declining and disappearing. Modernization and globalization pose an irreparable danger to the loss of identity of indigenous people like the Lohorung.

Culture is changing with times so it cannot be denied that traditions do change. In the case of Lohorungs, their traditional beliefs, perceptions, rituals are also influenced by

such changes. It is not completely possible to avoid such a society. Therefore, the researcher believes, it is better for any culture to preserve its identity and keep it alive. The best way to protect and preserve the culture is to detect the middle path of revitalizing their cultural elements.

The older generations have the responsibility to pass their rituals and culture to the younger generations so that younger generations revitalize them. Moreover, it is especially important to indigenous communities to maintain their distinct identity because they often find themselves in a minority position. Culture plays a vital role to sustain identity in the long run. Therefore, such communities should harmonize tradition and modernization cultural tools to preserve their identity. The same process should be applied in the case of the ritual system of the Lohorong so that the distinct identity of Lohorong can be preserved in the long run.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

One of the major hurdles in understanding conflict resolution within Nepali groups is lack of detail narrations of the subject. The problem with detail study on such is even complicated by lack of proper literatures. This problem brought in understanding Lohorung's conflict resolution process in the past and their way of knowledge transfer and impact faced by them due to modernization. These questions were broadly adopted as research question entailing objectives to access their conflict resolution process done in the past and examine their way of knowledge transfer and impact brought by modernization. Thus, the first idea was to explore the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism adopted by Lohorung community in earlier days and the second idea was to examine the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and the impact brought in by the modernization. These two objectives were core idea behind undertaking the research.

Though, most of the practices are almost extinct, some of the practices are still done during different rituals and ceremonies. The extinct practices live with people in the form of songs, narratives, short stories and even jokes. These have however have given some glimpses of what those practices looked like many years ago.

The background of research begins with the notion that the knowledge and understanding of conflict and conflict resolution are relative in nature and there exists multiple realities of the same. And the knowledge is socially constructed. In order to understand and put into context, phenomenological idea, staying very close to

descriptive phenomenology, using qualitative method is adopted to study the conflict and conflict resolution process. This was done by connecting the collected songs, narratives and other form of information brought light in understanding on the questions. Analyzing individual and their lived experience, the data were analyzed in pure qualitatively terms. The collected information through interview and observation were transcribed and then used according to the need of the objectives. In order to understand different natural diverging understanding of same idea, patterns of similarities were brought which helped in sorting out the nearest difference. The collected information was then segregated according to the objectives and then analyzed accordingly. The summary of each chapter is done separately below.

Understanding Lohorung

Cultural and ritual practices are always connected with a Lohorung individual. These people are interwoven as social fabric and they have created a nature friendly process within themselves. Lohorung's rituals are always taken as an opportunity to ease problems between the individuals. They also cherish these moments to spread happiness and pray to nature for support and care. Like a birth ritual, marriage rituals are taken as a celebration. They hold their joy with each other and take it as an opportunity to meet people and give blessings. Whereas death ritual is performed to give deceased person remembrance as their ancestors. It's not just an individual but the entire community takes this opportunity to acknowledge the deceased person as a part of nature and their ancestors.

These values they carry within themselves prove that every ritual and culture is connected with anything that Lohorung does. They do not believe in isolation as the ancestors are always there. Conflict resolution or any other auspicious occasions are

marked by offerings to nature and ancestors. They also take this opportunity to strengthen the connection between people and the spirit. Their life is connected between person, ancestors, and nature. The researcher believes that it is important to understand Lohorung before beginning understanding conflict and conflict resolution within the community.

Conflict and Conflict Resolution

The conflict and conflict resolution practice at Pangma village and surroundings at the present cannot be seen vividly. Their earlier form of conflict resolution has been replaced by the modern legal judicial mechanism. People from new generations have less idea about their earlier practices. Conflict according to Lohorung people and their folktales, narratives, and short songs, has been divided into three broader categories. Among these categories, Lohorung people do not consider intrapersonal conflict as to any form of conflict. Their practice of intrapersonal conflict is more of a healing action rather than a resolution process. This is their part of the belief system in which they surround individual, nature, and their ancestors. They have an important place for nature and surroundings and put themselves in between. So, in a way they create a circle of three to form a social structure through which they are closely knitted together.

Within the practice of intrapersonal conflict, there are embedded ingredients of conflict resolution and its practice. Similarly, there were practices of interpersonal conflict and interparty conflicts. Though the number of narrations was less even with that the rich information gave a better understanding of conflict and conflict resolution practice in earlier days. With an understanding of conflict, Lohorung people have developed special skills and not necessarily defined techniques to deal

with such conflict. They have a special procedure to understand and treat every conflict in the context that it occurs.

The procedure to deal is fairly simple and they take special care for each one of them. They have a definite strategy to listen to the complaint, handle it, and then resolve the process. The process generally accommodated the content of the ritual aspect. The inclusion of rituals in the resolution process gave validity to it and gave them a moment to cherish. The resolution process would typically involve a strategy of listening to parties, to third party or witness, and lots of consultation. These consultations have profound impact in the verdict. The verdicts are provided as per the social values and they are important to the members of community as well. The verdict is also followed by punishment. The punishments are generally reconciliation between the parties. Between reconciliation and pardon, extreme measures like beating and removing out of villages were also practiced. However, the practice of beating and removing out of the village was less observed in narrations and folklores. Few experiences were there to understand the punishment given.

These reconciliations profoundly impacted the culture of Lohorung people. Lohorung people developed their social structure with the changes they observed during these periods. They learned to adapt according to the change in the surroundings. This helped them to interact with people from other groups. The resolution along with the cultural hint gave them a new hope to move things according to change in time. The community had a rich history of the traditional cultural practice of conflict resolution. However, the existence of such a practice is almost extinct now. The younger generations are still attracted to their cultural practice. But that being said, globalization and modernization have certainly changed Lohorung and their generations to come.

Knowledge Transfer and Modernization

Knowledge transfer for Lohorung is one of the destinations through which they try to bring in new changes per their old knowledge. It is similar to producing knowledge while transmitting them. The knowledge process of the Lohorung community is shared with experiences and the practices the elder's offers to their children. They have tried to carry their way of telling their kids to be indulged in cultural activities. Knowledge sharing for Lohorung people does not need any specific platform rather for them it is a continuous process. It is a lifelong process of involving self to perform their cultural work. Helping in the kitchen, collecting woods, burning fires, performing rituals are in a way sharing their cultural traits.

But some of the cultural traits are difficult to transmit. Like the knowledge of priests is not transmitted by humans to humans, rather it is the process of acquiring knowledge from a spiritual guru. Lohorung people believe that the guru is their ancestors. With acquiring knowledge from the dream, a person becomes *Yetengpa*, the priest who can murmur their knowledge of *Pelam*. The transfer process and selection process is not known by any and they do not know how everything happens. But, once the person becomes *Yetengpa*, he certainly delivers the spirit of *Pelam*.

The process of globalization and modernization has affected the knowledge generation process and knowledge sharing process is greatly endangered. The challenge is to keep their mark of knowing things around them and making their new generations know it. The fluidic nature of modernization has an impact on these activities. Also, modernization has raised questions on ritual performance and challenged the identity of Lohorung people. The fear that this change will demolish a

great indigenous community is always there, but with hands from new generations to involve in cultural activity has saved them until now.

7.2 Conclusion

The premise of this research was to understand conflict resolution mechanism within Lohorung community in earlier days and the knowledge transfer and impact due to modernization. There were and are still evidences of conflict resolution mechanisms based on community. The community along with time has improvised and created better scenario for mechanisms like these. Also, the community has adopted different mechanisms to connect those basic understanding with rituals and cultural arguments so that they are well adopted and respected by people of the community. Conflict resolution for Lohorung and other ethnic communities is not only a means to settle disputes but also a tool to maintain equilibrium within the community. The community members are equally liable and responsible for both; creating conflict as well as resolving it. Through the narratives and stories the researcher can ascertain that the Lohorung community always tries to maintain their cultural heritage as well as maintain peace and harmony between people and within the region. The key findings of the dissertation can be summed up in a few points.

7.2.1 Understanding of Conflict

Understanding of conflict within the Lohorung community is deep and realizes its place in society. They knew that conflicts are inevitable but they had already developed some kind of mechanisms to deal with that. Be it intrapersonal conflict or interpersonal or intergroup conflict, the concepts were understood in a better way than today (in some cases). Of all, the deepest understanding is of intrapersonal conflict. Intrapersonal conflict for them is just a normal phenomenon and the resolution is all about making the connection. The researcher believes that understanding such

requires detailed knowledge of cognitive status and behavior of human beings. The researcher believes that they have excelled in that. The interpersonal conflict and intergroup conflicts for them is a normal course of life. They knew that this cannot be stopped so they have understood all the details of such to cure every kind of problem that may arise.

Though, there are fewer numbers of instances of interpersonal conflict. This shows that either this group had very strong intra-communal relations or they have omitted from the memory so that the new generations will only learn good things about the community. In either of the cases, they are trying to bring the social fabric closer. As Morris stated “make or build things, express feelings, and emotions, and respond to the world” (Uhlmann et al., 2011 cited in Morris 2014,2), they are preserving their culture for the long run. They did not want to continue bad things but transfer good things to showcase the world about their cultural heritage. Also the understanding of intergroup conflict which is much more difficult to manage is tactfully handled by them. This shows their competencies towards a healthy social and cultural life.

