

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nepal embraces on the most diverse climate range and physical environment of the world within a short span of 260 22' and 33027' of the northern latitude between Gangetic plain and Tibetan Plateau. The Nepali society is the combination of various Hindus caste and tribe/ethnic people ethnic people with their different language culture and lifestyle (Bista, 2001)

Though different culture, diversity on climate, physical environment, cultural aspect and society, Nepali society has still the common ideas, symbols and practices which indicate the coherent Nepalese cultural traditions (Dahal D. R.). The total population of Nepal is 264, 4,504 with 54, 27,302 households. It has 123 different mother languages (Census, 2011)

Among different people languages society and culture, Nepali is officially used in Administrative and Government purpose.

Nepal is divided in seven administrative provinces for decentralizing the power. Pokhara, the capital city of Gandaki Province, a renowned place for tourist destination for the natural and Himalaya panorama to see and observe the nature. Pokhara one of the most beautiful places of Nepal is situated at the base of Annapurna Range 200 km west from the capital of Kathmandu. With 68398 household, Pokhara has population of 264991 including male population 413,934 and female population is 212,827 (Census, 2011). Pokhara is divided into 33 wards and among those wards different cast especially Brahmin, Chhetris, Gurung, Magar, Newar, Tamang, Kami are manifesting with their own cultural traits. Analyzing to census reports, population of Pokhara is increasing day by day with large rate of immigration by pulling factors such as opportunities in employment, education, health services and tourism development.

Rapid Growth of population and development activities, Pokhara metropolitan city has both opportunities and difficulties in sustainable development.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Pokhara has its unique legends such as Phewa Lake, Mahendra Cave, Seti River etc. as nature's gift. The old settlements which carries the historic essence are Newar's house in Ganesh tole , Nalako much, Tibetan Refugees in Prithvichowk and Chhorepatan. Similarly, old settlements of Brahmins in Bindavasini temple, new settlements of Gurung and Magar in Deep, Ram bazaar influences the cultural and religious combination in Pokhara.

In daily life, everybody is sharing and symbolizing the meaning ' CHAUTARA'. Chautara is unique existence and a part of Pokhara. Chautara is a common word that Nepali people use in day to day spoken language as well as in the songs, literatures and philosophies. Accordance to planter, it bears varieties of names such as Martian Chautara, Lion's Club of Chautari, and Hotel Chautari. From childhood, local people of Pokhara share our everyday life with Chautari for the purpose of playing, sitting, discussion and meeting.

But unfortunately, day by day these Chautara are being destroyed in the name of development activities with disregarding the real value and importance of Chautara.

In present time, the numbers of Chautara are in decreasing order in comparison with the past time. Few months ago, there happened an interesting event in Deep-16, Pokhara. One old lady worshipped the Pipal Chautara just previous Saturday and went home. However, the next Saturday she again went again to worship but found the Pipal Chautara was already cut down and had not place to worship the Pipal Chautara. Such event raised the issue amongst the people. The raised issue of discussion was whether to conserve the Chautara or to fell down the Chautara for urbanization. The rationale of study focused on this hot raised issue. During the study time, various respondents of different backgrounds were asked concentrating on the following requests.

-) What is the meaning of "Chautara" for the people in study area?
-) Is Chautara symbolizing the different meanings?
-) What is the value of "Chautara" in present condition?
-) What is the historical context of Chautara in study area?

1.3 Objectives of the study

Without objectives and purpose through the application of scientific procedure, we cannot find out the truth which hidden and which has not been discovered. Being anthropological research its main objectives is exploratory in nature.

The broad objectives of this study is to expose the knowledge and information of participation of local people in construction conservation and management of Chautara's and its relationship with people in positive aspect as well as negative aspect. The specific objectives of this study are as following;

-) To find out the ecological, cultural and symbolic, interpretation of Chautaras.
-) To find out the main cause of deteriorating Chautaras.
-) To find out the pattern of participation of local people in construction, and management of Chautara's.

1.5 Limitation

Actually, this study was done for the pure academic purpose. The study area, Pokhara-16, Batulechaur & Lamachaur was undertaken to confine the research within the known boundary due to the limited budgets as well as limited resources of primary and secondary data.