Even though the concept of conflict and its germination can be expressly defined by Galtung’s ABC triangle (2007:15), the notion of intrapersonal conflict cannot be explain by his model. Even trying with Burton’s Human Need approach (1990:14; Burton & Dukes, 1990:27) do not firmly confirm the alignment of intrapersonal conflict of Lohorong community. This is because Burton’s idea argues about the gap created by personal and universal need, which in this case cannot be seen.

7.2.2 Conflict Resolution Techniques

Some of the techniques of conflict resolution are unique and some are common trends today. The use of mediation and negotiation are some of the most common tools of

conflict resolution tools and are widely used. But even the steps involved in these processes resemble today's practices. It cannot be ignored that today's practices are brought by the generation of practices. Yet, the detailing in each step is one of the prominent features in Lohorung's conflict resolution process. Some of the basic trends can be highlighted as:

- The use of conflict resolution approach according to the type of conflict is very interesting as it shows the tactfulness of the people back then.
- The belief that dialogue and talks can end any kind of conflict is the other idea that stands out.
- The opportunity to express the parties of conflict is moving one step closer to resolving the conflict.
- The use of tools of conflict resolution like mediation and negation at the right time is the other bright feature of the process.
- When normal people cannot solve the process by themselves, bringing in new parties to support the cause also shows the tactfulness of people.

The list can go long if we understand how efficiently they used to manage their conflict. As Lederach (1995: 38) "rightly puts that conflict is understood in its native sense and can be easily resolved then" which is supported by Werner (2010: 61) showing the case of *Gacaca* court of Rwanda where the conflict resolution process was eased up with the introduction of the local court system. Factors like these can be used today for a better and quick justice system.

Lederach's approach of "understanding conflict and addressing through cultural values" (1995:38, Lederach, 2000: 47) argues that the process gives more than it is seen from outside. It provides an opportunity to learn and give back to the

community, which in Lohorung's case is visible as they used these opportunity to teach their newer generations.

7.2.3 Ritual and Conflict Resolution

Though there seems no direct connection between rituals and conflict resolution, it can be seen that it is one of the micro ideas among other ideas. Conflict resolution through ritual is concerned with building relations among people, forgiving them, and completion of *Bhakal*. It also helps to lessen the differences as they have to work together to complete the rituals. But it did not affect directly, even there someone had to mediate to lessen the gap between the people. Ritual just acts as a point of meting for many other conflicts, but especially for *Bhakal* it serves as the base for completion of the oath.

7.2.4 Knowledge and Modernization

In today's period, indigenous groups like Lohorung need to keep up their customary traditions and practices alive. This must be done by sharing their share of knowledge to the younger generations. This is still done through transferring songs, stories, and others to the younger generations. Also, involving them in practices and teaching them about the culture at home. But modernization has hit in some way. Younger generations are keen but the involvement is less. This might also be due to the studies, but still they lack the zeal to be involved as in earlier days. Yet many of the younger generations are keen on preserving through different actions like celebrating rituals but what they lack is continuous involvement in other actions. This, in particular, has a greater impact on preserving the identity of the community.

The understanding of conflict and conflict resolution seems more advance to Lohorung people. The connection made with rituals and other customary practices

- As the scope of the researcher was to look into the conflict resolution process as a holistic concept, the idea of resolution of structural conflict is still unanswered.
- The gender dimension of conflict and conflict resolution is the other idea that has not been touched upon.
- Role of power (power and authority) within the community to settle disputes needs verticle study for better understanding.

These are a few positional arguments that can be the research questions for further research. Since, the stories collected were those which people remembered, the character and their roles were not a major concern for the researcher. What was more important is the conflict and conflict resolution process. Even if the story defined conflict in detail, the researcher was not in a position to ask which type of conflict was that or it was structural or not. As the researcher feels that some of the questions were cut short due to the nature of research undertaken, like the gender role. This research did not look into gender issues as a part of either conflict or conflict resolution.

The researcher feels that these questions can be brought up into any other research even if it is not related to the Lohorung community.

ANNEXES

Annex 1

Words/Phrases Describing Conflicts in Lohorung Language

| Word in Lohorung Language | Word in Nepali Language | English Translation |
|--|---|--|
| Seeme Tume (सीमे टूमे) | Jhagada Garnu Judhnu (झगडा गर्नु जुधनु) | To quarrel fight/ To create conflict |
| Tangme (तन्गमे) | Milera Basnu (मिलेर बस्नु) | To live in harmony/ peace |
| Tangache Tame (तन्गचे तमे) | Ek Apas ma Milera Basna Bhannu (एक आपसमा मिलेर बस्नु) | To request (order) to live in harmony/peace |
| Nabuk Wellangme (नाबुक वेल्लान्गमे) | Ijrat Falnu/ Nak Katnu (इज्जत फाल्नु/ नाक काट्नु) | To lower the honour/ prestige |
| Lamthing Lamme (लम्थिंग लाम्मे) | Ershya Garnu/ Daha Garnu (इश्या गर्नु/ डाह गर्नु) | Envy |
| Semchama (सेम्चामा) | Jiskaunu/ Jigyaunu (जिस्काउनु/गिज्याउनु) | To make fun/ to deride |
| Khocchimawa (खोच्चिमावा) | Dukha Dine Byakti/ Ashanti Machaune Byekti (दुख दिने ब्यक्ति/ अशान्ति मच्चाउने ब्यक्ति) | Harmful person/ peace broker |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Kaise (काइस) | Naramro (नराम्रो) | Bad |
| Ningbakmaluk (निंगबाकमलुक) | Birah Chalnu (बिरह चलनु) | To have heavy heart |
| Chhichaku (छिचाकु) | Maan na paraunu (मन न पराउनु) | Dislike |
| Sem..me (सेम्मे) | Marnu (मार्नु) | To kill |
| Seru (सेरु) | Maaryo (मार्यो) | Killed |
| Yakchabakme (यकचाबाकमे) | Ris Uthnu (रिस उठनु) | Angry |
| Kisimalu (किसिमालु) | Daraunu (डराउनु) | Afraid |
| Khata (खाता) | Aabjas (अब्जस) | To give bad repute |
| Tellang Tesa (टेल्लांग टेसा) | Ashuv Hunu (अशुभ हुनु) | Something wrongfull bad (When expected do not come) |

Annex 2

Glossary of Nepali/Lohorung Language

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Arthasastra</i> | : Economics |
| <i>Arya Samaj</i> | : Association of civilized person (generally elders) |
| <i>Badghar/Barghar</i> | : Local court system amongst Tharu community |
| <i>Bagdata</i> | : Marriage |
| <i>Bangapa</i> | : Mutual Consent |
| <i>Barahkshetra</i> | : Religious place at the foot hill of Mahabharat hill range in Eastern Nepal along the bank of Koshi river |
| <i>Bazar</i> | : Market |
| <i>Beng</i> | : Snail in Khaling language |
| <i>Bhakal</i> | : Spiritual oath for specific reason |
| <i>Bichari</i> | : Person knowledgeable in legal matters |
| <i>Bijaypur</i> | : Hilly region of eastern Nepal near Dharan |
| <i>Birtawal</i> | : Landlord with some authority especially for tax collection and legal matters |
| <i>Buddha Purnima</i> | : Full moon day of the birth day of Lord Buddha which falls during the month of Aril/ May |
| <i>Chainpur</i> | : Place in eastern hill |
| <i>Charkose Jhadi</i> | : Dense forest of eastern plain |
| <i>Chawa</i> | : Water Source |
| <i>Danda Pangma</i> | : Village within Pangma /place of primary settlement of Lohorung |
| <i>Dhappa Sabha</i> | : Association of elderly men of Manang |
| <i>Dharma Bhakaune</i> | : Oath taking using sacred text |
| <i>Dhur</i> | : Sound made using drums |
| <i>Dor</i> | : Ancient inspector in Eastern Nepal |

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Dumi and Koyu (Koyi)</i> | : Language similar to Lohorung |
| <i>Duran</i> | : 7 th day of marriage, take the girl to her original home |
| <i>Eksamman</i> | : Ritual celebration done during Full moon day of first month of Nepali calendar/ Celebration for better crops production |
| <i>Gaire Pangma</i> | : First settlement village within Pangma / place believed to be origin of Lohorung |
| <i>Galti Kabul Garaune</i> | : Accepting wrong doings |
| <i>Gotra</i> | : Clan system (Lhasa and Kaasa) |
| <i>Gram Parishad</i> | : Village council |
| <i>Haleshi</i> | : Holy place of Lord Shiva in Khotang District |
| <i>Hengkhowa</i> | : Transfer clan |
| <i>Jaato</i> | : Traditional grinder/ stone grinder |
| <i>Jimi</i> | : People other than Rai |
| <i>Jimmawal</i> | : Tax collector at hills |
| <i>Jokhana Herne</i> | : Evaluating the person by feeling his spirit |
| <i>Kauravas and Pandavas</i> | : Historical/ mythological figures from Hindu Text Mahabharata |
| <i>Kawari</i> | : Dug field |
| <i>Khadbari dhungedhara</i> | : Water source at Khandbari: Khadbari now a place in Sankhuwasabha district) |
| <i>Khuda</i> | : Knife like weapon |
| <i>Khuda Pakhali</i> | : Cleaning knife |
| <i>Khulu</i> | : Two brothers of Khaling holy figures residing in Khumbu)/(One of the Khaling groups) |
| <i>Khyal/ Khyala</i> | : Voluntary social organisation of Tharu community |
| <i>Kirat</i> | : People from Kirat dynasty, Rai and Limbu |
| <i>Kisan</i> | : Community from eastern Terai |
| <i>Kot-Kachhahari</i> | : Local court |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Ku</i> | : Water in Khaling Language |
| <i>Kuleso</i> | : Land portion |
| <i>Kul-than</i> | : Ancestral place |
| <i>Lani Time</i> | : Approval |
| <i>Limbuwan</i> | : Term referring to settlement of Limbu (Pallo Kirat), Political Context: Region assigned to Limbu) |
| <i>Lohoro</i> | : Pestle |
| <i>Loke Pangma</i> | : Village within Pangma /Place of primary settlement of Lohorung |
| <i>Mafi Magne</i> | : Public apology |
| <i>Maghe Sankranti</i> | : End of the month of Magh, 10 th month of Nepali calendar |
| <i>Malashree/ Sholakas</i> | : Ritual Lines |
| <i>Mann</i> | : Heart |
| <i>Manusmiriti</i> | : Ritual text of Hindu |
| <i>Maphi/Mafi</i> | : Forgiveness |
| <i>Marsa</i> | : Khulu name of Dudh Koshi river |
| <i>Mastiska</i> | : Brain |
| <i>Mata and Dikpya</i> | : Historical and holy figures of Khaling Rai |
| <i>Melmilap</i> | : Reconciling differences |
| <i>Mit Laune</i> | : Special friendship |
| <i>Mithee Baa</i> | : Wise man |
| <i>Mukhiya</i> | : Village chief |
| <i>Mundhum</i> | : Sacred text of Kirat community |
| <i>Naralo</i> | : System in Jumla district where a person takes charge of protecting crops |
| <i>Nissa</i> | : Contextual meaning at page 131: meaning a document equivalent to citizenship |
| <i>Nwagi</i> | : Which comprises the day of remembering ancestors |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Nwaran</i> | : Traditional rituals done in 11 th day of baby birth |
| <i>Paccha</i> | : Surname in Lohorung language |
| <i>Pallo Kirat/Allo Kirat</i> | : Region west to Arun river/ Region east to Arun river |
| <i>Pancha Kachhahari</i> | : Village court /dispute resolution system with five knowledgeable men |
| <i>Pancha-Bhaladami</i> | : Five elderly gentlemen |
| <i>Panchali System</i> | : Public place for meeting and adjudicating disputes |
| <i>Panggoje</i> | : Place in Khumbu valley where deceased souls are sent |
| <i>Pangma</i> | : Ancestral village of Lohorung in Sankhuwasabha |
| <i>Paruhang and Sumnima</i> | : Holy figures |
| <i>Patuka</i> | : Cotton belt |
| <i>Pikthukmachawa</i> | : Ox structured water source in Lohorung language |
| <i>Praman</i> | : Chief Administrative Officer |
| <i>Purkha</i> | : Ancestor |
| <i>Rewahann</i> | : Ancient king of Khandbari |
| <i>Rodhi/ Ro-Dhin</i> | : Local association practiced at the western region for different social functions |
| <i>Sagun</i> | : Gift |
| <i>Samek</i> | : Spiritual mantra |
| <i>Sangma or Sangchame</i> | : Gift exchange to relatives after having a baby |
| <i>Seluwya/ Tyarkowatah</i> | : Eight brothers from second wife of one of the two historic figures of Khaling |
| <i>Sheer Girnu</i> | : Lowering of prestige |
| <i>Sheer Uthaune</i> | : Raising the prestige |
| <i>Shrawane Sankranti</i> | : End of the month of Shrawan,4 th months of Nepali calendar) |
| <i>Sibumwabung Ngame</i> | : Date fixing |
| <i>Sombag</i> | : Gifts from male during marriage |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Sorom</i> | : Return of female to male's home |
| <i>Swasthani Bratkatha</i> | : Ritual/Sacred Text |
| <i>Thurthure Ved</i> | : Orally transmitted sacred text |
| <i>Tumling</i> | : Holy pond in Lohorung language |
| <i>Ubhauri</i> | : Eksamman the specific name/ celebration primarily for remembrance of ancestors and also for the good production of crops |
| <i>Vedas</i> | : Sacred Text of Hindu |
| <i>Yakkhaba /Anni Khap</i> | : Lohorung Language |
| <i>Yankhrung</i> | : Village within Pangma /Place of primary settlement of Lohorung |
| <i>Yetengpa</i> | : Priest in Lohorung language |

Annex 3

This annex contains some of the transcribed portions of audio recordings during the conversation between different people of Pangma.

Audio: STE- 005- Shiva Lohorung Rai

Q. Can you describe particular characteristic of Lohorung?

A: It is believed that Lohorung Rai originated from stone, which is different than others. Also, of four groups of Lohorung, Yankhrung are said to have *Lasa Gotra*. All other Rai are believed to be *Kasa Gotra*. In generalised sense we say that we have *Lasa Gotra*. I think this is a peculiar characteristic of Lohorung.

Q. But, how can Lohorung Rai, as an ethnic group, use term *Gotra*?

A: Agree, we had different term for *Gotra*, but in due course of modernization we have somewhat assimilated with caste group near us. The priest we consider for our basic rituals like Nwaran, hair cutting, name keeping are from caste group (basically Brahmins), so they used to ask what is your gotra and so on. So, we have picked from there. Many Lohorung people use this.

Q. So is it well defined term within Lohorung?

A: Yes, we do describe our Gotra. All of us have used it. I know it since long time. And I asked with few elders about your query on Gotra, most of them use it. But, since it is not as common as caste group, some might find it odd.

Q. Can I use this term to differentiate Lohorung from other groups?

A: Yes.

Q. Is it used by other Rai as well?

A: I am not sure. But what I have heard is that some of the groups within larger Rai use their own term which is available in their language.

Audio: STE-022- Gaire Pangma (Conflict Resolution)

Q: Namaste ama, ba

A: Namaste nani

Q: Can I have your good name please? How long you have been here?

A: My name is GP 14 (Name has been codified according to place GP: Gaire Pangma participant number 14). I got married to my husband long time ago..(I don't even remember when....now I am nearly 65.. I think I was 11 or 12 don't remember much...(laugh))

Q: Do you remember any incident where you have seen conflict and is resolved within the community?

A: Yes, I have seen few conflicts during my life time but, resolving within the community is almost lost now. What I have seen is elders or few community members have tried to settle very minor conflicts just by talking. It's not as if big conflict which maydistort the order of community. Like my son beats his son, he didn't go to school, or even my agro product was partially damaged by your animal. Even, with these minor things ward people gives idea. In the past we used to settle our problems ourselves, no matter how big it was...

Q: Do you remember any instance?

A: In my life time?...No no....we have stories that says.

Q: Do you remember any?

A: I do....like (pause for few minutes)....can I say it in Nepali?

Q: Yes yes please...

A: Ok....it loosely translates as

Pattharka sathi, patthar hun (Stone befriends stone)

Mancheka sathi manche (Human befriends human)

Milena bhane dekhdaina gun (Disagreement may overlap goodwills)

Kada ra bhari tadainai thun (Stop thorns and bad loads)

Kuro puryaune hudaina baigun (Messengers are not always bad)

Sabai milaune hamra purkha hun. (Ancestors were ones who reconciled all)

Q: Can you please explain it?

A: Like stone always stays with stone (example: like if you have only tree, then it is difficult to make it survive, but if you have two or more trees together, then the trees grow by itself). Similarly, stone like to stay with stone and they help themselves. In the same way, human wants to stay with human and help them. But, as you know if there is problem or conflict between the human, then the same friends look for negatives in one another. They wanted to defeat one another in many ways.

Then it is the human who have to settle the problem between these conflict creators. But before you even start resolving the conflict, one has to do two things. One: they have to stop bad rumour from spreading and two: they have to acknowledge that people are not same. So, they must keep all negativity aside before agreeing to resolve...

Q: What if they don't?

A: Hmm...basically what I think is in past they used to move to another village. Generally, they won't opt for adjacent or nearby village. Some of them even move to *Muglan* (foreign land).

Q: Ok please continue...

A: Yes...then only after they keep all the negativity aside, they are entitled to resolution. Sometimes the fortune tells will check their spirit (*Jokhana Herne*). Then comes the messenger, who have the role to transmit the problem to the elders. Sometimes, the elders ask such messenger to be their third eye during the resolution process.

A GP 15: No ..no...the messenger's role is simply to justify during the process whether the parties to conflict have said truth or not. The messenger comes even before blocking the negativity. The messenger's role primarily is to inform elders about the incident. It can be any one like me or you or her or anyone. So, I think this narration is just to make rhythm, but messenger comes even before blocking the negativity. Brother (referring to a nearby person) what do you think?

Brother: Hmm...I have no idea...what I have heard is similar to GP 14. But, you know the essence is to settle..so...I think it is not about right or wrong. It's all about interpretation. Tomorrow I'll take you to Danda Pangma, you'll see there a bit different interpretation.

Q: GP 14 shall we continue?

A: Yes...Then the elders will do internal discussion about the issue and then notify the parties involved. Then they will fix a date to perform ritual. Normally we people

celebrate after winning the problems. So, they choose a date which is very auspicious. Even if we do not have near dates, any day will work but will end with celebration.

Q: What is the process of resolution then?

A GP 15: Hm.. we'll talk about process tomorrow as we have to go to market (*hat bazar*). Ok we can make a plan...you go to Danda Pangma tomorrow and then we can talk day after tomorrow. You are staying at Hasta ji's house right?