1.6 Justification of the study

Before the 1950's local people use indigenous knowledge, skill and practices to live in their own standard. After the development of capitalism and technology, different development practices are experienced in different societies of world especially in third world ignoring ethno-cognition practices, which have still great significant role in sustainable development.

The study of participation of local people in construction, and management of Chautara focus on these local people indigenous knowledge, beliefs, skill in their own way which is the main justification and importance of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical/Conceptual Review

According to Hindu philosophy, in the Vedic methodology and rituals, the plants and trees always regarded to be the object of great reverence. A long hymn in the last book of the Rigveda is devoted to the worshipping of the plants with special reference to their healing properties. In the Atharvaveda, plants and trees are also mentioned with special reference for their healing properties and their capacity of warding the demons. Some trees are mentioned in the Taittiriya Samhita as the home of the gods, goddess and lesser. In the later literatures of the Aar Veda, plants and trees were exploited for various medicinal drugs. The Susruta Samhita contains a comprehensive character on the therapeutic aspect by which the medicinal value of plants and trees were emphasized. The Charak Samhita provides valuable description of various plants and trees known to the ancient Hindus. Later on, the medicinal plants were studied and cultivated thoroughly under the guidance of specialist (Majupuria,2009).

In Buddhist literature, it is mentioned that the each Buddha has his own tree. Siddhartha Gautam had attained divine enlightenment under the Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) tree and had become Siddhartha Gautam. So, Pipal tree has a great significance in Buddhist philosophy. The subject of plant and tree is found in every form of religion. Their ramifications are found in different aspect and degrees. The Christmas with all its pomp and show is mentioned in folk-lore tradition and social customs in Christian society. Chinese literatures had also mentioned about various trees found in Chinese temple. Hercules conquered the protection dragon and secured the golden sum fruits from the central tree in the garden of Hesperides in Greek mythology.

Trilok Chandra Majupuria (2009) had published sacred and useful plants and trees of Nepal based on religion, myths, mythologies of medicines of Hindus and

Buddhists. In his work, he has collected and explained the religious beliefs, cultural values and medicinal importance of 52 plants and trees including Pipal(*Ficus religiosa*) , Banyan(*Ficus bengalensis*) and Sami(*Prosopis spicigera*) . These trees are commonly found in Pokhara as Chautara.'

Harka Gurung (1980) had wrote about Pokhara's scenarios and quoted the Chautaras an describing bazzars as " The commercial bazzars are all confined to the plain along the main roads studded with old Chautara"

Dorothy Mierow (1997) has published significant photos of old Chautaras, Pokhara's people, Pritvvinarayan campus and her experiences in Pokhara as a member of American Peace Corps Volunteer in her book "Thirty years in Pokhara". But these are only few sentences which explain "IT took about 50 magnificent years for Banyan, Pipal and Sami trees on the resting platform (Chautaras) to reach a good size. The street leading too few from the western side of bazzars were wide and grassy and were provided with number of resting platforms with shade trees.

Naryan P. Manandar(2002) explained the legend why Pipal(*Ficus religiosa*) and Bar(*Ficus bengalensis*) are planted at Chautara(a trail side rest stop built by a family as a gift for tired travelers in memory of departed elders and in cemeteries).Once there was a Limbu couple living in a place in eastern Nepal (Thakkekmalung in Limbu). They had 5 sons; the first one was tiger, the second one a bear, the third one a leopard, the forth a man and the last one a dog. The eldest son, the tiger always tried to attack the man. Once the man trapped the tiger and was about to kill it then their mother arrived and told the man to free the tiger, because he was the man's elder brother. After the incident the tiger requested his parents' permission to leave the area and went into the forest. Two brothers and the bear and the leopard also followed the tiger into the forest. The youngest, the dog told his brother the man that he would stay with him and serve him well. When a parents got old, the mother told the man that he should make Chautara (trailside, rest stop) after his parents' death and they would grow as Pipal and Bar trees and under which travelers could rest during their journey. The man did as her mother

wished. They believe that tiger, bear and leopard lives in the forest and dogs lives with man.

Adhhkari (2003) has published the collections of articles "Urban context of environmental Justice". A study in Pokhara among the articles, Hemraj Giri and Jagnath Adhikari has been focused on total member of Chautaris.