Me: Yes...so can you come there or should I come to your place or is this place good?

A GP 15: I think we'll come early after eating rice..I haven't met them in a while. So we'll come.

Me: Sure

Audio: STE- 009- Gaire Pangma (Origin)

Q. Can you tell me some stories of Lohorung's origin or origin in general?

A: They went hunting eastwards from here towards Barahkshetra, but did not return even after almost a week or two. So, the king along with his eight sons and daughters went on a search and reached the hills at Vijaypur in Jhapa. As they were going along, his eldest son killed his youngest son by accident. So he stayed at Vijaypur for some time but was worried that his family and traditions might get shattered. He decided to get his daughter married and make his son in law the part of his family as well; in this way the tradition of दश रिति दश तिथि could be maintained. So he went in search of a suitable groom for his daughter with his eldest son. After travelling a few days, they reached a place *Hidangla* in Sankhuwasabha, they crossed the hills but couldn't go any further. So he decided to stay there with his sons. With time however, they

migrated to various places east, west, north and southwards from there and migrated to Khumbu and other places.

What remained of them in Hidangla was the decedents of his daughter i.e. her four sons. One of her sons stayed with her and was called *Yamphu*. Her second son went off to Khumbu and was called Mewang. The third son I think is said to have died or something. The fourth son *Nhewang* became the king of *Khadbari* and his descendants are known as *Lormu*. I read this sometimes back. I will provide you with the documents.

Q: I found a very interesting but a very old book by Arinth (?) Graham where he says the origin of the Kiratis is from the banks of Ganga?

A: In this regard, it is said that Rais belong to the *Kaasaa or Kaasi gotra*. It could be Kaasa or Kaasi gotra; but it seems Kaasaa later became Kaasi gotra. However, it is agreed upon that the origin is Kaasaa gotra from Barahkshetra. But we *Yamhrung* belong to *Lhasa* gotra. Amongst the Rais, we are said to be the migrants and in *Lohru* as well we are known to be of Lhasa gotra. All other Rais are said to be of Kaasaa gotra. Professor Tanka Neupane is doing a research on this. He has not finished it yet.

Q: Yes, he is doing a research on the language.

A: Yes, he calls me often and says what do the Rais call this *Lohorong antare*? How would I know? We say there are two three of them. There were three brothers *Tumbis*, *Sarumpa* and *Serempa*. He called and said he wanted to know what do we call the *saila*, *antare* and *jantare* sons our language. I helped him work on that. He teaches these days and called often but has not been in touch since around six months. Sometimes I meet him around Bhanu Chowk though.

Q: Has he retired now?

A: Yes, he teaches at some college in Itahari currently.

Q: I think it is Janta College?

A: Yes, Janta College and his son are currently in America or Australia. In research, the writers put their opinions as well so all writings are different than other.

Q: In the book he has written about the origin of the word Kirat. According to legends, Kiratis were exceedingly skilled in agriculture and trading and were settled in highland areas. Some of the Kirati groups, migrated from the plains of Ganga to Northeast region of India and settled there. They also became the protectors of the forests there and hence came to be known as Kirat. The book also mentions that the Kiratis in Nepal separated from Barahkshetra.

A: That is correct. It is also a part of the *Chure Mahabharat* range. Our grandmother used to tell us these stories when we were small and worked in the fields. It passed on as an oral tradition so it's possible they heard it from their family members. The things that we hear or write today are all stories handed down by our ancestors. They told stories of *Kachripa* and queen *Sunkesri* and their adventures from Barahkshetra. Earlier we didn't care much about these things. And these stories vary from one place to another or one family to another. I have collected a few readings in this regard.

Q: For the past two months, I have been studying the timeline of the Rais and I found a big mistake in the recording of the timeline. But I cannot say if the mistake happened from the part of Rais or the *Khasare* side I don't know.

A: Is it regarding the formation of the Kirat kingdom?

Q: No. it is said that Manjushree cut the Chobhar hill and drained the water collected in the valley. The settlement in the valley then started at the end of Dwapar yug and beginning of Kali yug. The first kings of Kathmandu i.e. the Gopalis, erected a stone at Swyambhu and is protected by another stone in the shape of a dome. This covered the light at Swyambhu and Kali yug is said to have started then. The Gopalis ruled for over 200-250 years after Kali yug began and then arrived the Kiratis who started their rule from Sankhamul. So the Kiratis ruled in Nepal few centuries after the beginning of Kali yug for over 1600 years. So there is one king by the name of Gasti who participated in Mahabharat war. But the Mahabharat war happened in TretaYug but Kathmandu valley was established in Kali yug. So how is it possible that Kaliyug started here and the war was still going on?

A: Kali yug is said to have started with the death of Krishna.

Q: This has been creating a big confusion in my mind. So I asked about this that possibly our history is older than this or we need to reassess the Purana. Another thing that has confused me is the Kiratisruled over Shankamul but who ruled over other parts of Nepal valley like Tokha, or even the timeline of Bhaktapur. I asked my professor about this and he said you can put these things in your research paper however, it is best to keep things related to religion away from the research. Because we do not have dates of the Puranas or Mahabharat or Ramayan, it gets confusing to link it with the history of various communities. In the book by Arinth Graham (?), connects the stories to the same place you have talked about. There was a very powerful Kirat warrior. Seeing his capabilities, the Kirat king appointed him as the commander of his army. But the commander's skills intimidated the king and he killed the commander. The Sen Kings of Makwanpur were also present that time and helped the Kirat king. But they made a pact that the Kiratis would be the

administrators only while the Sens would be the main rulers. So there is no evidence of Kiratis being the rulers in Makwanpur or in Morang where King Virat is the recorded ruler.

A: The story of Kirat kings also comes from Mahabharat itself too.

Q: Yes the story of Yudhisthir and his brothers arriving at Virat.

A: Yes there is also a place called Keechak Vadh. So many contexts of Kiratis connect to the Mahabharat.

Q: Khem Gurung has also traced the history of Sindhuli to Mahabharat period. There is a sort of controversy there too. And the situation is such that we cannot go back to the top to correct these things. And the in *Yayekha* (?), the situation is such that whichever group comes to the top controls the narrative.

A: Yes, Yayekha is a bit ridden with politics. Earlier it was a mix of *Bantawa* and *Chamlings*. But now it is controlled more by *Bantawas*. So whoever comes to power there controls the Yayekha. It has not been able to fulfill the purpose of research with regards to Kirat history and studies. See in simple words it is more like a dollar based thing today. The community groups are concerned more about monetary benefits than ground work. For example if I do a work there and my term ends, the work will end with me. The documentation further is not taken care of.

Regarding the story of king Virat, the Pandavas stayed at his palace and took care of his cattle and horses. And the kingdom stretched up to Haraich and Silgadi. I will record all of this and send them back to you. All of these things are directly connected to Mahabharat. We cannot state anything exactly as it happened though.

Q: The major confusion here is that any documents brought by the Kiratis contradict the documents of the Hindus.

A: See, the thing with history is that, for example the controversy regarding celebrating Dashain, is not scientific either. Where did Ravan live and where do we live? There is a link missing here.

Other respondent: but I think the things related to Jamara we plant during Dashain are scientific. It is regarded as a cure for cancer today. There are stories connected to it like that of Ram and Ravan. There are so many things to notice here like the plantation of Bar and Peepal tree, the stories related to cows, cow dung and its benefits so many of these things are scientific in Hinduism. And worshipping the Peepal tree every day, offering it water and flowers is seen as a good omen. The peepal tree is also said to absorb negative energy and any ill person who does that regularly will be benefited. Then Gautam Buddha, he too sat under a peepal tree. When people questioned how he survived so long without food or water, it was the peepal tree that gave him the energy. There are two sons of very rich Nepalese who live in America and have created a monetary unit (*paisa*) called Ram (?) they ship various things from South. And said that the rishis, and sages and Gautam Buddha meditated under peepal tree. The dew drops do not fall on the leaves of the trees. And the stories about people holding the tail of a cow and going to heaven. If any person is really ill or on his deathbed, they are made to hold a cow's tail. If they can hold on to the tail of the cow, it will take away all their ailments. Or the person will simply die holding the tail. These things might have been said to convince the people to do various things.

Tulasi in the front yard is planted in a certain angle with the main door. This is done in order to keep the bacteria away and also to prevent the evil eye. And maybe the worshipping Tulasi came in order to convince people to make things better. Now people don't care about these things. Earlier it used to be kept near to the main gate and now on rooftops. We do not see such science in the Christian and Muslim religions. The Hindu rishis on the other hand laid out things according to science. People will not get convinced if we go and tell them these things randomly so the things might have been connected to religious symbols. Similarly, the usage of red clay and cow dung to clean the house, usage of mats made from hay, all absorb negative energy and help in maintaining a healthy life.

There has been a controversy that the tribal groups (Adivasi/ Janajatis) including Kiratis never applied tika or sindoor on their forehead. Jagatman in this regard has said that it is a false account because the Kiratis were the first ones to sacrifice goats and apply the blood as tilak on their forehead. The Kshetrias and Brahmins on the other hand applied white rice only. Later, however the rituals became distorted and a false precedent was set that Kiratis do not use red color. But there was no availability of color then so what was the option? So it is not true that Kiratis do not use color in their daily life or festivities. It was the Kiratis who started the usage of red color in festivals. Regarding the celebration of Dashain, it has been almost 5000 years that Dashain has been celebrated. The Kiratis have been here since the times of Mahabharat. But the legends and folklores have changed over time. And the trend became such that I will write whatever sells rather than truth. So many accounts have ended up being controversial.

Q: That is true indeed.

A: There was a lady here who went to a Christian gathering. The pastor there said the lord has sacrificed himself and flew across the sky. He has also taken all of our sins with himself. As he pointed to the sky everybody was staring upwards (laughs). Bhimaa said I was so annoyed and spitted at their door and returned back to her own religion of Hinduism. It is because of people like these pastors that so many controversies have crept in. a lot of research as to be done in this regard. These distortions have damaged the roots of our religion and now only the tree stands so we are confused as to where to find our roots. He Christians around here bring bibles and I often read them. Very year they organize their festivities too. The bible I read for the first time in 2027 BS is different than what I read today. So I told them all of this in your book is a make-believe story. So the Puranas hold the basis of our culture but the distortions have become so huge that it is almost impossible to reach out and find the roots.

Q: Amongst all these things what I have found is to have been lost is the resolution mechanisms.

A: Resolution mechanism meaning?

Q: Conflict resolution mechanisms that the Kiratis followed. For example it is said that Kiratis hit first and think later. There was always a standard conflict resolution mechanism of Kiratis that was talked about but that has disappeared over time. When I talked to my professors about his and asked if I should go with the origins of Kiratis or the conflict resolution mechanism i.e. the top down approach they asked me to go with the latter. There have been lots of studies done in this regard especially Chicago University and Cambridge Universities are loaded with studies of anthropology. But

my professors asked me to follow the conflict resolution mechanisms followed by Kiratis and if they currently follow it too.

A: Earlier there used to be this committee called *Thyangro* which would give punishments called. But those things are not much a way of life these days.

Q: Yes Allen Rai (?) also does not cover it in his books.

A: There is one called *Saiya Pogme* i.e. *shir uthaune*. This is used in case of conflicts or controversies. For example the middleman who is arranging the marriage has to manage the talks between the two families. During that time the bride's family will ask about groom's background like his family, property and might also scold him or reprimand him if the talks are not conducted properly. So once the talks between the families are arranged, on the wedding day, the middle man is given a gift of black rooster, head of a pig, local liquor. His (*pagree*) headgear is picked up and put on his head and a gift of black rooster is given as a gift. And we thank him for all the work done and might have also bowed his head to the bride's family to get things done. So the gifts are given as a mark of gratitude and that his head is held high now i.e. *shir uthaune*. This usually happens during weddings or disputes as well.

Q: The Chamling Bantawaas who are from Khotang area however still follow some conflict resolution mechanisms. I had been on a field trip with a CPDS team and asked them if they found any such mechanism, they said they didn't find any. However a district development officer there told me that he had these documents in written form. And that it also contains the various resolution mechanisms followed by the people there including *shir uthaune* and others. The groups which fall under the Kirat community do follow these rules and it is a part of their association with Kiratis. The common document followed was found to be Mundhum and then there were

rules set by the communities and villages. The major form of punishment was expulsion from the village and in some cases violent means were used like execute first and talk later. But I am still a little confused about the timeline of Kiratis. Can we go Sankhuwasabha from here?

A: Yes, via Tumlingtar but only by air not road. You can go via Dharan too. It will take you 5-6 hrs to reach Khadbari and then to Chainpur from there. But they are constructing the road there so it's so dusty you can barely see.

Q: I am confused at the moment if I should go to Sankhuwasabha.

A: We have a puja on Baisakh 22nd and 17th is Buddha Purnima. Because we should not offer sacrifices on Buddha Purnima so we decided on 22nd Baisakh.

Audio: STE-010-Gaire Pangma

A: We start by worshipping the goddess firstly. All of us gather here and conduct *Mingmachukme*, which means providing water. It is said that our ancestors served water to people here through *Chawa Dhara* we call it *Lambawachawa* (0:30). What we do is collect some water from the tap and in a separate container some liquor. Then all the elderly of the village gather at the *mul ghar* of a Rai, and pray to the gods in their ancient language. They tell the gods about the water, the liquor and things as such. But a thing to notice here is there is a difference in the things the elderly say. But it is a scientific one I have to say. As the elderly of the village ignited fire there, one group said (1:33- 2:08 respondent explains in his own language. Not understood). And the other group said (2:11- 2:44 respondent explains in his own language. Not understood). What this means is that, O fire, we who have gathered here, pray to you, with the water from this *chawa* which was used by our ancestors. We have washed

ourselves with this water. And are washing you with this liquor prepared which we call *digucha*. Please do not be angry with us and please do not listen to others.

Because if you do not listen to us and listen to others, it will be a dishonorable for us.

Please accept our prayers and be pleased with us. You have arisen from stones and our ancestors have worshipped you. We have washed your hands and feet with this water.

Palung here means stone. So one group says fire arose after two stones were rubbed together. While the other group says during the early times with the arrival of humans on earth, there was a huge storm and as the storm increased the trees in forests collided with each other and fire arose from there. If we ask them which one of you is right, they get annoyed. They say our ancestors did *Dhulachakwa* here so we are right. These boys arrived a few days back. They do not know much of our ancestors. Our Lohorung forefathers, when they were hunters and gatherers, used to live in dens and caves. They used to eat uncooked food and meat then. So one day, there was a huge storm and in the forests as the trees fell due to huge force, fire arose from there. The entire forest area caught fire. Many people and wild animals died including tigers, wild birds, and jackals. The people then ate whatever birds had died due to fire in the forests. That was when they realized that anything should be cooked in fire before consuming it. So you can see the difference in opinion of the two groups, one says fire arose after two stones were rubbed together while other says it arose after a huge storm. The forest group says the stone theory came much later. And the modern scientist too agree to these two theories about fire. If we tell them both of your theories are right, they outright disagree with each other.

Now regarding *eksammang*, I believe in this ritual too. There are friends who have their opinions, but it is okay. It is the worship of our ancestors and all of the gods are

worshipped here. Our grandparents are worshipped and we call it *Pagari-hangma*. It means the eldest one, something like a king. You can ask a grandfather there; he will tell you all about this. He says, we had kings and there were three brothers. One was called *Safe-langma*, *Samey-langma* and another one; but they died. One of them used to plant food crops, and others did other things as such. After they died people started worshipping them. They used to wear *Pagari* you see and were called Pagari-hangma. During the day of worship the older ones say (7:34- 7:59 respondent explains in his own language. Not understood). Two things are of significance here *Mahrung* and *whyrung* because there are disagreements about this just like about fire. I explained a few minutes back. One group says *mahrung* means hailstorm and *lekh* means water. That day, we ask for water, as we worship in the afternoon. And during evenings there is rainfall as well. Sometimes, there is no rain but usually it rains. Then they say *Mahrung howichime*. *Lekh* means water. So the other group says we should say *whyrung howichime*.

Q: So one group asks for water and another group asks for hailstones?

A: Yes. Both of them have actually asked for water.

Q: It is just the confusion of words?

A: They say *whyrung sevrung*. Some people use *sevrung* for water while some use *mahrung*. In my opinion, some people say *mahrung* is water; but it is *lekh* that we use for water. And *sevrung* means hailstones. We can ask this to the grandfather tomorrow. He will clear things out for us. But he will explain according to what he has learnt. If the theories of other side comes up, he will discard those. He will say we are asking for water so we will not say *whyrung* because it means hailstones. Why would we ask for hailstones when we want water?

Q: So one side is asking for water and other side is asking to remove hailstones?

A: No both of them are asking for water. One side says water is water and other side calls the hailstones as water. One side says mharung and other side says whyrung. So I often ask what all this confusion is. Because one of you say water and others say hailstones. So it seems we have asked for both water and hailstones.

Q: Something that I found fascinating about what you said, whether fire comes from stone or from collision of trees. And previously in *eksammang* water was brought from *kulo* and washed with liquor. That time you talked about *shir nihuraune* can you tell about that process?

A: In those days *shir uthaune* was done of those of Rais.

Q: During puja *shir uthaune* was done of the entire house?

A: Yes exactly. We do the *shir uthaune minmachumara*. In those times they have their own *shir uthaune procedure*. There was a marriage here yesterday; if only you had arrived yesterday you would have understood many things. Yesterday the program was very good. A day before Tuesday, 11 *gatey* they held *bali puja*. *Bali puja* means in *ugholi* they scatter seeds like after *bhasmefadne* after you set fire in *bhasme* you scatter different crop seeds. They used to pray asking for protection of crops from birds or rats and that wild animals would not destroy the crops. We can say they used to ask for good luck also ask for prevention of hailstorm or simply storms and also ask for rain. People still do it but in earlier times they used to do it in a grand manner. When it didn't rain for long time a *bali puja was conducted* and it started to rain. People used ask when do we do *bali puja*. It rains in time of drought

when *bali puja* is done. It used to happen and people used to believe it but now a days people themselves don't believe in it.

Q: We are just carrying out our duty.

A: During those times everyone brought *maruwa* from *mane bhanjyag*, an egg, *china*, incense, *achetta* from *malta*, *pangtha*, and required money. Because there was no means of transportation so men used to go up there and bring whatever they could mix it up and then conduct the ritual in such ways (14:36-14:40 did not understand too much noise).