Pokhara from 1978 to 2001 AD in this article 632 Chautaris are found in 1978 AD on the issue taking detail information from all ward offices, only 278 Chautaras are numbered in 2001 by authors in their field study. In that article both government and people have been responsible for degradation of number of Chautara in various condition.

2.2 Theoretical Review

2.2.1 Neo-Evolutionism

In 20th century, new evolutionist has believed future and fate of culture, depends on its capacity to adopt with its immediate environment. They take environment to be the important factor for determining a culture.

New – evolutionism holds the notion that they overall development of human culture was to be understood in terms of increase in level of energy used. The modern trend in new-evolutionism about the progress of culture is that culture is not always progressive but sometimes retrogressive too (Upadhyay, 2005).

Leslie A White (1990-1975) is a new popular new- evolutionist because; he has found a new base for a theory of Cultural Revolution. According to white, culture is mechanism for providing man with substance protection, offence and defense, social regulation cosmic adjustment and recreation and to serve the needs of man, energy is always required. Culture thus comforts as an elaborate thermodynamic mechanical system. Assuming the factor of habitant to be a constant, the degree of cultural development measured in term of amount of human need serving goods and serviced produced per capita is determined by the amount of energy harnessed per capita and by the efficiency of the put to work white explains this in the following formula.

$$E * T = C$$

Energy * Technology = Culture

Here, 'C' represents the degree of culture development, i.e. the culture. 'E' the amount of energy harnessed per capita per year and 'T' the quality or affiance of the tools employed in the expenditure of the amount of energy. Leslies understanding of culture is board based and it has four components (Upadhyay, 2005).