They need *dhami* for their ritual but for *Lohorung dhami* are not allowed. The *dhami* are usually *khumbu rai* but we only have *pujari*. *Pujari* holds *kuloitra* and *deupitra* but these *khumbu rai* have *dhami* and they have to uplift from *Tumling* lake, after the upliftment they play *jamma*, *pagari*, *dhol*, *dhangro* and produce pure liquor and they get there. They need the liquor, *chindo* chicken that they pick it up over there. Now there are some *ghimire* are staying there (15:28 too much noise) It rains and it is called *jhyarithumka* normally it is called *jyarithumka* but in our term it is called *kaphsurumba*. There is a stone there. Earlier and even up to today till now we offer milk there. It is said snakes come out of there and that they bring good luck. So we still believe in these things. But we also have heard *Rai's* have started to disregard these things because they have started to travel abroad and have adapted the foreign culture language.

Audio: STE-012-Gaire Pangma (Sheer Uthaune)

Q: I want to know what do you mean by *shir uthaune*?

A: In this procedure, we need a rooster, an oil lamp, and flowers. We can do it any time but not in the month of Shrawan.

Q: Can this be done in any month other than Shrawan?

A: Yes.

Q: Why is that?

A: It is said that the gods go to sleep during this time. It is only after Nagpanchami we start observing all these rituals. And we also do not observe the rituals during Dashain. We have to follow these rules.

Q: What is the meaning of shir uthaune?

A: It belongs to the *Lohorung* community. The main concept is if somebody has been humiliated or has been feeling unwell or anything as such, we conduct this procedure. The person on whom this ritual is conducted then feels light headed. Sometimes it such happens those people suddenly start feeling anxious and begin having anxiety attacks and feel scared we call that *shir dhaleko*. And it could happen due to anything.

Q: Do you do this only when a person has anxiety attacks as such or also during conflict or disagreements?

A: We generally do it for anxiety or panic attacks. But we also do it during conflicts or disagreements. It is said we should not bad mouth people during fights, or curse them because it results in their heads to be lowered. In such cases we conduct the ritual of shir uthaune. We offer a rooster to the gods during the ritual.

Q: Can this procedure be conducted anywhere by anyone or is there a specific place and a priest to conduct this?

A: No, it is not to be done by anybody. The dhamis or priests have to conduct the ceremony.

Q: So if the procedure is conducted by somebody else it is considered as invalid?

A: Yes it is only a dhama who conducts the ritual of *shir uthaune*.

Q: What about the other priests?

A: Their rituals are different than us Lohorungs. they conduct the ceremonies with flowers and oil lamps and things as such. For Lohorungs, it is important to have a rooster, local liquor, oil lamps and a kalash and things as such. This has always been the way shir uthaune has been conducted by our community.

Q: Is there any specific procedure that you follow for shir uthaune ritual?

A: Yes there is a detailed procedure and it is very important to follow it. if somebody is fine and healthy then it is okay otherwise the specific procedures have to be followed. Many a times when anything as such happens and the person is not okay even after visiting doctors, this process is followed. It helps in identifying if the ancestors are angry, or the gods are angry or the family clan has been disturbed or just panic and anxiety, or all of above. Everything is identified and then the ritual is conducted.

Q: What rituals are the priests usually required for?

A: They are called for rituals during birth, death, weddings or any other festive occasion.

Q: Do the priests have to study anything?

A: In our community the priests just come across. In other communities, Bhotos or lamas, or other communities they study and then become priests. In our community we call it *Sichi Semengwa* or learning from sleep itself. The person dreams of the wisdom passed on to him, and then becomes the priest. It is not given in seclusion or through any book or person. Nobody can teach you this. One has to learn it themselves.

Q: How do we recognize if a person is a priest now? For example how did you know about yourself being a priest?

A: My father's grandfather's father was a priest and it passed onto me. You see it is something generational and passes on to families. I was ten years old when I had this dream. So there were specific rules I had to follow, like sleeping on a specific place, or eating specified food only, not eating mutton, and I always wanted to go to forests or be alone. I did not know I had been chosen in my dreams. I had become anxious and restless. So we went to the priests in the village and after they saw my stars, they said I have been chosen to become a priest or a dhami. I used to walk by myself all alone in the forests, river banks, temples, and was always anxious. I couldn't eat mutton because it made me uneasy. This happened to me when I was ten years old. And by the time I was fourteen, I had started conducting the rituals myself.

Q: Do the priests give mantras or anything as such?

A: Of course they give mantras in the dreams and you have to learn it by heart. They keep coming again and again and ask you to recite these mantras. It is exactly like how we learn in school. We have to keep repeating again and again till we know them by heart. There are gurus who appear in the dreams and teach us the mantras. And

they also tell us the if we have passed or failed. They ask us what is the use of this mantra and is used to invoke which god.

Q: So are these gurus still there?

A: Of course. There are still four of them around. I have four gurus. They live in the hills and are from the Lohorung community.

Q: Are they *Pangma*?

A: Yes and some are *Bhidim* (? 8: 18).

Q: So all the gurus who appear in your dreams and teach you are there people who cannot explain or do these things?

A: Of course. There are a few who cannot explain nor do things as explained in dreams. Such people are of not much use because they won't be able to do anything. they must listen carefully and understand and use their minds to learn what the gurus teach. It is necessary to listen carefully because some things are said at the beginning and some at the end. If the mantras are recited the other way round, it might end up being catastrophic. Listening carefully is the key. But we can know these things on many accounts like when doing *Jhokhana* or *Jhar-phuk*.

Q: So when a pujari starts the ritual of shir uthaune, does he know this person is as such and has done this or anything as such?

A: Of course. If any person has done good and has been nice to people, then it is very good and we assure him that he has nothing to worry about. But if a person comes with *dhaleok shir*, he is usually unwell, and irritated. We can simply look at the eyes and know that. Once the ritual s complete the person feels light and happy.

Q: Is this done in *eksammang* as well?

A: Yes, but it is done at the home itself. Because the home is the root of the clan so it is done there. Here, other rituals are conducted.

Q: Who decides the date for *eksammnag*?

A: It is decided by the Lohorung community. We mostly try to keep it on Saturdays and often the dates chosen are *Poornima* or *Panchami*. We consult and then decide the date for the puja. Like for example today in *Ubhauli* everybody does it. Similarly, we decide the date for puja by consulting the date feasible and best for all.

Q: So how many priests are there now?

A: We have six- seven priests and today there are three of them here. They must be somewhere here. There should be at least five of them coming here today.

Q: So can you become a guru as well in future?

A: Yes. I can instill what I have learnt and make someone my disciple. I will have to teach him everything with discipline and correctly. I am allowed to keep a mantra for myself while the rest of them have to be passed on to my disciple. It is also about the truth and righteousness principles we must follow as gurus.

Q: And the languauage used is Lohorung?

A: That is right. We cannot do it in other languages. It is done in Lohorung language. We keep various kinds of *Samey* there like rooster samey, soil samey, fire samey, *lingpa* samey, human samey; there are many kinds used as such. Samey is like what we call certain things for example what we call a stone, fire, these trees, birds, animals, the sun, moon, stars these entire things have to be called. *Samey* is like a

surname, like a person says he is Rai so we need to know what Rai community is he from.

Q: So when doing eksammang you must know all these names and Samey?

A: Yes that is right.

Q: So how did you know all of these?

A: I learnt it of course. Whenever you are being taught things, you must grasp it and learn it by heart. If you forget any minor detail it is useless. The key is keeping the mind open and learning things.

Q: So we must know what is something called and what is its purpose?

A: Yes. When we learn these things we must keep our minds open and when we recite we must be fluent. Even a slight hesitation makes things useless. It is exactly like how we learn in school.

Q: How many years has it been for you conducting eksammang?

A: As many years as I have been here. I used to do it regularly in the hills when I was there. And now that I am in Dharan, I have been doing it since I arrived.

Audio: STE-013-Gaire Pangma (Eksamman)

A: I will now tell you the story of *Makai Baneko* (tying maize?). We prepare rice from paddy and offer it here. We offer liquor made from *Kodo*. We don't have the system of offering maize so we tie the plant itself to the *tongba* itself (laughs). You can see there every *tongba* jar has a maize plant tied to it. That is because maize cannot be used to make liquor or any other such purpose so we just tie it to the *tongba* jar.

This signifies the three grains tied together. It signifies three things that we prepare rice and use it and offer it. then liquor made of Kodo called *tongba*. And then third is corn. Because our forefathers did not have any variety of corn they brought whatever they found and tied it to the tongba jar (laughs). This too must be a new thing for you here.

Q: What other things do you tie or use?

A: I don't know the specifics. You can ask our Chitra Bahadur sir here. It is mostly the older generation who knows this I think.

Hariyo t shirt

We used to settle our disputes because small things spread fast around here but I don't think there is any dispute now and is settled in different ways and not only one way.

Q: Was it there before?

A: We do not know whether it was there or not

Other respondent: Before in order to avoid the fight, the elders used to settle it by creating a special friendship "*Meet Lagaune*" but it is not like that now.

Q: What if there is a fight among the members within the family? What do you do in such situation? Do you settle the fight in front of the head of the family?

A: You have to do and follow what the head of the family says.

Q: The thing which I find interesting is that we have our own identity. Our Rai community itself consists of 34-35 sub castes and each follow their own ways and have their own importance. Like "*bali Puja*" is important for us. However there is no written evidence. It is called *Lhorung* in our language and in Limbu they call the

"main priest". It's not like before when the priest used to be present in every ritual. Ours is "*Khumbu Rai*". The Khumbu Rai call it "*dhamis*". We need Priest to perform all the rituals since the time of birth till death, be it the "Kul Puja" or any other pujas. The Rais call the dhamis to perform the puja and Limbus call it "*bedanga*". Ours is a bit similar to the limbus.

R2: The Khumbus call their dhaamis "*mangpa*". In our Language "*Mang*" means the god and "*Pa*" means the main person in the family or the head of the family. The main person is considered as the person who is connected to the god. The term "*Mang*" meaning the religious god almost similar to all the other sub castes of Rais. Like how the Hindus call it "*bhagwan*" Christian call it "Jesus" we call it the "*Maang*". However I feel that there is nothing such as god. Nature which is visible among us is god because we can see and feel it. We have not seen god and according to the past studies and researches they say that It is impossible to live without the sun, air and water.

According to Our ancestors our parents are our gods because they are the ones who gave us birth and life. Right after we are born our mothers teaches us all the good things, the things which are right which we must do and follow and the wrong things which we must avoid like cheating and stealing. It is exactly what all the other religions which also teaches us the similar things like prohibiting us from committing sin. So God here is being compared to mother. We can see everything clearly how our mother's gives us birth, a life, so here mother herself is compared to god. Secondly the things she teaches us all the life lessons are the similar things that could be found after many years of researches and study. So it can be concluded that mother is the nature who is the ultimate creator. What if sun, the water, the air, the land forgets their main functions? In that case it is impossible for anybody to survive. So nature herself is god, we worship our nature. All the unseen is god but I feel that there is no such

thing as god. God is something which we can see and feel. Similar like “Mang” what is it could be a question.

Q: This is something spiritual

R: This is something which you do not need to study, like the things mentioned in Geeta and Bible. Ours is sweet and short if you focus on the simpler side. There isn't any things which educate or inform us so this is how it has been ruined. So all the information is based on things I know, this is my opinion.

Q: What I am actually trying to do is I have been recording everything which you are saying. The main purpose of this interview is after collecting all the information I will summarize into a whole recording so that the next generation would also get the chance to know and study. I will give this recording to Mr. Shiva Rai, to Lhorung Community. So that in future he would have all the details of the interviews of when and where it was taken.

A: Yes we do not have people like you in our community who could do some research regarding the origin. There isn't any kind of written proofs nor it is documented so people do not come searching for it. It's continuing just like that and it is one of the main reasons of its slow disappearance.

Q: What does *Paangma* mean?

A: I have a different meaning for this word, but it means the place where your parents lived. The main Place where your father and mother had resided. It's not *Pangma* its *Paama* where *pa* means father and *ma* means mother but we call it Pangma. Going through all the research and my understanding *pang* means place "ma" means main

place be it of mother and father. Even though I explain the meaning they do not care or get into the details.

Q: As I was coming here I was being asked by one of the staffs working here about what "Paangma" meant? I had heard that term "Paangma" but didn't notice much.

A: One is also called "panglung" where the term "lung" means center and "pang" means place so panglung means the place which is located centrally or the open space.

Other Respondent: but sometimes we are unable to describe the people who are living in pangma itself, what paangma means in a simple words. They explain that *Panglung* means the place where the parents lived. They would have explained the term *paama* and when we asked how Pangma did became paama they are unable to explain. So we can say that the word *pang* means place and *ma* could be explained as motherland or main place. And *lung* means garden the main place

A: What happens in our language is in place of *Pang* they say *ama* and in place of *ama* they say *Pang*. Instead of mothers place it becomes place's mother. These do not make sense but in some communities words are placed like that like in English and even in Chinese.

Q So there isn't much difference in the meaning?

A: Yes there is not any difference. I do not know proper English but for example, like branch of tree is *hanga ko rukh* in Nepali which is literal translations and not exactly the same thing which you are trying to say, this becomes wrong in Nepali language. However this is what happens in English language.

Q: Is there any written documents from the past?

A. No

Q: Or are there any legends?

A: Yes there are many legends but that is also in the bits and pieces which are in the verge of extinction.

A2: Some ancestors used to tell the complete stories

A: There is one famous village in Taplejung which is called *hangpang* in limbu language. The term *hangpang* means king's place where *hang* means king and *pang* means place. This means that pang means mother's land. There are many Lohorung's in this place and this is their main place this is a correct information. Any types of Lohorung are Pangma. Before people speaking in other language also understood that. Old *Pangma* which is also known as *Gairi Pangma*. We also call it *magawa* in our language which is old village of mother. We still call Magawa to the villages that are nearer.

A2: Various types of analysis could be heard regarding "Paangma".

Q: I have been recording and noting down all the information which you all have shared so that everybody can listen to it.

A: Please mention our names as well.

Q: What is your good name?

A: My name is Narjik Rai.

Other respondent: I would like to support my answer relating to paama village but sometimes the word gets dispersed from the original word and so the pronunciation changes.

A: Father is Paa and mother is Maa. So it is Paama hence the name of the place

Other respondent: these are all *Paangma* , *Dada Paangma*. But where did the words Paa and Maa come from? What is the origin?

A: What I mean to say is we can decode the meaning in this way. Paang means place and Maa means mother so it straightaway gives the meaning that it is the main place or place of origin i.e. *Mulsthan*.

Other Respondent: I think the word has evolved since its origination from the Paama village.

A: No I think the word might have been distorted over time. The actual word we used from the beginning is *Paama gau*. Because the word has been distorted so we use it this way today.

Other respondent: it is the same thing. It can be understood as the main place where your parents lived. But we have been using the term *Paangma* since the beginning, *Paama* is not used so much. If we think about what paangma is we can see that it has a meaning. If there were no such words then everyone must agree to it being the main place where your parents lived. The word Paangma itself makes it clear. But paama is based on assumption.

A: But what I am trying to tell you is *paama* is the village of both father and mother and not only of mother. However if we say *Panglung* it seems to be correct.

Other respondent: what I mean to say is Maa means motherland, *mulsthan* as far as I have understood. I think this is how we should explain.

A: But the primary person must be mother and not both of them however it might be according to the pronunciation of the word that makes the difference. This is what I think. Paa means father and Maa means mother so it became Paama village. Pangma on the other hand might be a distorted version of the word. The primary origin belongs to Paama village and Gairi Paama is the place where our forefathers lived and cleared the bamboo groves. If we go on a search places where these events occurred are the ones inhabited by our ancestors.

Other Respondent: it has already been concluded in the past. We should know what Pang means.

A: I've been hearing about this many times that Pang means sent from this village to that village (**Phalana gau dekhi phalana gau**). Here Pang could also mean to send.

Other respondent: what do you call the place?

A: It is called "Paang"

Other respondent: so Paama is the commonly used term which everybody knows. But the elders around here always keep explaining the same thing which is more confusing. And when people ask what Pangma is no one can actually give the appropriate answer. Everybody knows that Paama means the main place where their parent's lived.

A: Everybody knows and understands that the main place where their parents lived is called Paama. I would also like to add one thing that only mother is associated when discussing about its meaning and was wondering why the father is not mentioned.

Other respondent: We are discussing about the name of the place and not about other relations

A: My main concern is that how actually the name of the village has been formed in which Pang meaning place and Ma meaning mother. So where does father, sons and daughters go?

Other Respondent: This is how it is done.it is not necessary to include each and every member of the family.

Q: I wanted to see how Lhorung manages their dispute. Even, we have dispute in our homes and in communities. Besides, there are clashes between the villages. How do they manage, if you have heard or know some stories then could you share with us?

A: We don't know about the exact version we should ask our elder brother. Our generation is indifferent but we don't know about how they managed the dispute before.

Other respondent: The quarrel was there before as well. Rai were responsible which we know, even up to their kings. At that time, they used bamboo stick *Thungro* actually called *Turung* to settle the quarrel.

Q: How do they settle fight in the houses?

A: What he is asking actually is that how Lohorung manages the quarrel in their separate way? After Prithivi Narayan Shah, things were different and questions did arise about who was responsible for it. Before that, how did Lohorung manage their disputes?

Other respondent: I don't know if Lohorung had or hadn't fought before this. At that time girls used to fight too. But they used to resolve quickly. They might have fought inside their houses but the couples used to resolve it, even if they had fight with their friends.

A: However, we don't know different way. Till this time, general castes people do it in the same way, isn't so? We don't know about the different way.

Other respondent: Don't know the full story of *Chamling Hama* conspired to kill *YuchoGupa*. *Chamlingma* used to be very jealous with *YuchoGupa*. Something was there between them. *Yaganma* focus was to destroy *Yachogupcha* who used to manage all the household chores. *Yaganma* once invited to her house. She showed him the place to sleep after dinner. *Yaganma* was like god (Maha) and *Yachogupcha* was brother. He said he was going to sleep. *Yaganma* was going to *Niman* i.e. to collect blood so she arranged weapons *Khukuri*, *khuda* and had prepared to kill *Yachogupa* by piercing the weapon into his heart. He found out about that and replaced *Yaganma's* grandson with himself as he slept somewhere else. *Yaganma* thought he was asleep so she heated the rod and plunged it to his heart and collected the blood.

The next day, she thought of continuing her daily works thinking he was dead so she went to check on him only to find her grandson was killed instead. *Yachogupcha* was not there and making her more angry, jealous. So she swore to kill *Yachogupa*. She started chasing after him. What happened to the grandson's corpse nobody knows. While running *Yachogupa*, he jumped and hid behind the banana's tree branch and stayed there. *Yaganma* reached there and threw 2-3 pieces of banana. He ate 2-3 pieces and ran away. They brought the *Yakuhang* and settled them here.

Other respondent: not *yakuhang*. *Yankhrung*. They are actually from *Dhuku* and there was a person *Yangkhrung Jodha* who was extremely powerful and they were kept as the guards of the border areas.