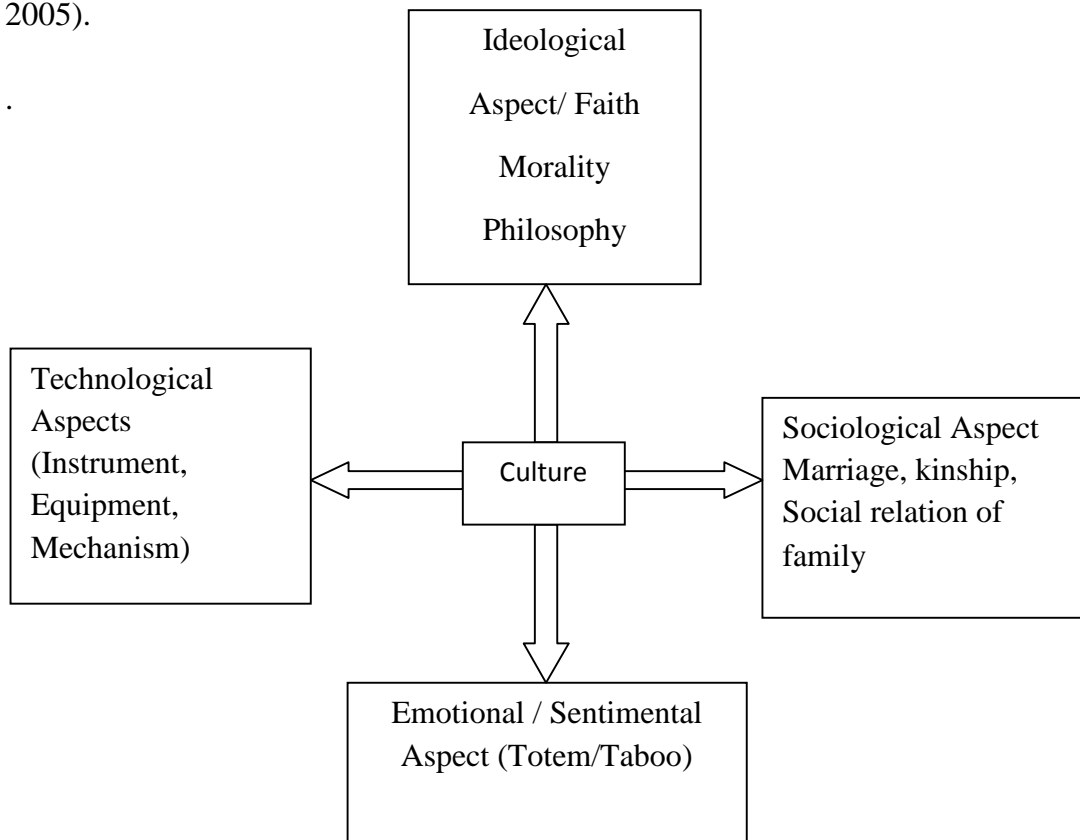


Figure: 2.1

Sources: Julian Steward

Julian Steward (1902-1972) claims that the whole of human experience can be never reduced to a few distinct stages of cultural development. He explains that multi-linear Evolution searches for parallels in specific evolution. It doesn't attempt to develop a comprehensive set of evolution and principle to cover the growth of culture from earliest prehistoric times to present. Rather it deliberately narrows its scope to focus on parallel developments in limited aspects of the cultures of specially identified societies. It undertakes to determine whether identifiable sequences of cultural change occur in the same order in independent

culture. According to Steward, evolutionary description can be used by these different methods like:

- a. Unilinear Evolution
- b. Universal Evolution
- c. Multi-linear Evolution

2.2.2 Culture and Symbolism

Symbols are the gesture, which form of basis of human communication. Though important role of symbols exist in culture. Interpretation of symbol may differ according to the culture. RT Schafer and R. Plamm (1999) says that symbols are the gestures, objective and language which form the basis of human communication. In fact, symbol represent signs which are used signify object, real or imaginary.

Symbolic anthropologist believe that symbol not be looked at in an abstract way and at meaning as construct apart from human action but rather at the way meaning is constructed and used in the context of this action. Symbolism signifies the role and important of symbol in culture. Symbols are dynamic entities and no sign that are static. Symbol involves cognitive components to communicate and they also contain a great deal of emotional meaning as well about which people may not be fully aware of it (Upadhyay, 2003).

Symbolic concept of interpretive, anthropology has been developed in 1960s. Victor Turners, Clifford Geertz, David Schemelder, Marry Doglogus and other anthropologists name played important role in symbolic interpretive anthropology.

Victor Turner's "color classification in Ndembu Ritual (1966)" and "Revolution and Divination in Ndembu Ritual (1975)" has focused about "Ndembu" tribe of Africa, he emphasizes that symbols by their nature as multifocal and multivariate. And they can represent many things at the same time. Symbols are dynamic entities and static cognitive sign.

Clifford Geertz's "Notes on the Baliness cock fight" signifies the symbolic interpretation of cock fight culture, among the people of Bali in Indonesia. The

main concern of Geert's symbolism is that he wants all to understand a culture on its own term. According to him, culture is a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbol, a system of inherited conception expressed on the symbolic forms by means of which men communicate. Perpetuate and develop their knowledge about the attitude towards life. For Clifford, symbol is any object event, quality or relation, which serves as a vehicle for conception (Upadhyay, 2003)

2.2.3 Functionalism and structuralism

In society an individual to human group to all elements of the society including social structure interact and inter relate with each other and function continuously. Society is a system of integrated past of human being which tends to integrated, organized and balanced system. Every element of the society has function which contributes positively to the continued operation of that system or negatively towards its disintegration and changes (Upadhyay, 2003).

The central form of functionalism is the analysis of such contribution which are explained in terms of "Eufunction (Positive function), Dysfunction (Negative function)" which makes no contribution (Upadhyay, 2003).

Emile, Durkheim has described about the mechanical and organic solidarity in his publication, "The division of the labor in society" (Upadhyay, 2003).

Brani slow kasper Malinowski is popular as an individualist functionalist because, he takes social and cultural system to full fill individual's biological and social needs. The functionalism is found on what he regards as the seven basic needs of a man are as following.

1. Nutrition
2. Reproduction
3. Body comfort
4. Saftel or Safety
5. Relaxation
6. Movement
7. Growths

Structuralism is the complete form of configuration of different organs and parts of a functioning culture. These parts make the culture functioning. Structuralism presumes that social units, group, institution, etc. that are in interaction mutually influence and adjust to each other. So that through various social processes, including competition, co-operation and accommodation, various groups and segments of the society form a relatively unified social system (Upadhyay, 2003).

2.2.4 Cultural Ecology

Ecology is a Greek word "oikos" means house and "logos" means scientific study. In reality, Ecology is a branch of biology developed by German biologist Earnest Haeckel in 1869 AD. The study of the relation between organism and their environment is the main subject matter of ecology. Park and Burgess had used the word ecology in 1921 in the social and cultural aspect. Later on many attempts were made to associate ecology with culture. Cultural Ecology explains the international relationship between "human culture and the Natural Environment" adaptation is regarded as a major process of cultural change and the analysis of socio-environmental adaptation serves to uncover variables that explain the origin of particular features in similar environmental conditions. This is the existence of "Giving and taking" relationship between culture and environment but the degree and kind of functional interdependence among the parts of culture are not equal (Upadhyay, 2003).

In cultural Ecology, a variant debate on the relationship between culture and Nature occurs.

A. Environmental Determinism

Culture of a particular region is determined by the environment it plays. The prime role in the origin, structure formation, progress and the change of cultures, comparing to culture, environment originates first, that's why its role is vital.

B. Ecological perspective

It occurs a constant interplay between nature and culture. It gives high priority to man and environment equation and shows the relation $A=B$, $B=A$. This perspective is

highly emphasized a power struggle continuities between culture exist control on nature, where as in another time nature controls human behaviors.

C. Environmental possibilities

It explains that cultures are not determined totally by the environmental but these are certain component in environment which helps in formation of culture. It believed that man creates his culture and environment provides chances only.

D. Actor Based Model

This model that notion of adaption occurs not at group level but at individual level. Every individual will have to adopt with the environment for survival, more the capacity of adaption, higher the chances of survival. Actor's decision is also vital for adaption which enables the actoe to survive.

E. Etno-ecological Model Believes that Locals Environment

This model influenced by "emic" approach and concentrates on how the natives of a geographical area perceive their physical environment.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

For this study, local people's participation in construction and management of Chautara will be studied. History, participation, gender, political and religious issues matter will be involved in the study of construction of Chautara. In management of Chautara conservation, maintenance, sustainability, conflict and political issue will be studied.