A: The Chuku are actually very strong and keep coming from the other side. The people here were helpless. So the Yangkhrung Jodha made a plan. At Jeetpur hillside, there is a bird that jumps around and disappears, he went there and caught that bird and buried it there. Then they decided that this land above belongs to the Pangma and the land here belongs to us. And mother earth is the witness of this. As they asked mother earth to be the witness and hit the ground with stick. As soon as he did that, the bird that was buried started squeaking from inside the earth. He then said, the bird has started squeaking and just hit the ground with his stick but didn't make other noises. Since then that place has been known as Jeetpur and this was done by Yangkhrung Jodha.

Q: Was that bird buried beforehand or later?

A: The thing was how we solve the conflict that has arisen. The people from this side had prepared already and buried the bird i.e. by the Pangma people. The *Chowali* came from downwards.

Q: The *Pangma* people devised a plan to stop the *Chowali*.

A: Yes, so we call that place Jeetpur because we were victorious there you see. We also call them Yangkhrung Pang. Our ancestors said you have you this so this place shall be called Jeetpur.

Q: So does it mean that when solving disagreements or conflicts, the role of older members of the village was extremely significant?

A: Yes it was very important.

Q: And their role is significant even today?

A: Yes very significant. You know how we say *dekhe-suneko manche*. Their opinions and experiences are very important. It is a part of our culture and tradition listening to the elders.

Q: Yes that is true and we do not see much court cases amongst the Janajatis. So if in case somebody doesn't do as asked by the elders, what would happen?

A: It would be solved through *Sabha basne*.

Q: What is *sabha basne*?

A: They would be outcast from the community. If you do not agree with the codes of conduct of the community you are expelled from there. Earlier they also used to say *Kalopani bhirne*.

Q: This *sabha kacheri* system is distinct for every community? The Lohorungs have different system and others have different ones? Or it is like the earlier times like *Thumko* or something different?

A: Amongst the Lohorungs, we solve the conflicts and disagreements ourselves. We solve the issues ourselves and there is also *mit lagaune* to encourage friendship.

Other respondent: as far as our newer generation has seen if in case somebody has had arguments or fights with elders, we take a bottle of alcohol for them and seek their blessings; *dhog garne* and ask for forgiveness *mafi magne*. I don't think this is the actual custom followed but we do it these days.

A: The older one i.e. Thumko, I don't think many people know much about it today;
Thum, Thumko, Gadhi.

Other respondent: but they are not a part of our community so obviously we wouldn't know much about these customs. We belong to number six so we sued to say *Sabha Uttar*. Number six is *Thum Chainpur* in Dhankuta district. We say Thum Chanpur, Dhankuta district and Sabha Uttar. It is near to Tumlingtar. This was the order in earlier days. Today, it has just disappeared. We are actually from Dhankuta district.

A: Earlier district number six (*Jilla Cha Number*) was Chainpur and later was renamed to Dhankuta. There were six of them from one to six isn't it? There were Limbuwans there and we often met them. However when people sent us letters they used to write *Thum Chainpur, Dhankuta district* for address. But that was later because before that it was *Jilla Cha Number*.

Other respondent: whenever we received letters from Assam or other places, the address was Jilla Cha Number. It was later renamed to Dhankuta. When Milan's father was on his posting, he wrote a letter and put the address Dhankuta district, Thum Chainpur, Dambar Bahadur Rai. He sent this letter to his parents telling that he has been accepted for army.

A: This was in 2020 BS. And Tara Bahadur Rai also received a letter with the same address Thum Chainpur, Sabha Uttar. That man who was here few minutes ago, he is Tara Bahadur. When we got that letter we were very confused who could this be? Then we found that it is him. The letter said that he had to go to Indian embassy in Kathmandu to take his financial statement. That letter too had the same address. And we were not sure who he was but later we found out.

Other respondent: earlier it was number six.

A: Yes, eastern side was number six. Later as the districts were created Bhojpur was number four, Limbuwan number five and ours number six. Number three was Okhaldhunga. Earlier every place had a number and Kathmandu was number one I think. But don't know number two. Eastern side was number six. Later as districts were created it became Dhankuta and the numbers were removed. If you said number six it meant Chainpur; upwards from Tumlingtar. *Sabha uttar* is this side from *Sabha*.

Other respondent: if you say Sabha uttar, number six it meant this place. It is like region number one we say during elections. But it covers other side as well including Chainpur.

A: But if we look back, Dhankuta has always been a hub, like a central place.

Other respondent: yes it was *Gaudaa*.

A: Yes it was *Gaudaa*. If they did that today as well in the state number one that would be good.

Other respondent: yes it has all major facilities roads and markets and all. Your place Biratnagar is downwards from here as well.

Q: Yes that is right.

A: But Dhankuta doesn't have good water facilities. Water is getting scarce there so people are not agreeing to Dhankuta being the headquarters. But it has other facilities and is a good place. If we look from Okhaldhunga to Taplejung, Dhankuta has been the center.

Other respondent: earlier Maoists had said that it would be the headquarters. They said it would be either Dhankuta or there is one place from Bhojpur. I forgot the name.

A: We have discussed this enough now. I think sir should ask other questions. This can go on for hours.

Q: Yes but this is very interesting as well. But I wanted to know about the process of offering alcohol to the elders and asking for pardon from them in case of conflicts and disagreements. What is the process and is this followed for every dispute or not?

A: This is done when settling disputes within the village. We do not know about the next generation but at least till our generation we have been following it.

Q: That is true. But what was the procedure and what kinds of disputes were settled in this manner?

A: It could be the elders of the family who settled the disputes and instruct not to fight with others. They asked the guilty ones to go and ask for forgiveness. But going empty handed is not good so we take alcohol as a token of gratitude. A *maanaa* of alcohol is offered as a gift. And alcohol is a very important component of all our rituals like marriage and others. It all begins with offerings of alcohol. And in case of conflicts or disputes we fundamentally prefer agreement and offer alcohol as a token. Things have changed now and people do not prefer these things today. And the administration too doesn't agree to these things. But we in villages still follow these customs and settle disputes through these simple ideas. Now people go to administration like courts and all to settle disputes and the ones in villages too avoid getting into matters like these.

Other respondent: in cases of disputes or conflicts the younger ones generally go to ask for forgiveness.

A: Yes that is the disciplined approach. The younger ones are asked to bow at the feet of the elders. This holds great significance in our culture. We still follow this custom. Sometimes back something like this happened and the next day a few of us went there and touched the old man's feet and asked for pardon and then offered him two bottles of alcohol we had brought as a token. Two bottles of alcohol is a big gift isn't it (laughs)? This is something like *shir uthaune*. The teaching has actually always been respecting the elders you see.

Other respondent: as you said we take one *mana* alcohol the saying goes here "*maan ko pathi, amaan ko haathi*". The meaning is that if we give respect, biggest of fights including monetary ones can be solved easily. Sometimes disputes of money up to Rs 50,000-60,000 can be solved through humble conduct. But if you do not give respect it will become large like an elephant. *Maan* makes things simple and *amaan* make things big like and elephant.

Q: This custom is not much followed these days is it?

A: It is not followed the way it used to be but it hasn't gone completely out of use.

Other respondent: If we fight with somebody today it will give us a sleepless night. So we think that we will go and ask for pardon and solve the issue isn't it? That is something very basic for all of us.

A: Now let us move on to *bali puja*. Sir wants to know about that too; *Safeklahang* and all. We want to know about it as well. So baba please explain it to us.

Q: Yes that is right. The connections to *bali puja* can be made from these conversations. I have absolutely no idea about this so if you could explain this to us.

A: There were three brothers. *Pagarihang* is the greatest of all our gods. The king ties the *pagari* to the eldest. And he is the eldest of the three, *Jetha*. Once the *pagari* is tied to him he must lead a life of utmost discipline. We say O goddess (*parmeshwari*) we will obey you and respect you please bless us. The eldest is *Pagarihang*. During weddings we call upon *Parohang* who lives the life of a hunter. The eldest one said he will live in the community and serve while the second one said he will live in the forests. During weddings we have to carry a bow and arrows (*dhanu-khaad*). All of them were kings you see. Then the third one is called *Safeklahang*. He said he will live in water and food (*anna-paani*) and we worship him during *bali puja*. All the people from Dhankuta and surrounding area often say *Jarnela- Karnela hang*.

Annex 4

List of Questions Asked During the Field.

(This is not exact interview schedule but tentative question list and does not include any in between questions raised during story collection)

1. Are you originally from *Pangma*?
2. How long have you been living in this place?
3. What do you know about the origin of Lohorung?
4. Do you know anything about Khadbari?
5. How are Lohorung people different than other Rai?
6. How many household live in this area?
7. What sort of conflicts have you seen or do you know among Lohorung community?
8. Do you know any songs, narratives, poems, idioms, jokes, moral stories or anything related to conflict within Lohorung community in the past?
9. Also, do you know similar for conflict resolution?
10. Is there any kind of recent practice in conflict resolution?
11. Can you describe sheer uthaune process?
12. Can you brief on the decrease in population on Pangma Valley?
13. How do you describe impact of modernization on Lohorung people?
14. Can you highlight on intergenerational transfer of knowledge?
15. Please highlight on the problems on knowledge transfer.
16. What is the most difficult knowledge to be transferred within Lohorung's new generation?
17. Do you know anything about Lohorung Committee?

18. How do you think they are going to help bring back the original cultural practice?

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