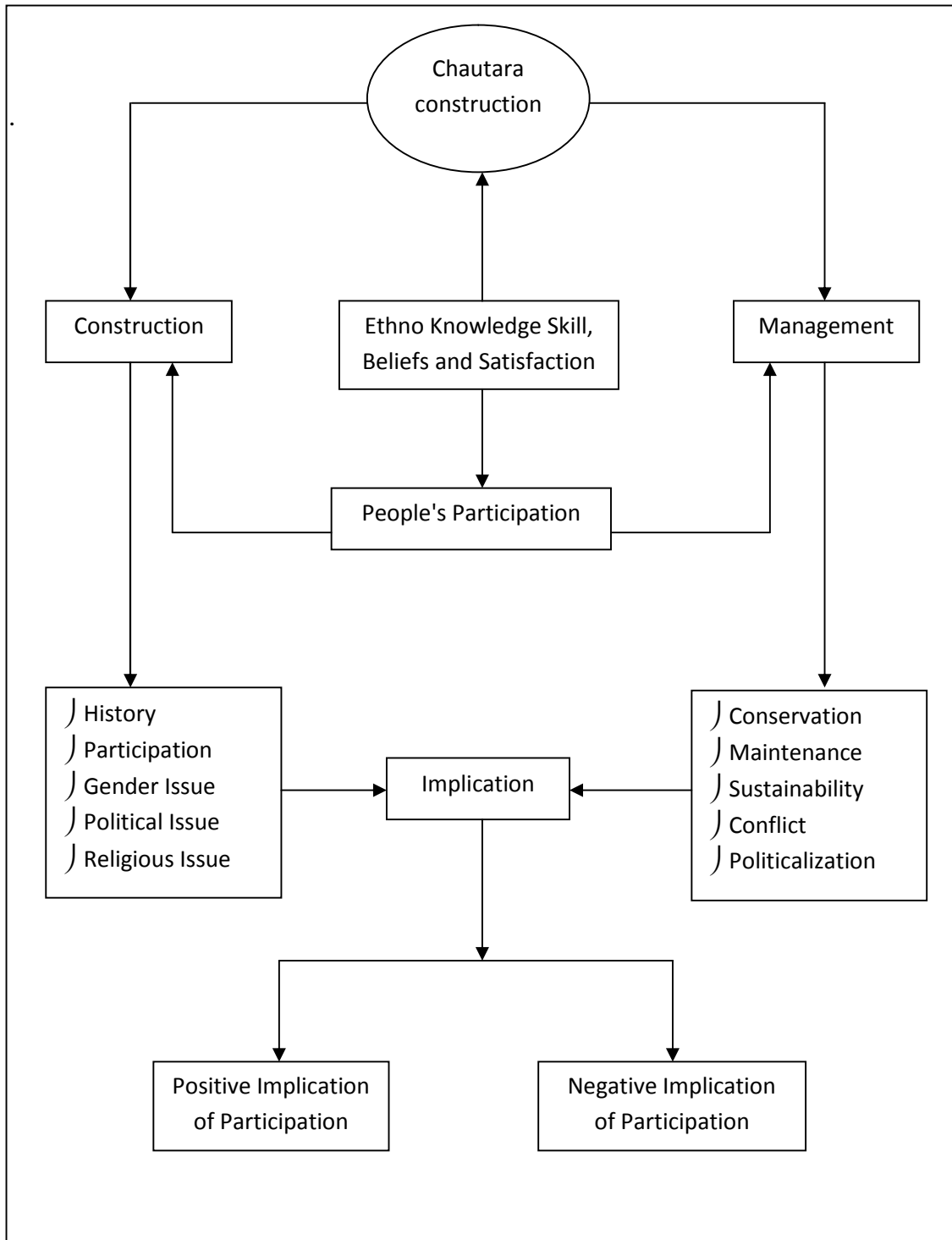


Figure-2.2

Source: Field Survey

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Every research must be done by good plan and selection of most appropriate research methods. This chapter has followed the following methods for information and collection of data.

3.1 Rationale of the Site Selection

In Pokhara, the commercial bazaars are all confined to the plain along the main roads studded with old Chautaras (Gurung 1980). Among 33 wards, this study is concentrated on Batulechaur and Lamachaur area of ward 16. In Batulechaur and Lamachaur local people's main occupation is still farming and they are connected with construction and management of Chautara from ancient times. On the other hand, rapid migrated population and infrastructure development activities increasing in area. Rationale of the site selection for this research is more convenient and appropriate for collecting qualitative as well as quantitative data.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answer to research question. The plan is the overall scheme or program of the research. It includes an outline of what the investigator will do from writing the hypotheses and their operational implication to the final analysis of data (Kerlinger 2004).

When a particular research area has been identified, research problem defined, and the related literature in the area have been reviewed; the next step is to construct the research design. Choosing an appropriate research design is crucially important to the success of the research project. The decision you make at this stage of your research study ultimately determines the quality of your research result. A faulty research design may result in misleading findings (Panta, 2010).

In this current research, descriptive research design has been used to understand the phenomena of Chautara as they are.

Such studies involve the systematic collection and presentation of data to give a clear picture of particular situation. These studies can be classified in the following five categories: (a) historical, (b) descriptive, (c) development (d) survey and (e) case studies (Panta 2010). To gain the answer of the specific objectives of this research study, this design has been helped to find out the local people's participation in construction, conservation and management of chautara at ward number 16, Batulechaur and Lamachaur in Pokhara at micro level.

3.3 Sampling Design

Sampling refers to planned ways of selecting subjects. Since most social research is based on studies of people, sampling generally refers to the simple questions, which people are going to be studied? Thus, to draw a sample of individuals is to determine who will be studied (Baker, 1999).

Sampling design or strategy is the way in which you design your sample plan and select your samples from the population. In designing a sample, you must consider three things: sampling frame, selection of sampling items and sample size (Pant, 2010).

This study is specially concentrated on the ecological, cultural and symbolic interpretation of Chautaras. So, the sample population for this study are 42 chautaras and the people who are directly or indirectly involved in participation for constructing and managing chautaras.

3.3 Nature and Source of Data

Being anthropological study, qualitative as well as quantitative data were collected for this study. Primary data were collected from the individuals and local people based on the criteria that either they had been involved directly or indirectly in construction, conservation and management of Chautara at ward number 16 in Pokhara. From senior citizens, cultural and social intellectualist, who knew the

history, myth, beliefs and information about the Chautara, had been collected as primary data. Total Chautaris has been enumerated in quantitative data.

In this study secondary data such as internet, published and unpublished literature resources, information also been collected before, during and after the completion of the field study.

3.4 Data Collection Techniques

The sources of data collection were field study. In field work, following techniques had been used for data collection.

a. Interview and interview Schedule

Both formal and informal interviews with structural and unstructured interview have been conducted. Open ended question has been also asked to information to get data about Chautari's history, its symbol and significant connection with ecology and environments.

Apart from these technique life history and special case studies focus group discussion, key-informant interview was also conducted to achieve more relevant database.

b. Observation

This technique was very important and relevant for getting proper data's which helped to find out the findings. The non-participatory observation was also been taken in the sense that researcher was not involved in construction conservation and management of Chautaras in study focused area.

c. Case Study

Case studies simply refer to any type of research effort in which the focus is on a single organization, institution, program, event, decision, policy or group which serves as the case studied, though sometime a study comparing a few different cases can form the basis of a multiple case study (Baker, 1999).

Providing for in depth study, this method has been used for those persons who are sincerely participated on construction, or conservation or management of chautaras. What motives and values has been inspired them to participate in construction or conservation or management of chautara.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY AREA

This chapter consists of general introduction of the study area i.e. ward number 16 of Pokhara sub metropolitan including total number, types of trees found and age of Chautara.

4.1 Brief Introduction of the Study Area

Pokhara is one of the most beautiful natural places which are 200 km far away from Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. It is a zonal as well as central headquarter of Gandaki Province of Nepal. The population number of Pokhara is 264991 with 68398 households. The population consists of 133318 male and 131673 female (Census, 2011).

The main caste and ethnic people those are living in Pokhara are Brahmin, Chhetris, Gurung, Magar, Newar, Tamang, Kamai, and Thakali and so on.

Pokhara is the place where different religious people such as Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian as well as Muslim sectarian followers are living as old inhabitants. The Dashain, Tihar, Tiji, Buddha Jayanti, Lhosar, Christmas, Id are some of the main festivals that people of Pokhara celebrate each and every year.

Out of the 33 wards of Pokhara, ward no 16 situates in northern part of Pokhara which covers the area of Batulechour, Lamachour, Aramala, Deep, Gairabari, Mahendra Gufa, Chameri Gufa etc. the ward no 16 and ward no 1 is bordered by Seti River, the main river of Pokhara, flowing from north to south. The northern part of ward 16 and ward no 1 is bordered by Seti River, the main river of Pokhara, flowing from north to south. The northern part of ward 16 is Aramala and whereas the eastern part has Valam village and Kali khola (The stream). Seti River stands of the western part of the ward 16.

4.2 Historical background of the study area

Batulechour was the historical winter capital of Kaski regime of King Kulmandal Shah. According to key informant, Somanath Timilsina, 78 years old, the king used to rule his Kaski state by living by Batulechour in winter time. At the present time there is a Batulechour School which was the place where the king used to be lived during winter season. There was a pond of recreation but was destroyed during the construction time of Batulechour school and its play ground. Inside of the school area there is still a huge bowl shaped carved stone which was used to feeding his horses. Mr. Timilsina 's ancestors were migrated from Kaskikot, summer capital of king Kulmandal Shah, to the Batulechour as king's priest.

Another key informant, Hikmant Bahadur Thapa who is 85 years old told that there were seven big mango(Magnifers Indica) trees at Armala village those are planted by Chaubise Raja(other king in history). Still he can remember the names of those trees which are Bate, Supare, Ganje and Gade. He forgot the name of the other two. Amongst the seven trees, there is only one tree still living which is Bate. The tree Bate is living along the roadside from Pokhara to Mahendra Cave. The name of place is called Ammare and the Chautara's name is called Ammareko Chautara.

4.3 The local people of the study area

During field work (2016), among 38 respondents from study area were questioned with scheduled questionnaire. They were the members and relatives of the person who had constructed and cultivated the Chautara. Only one respondent Mr. Meher Man Karmakar was not the family member but he had participated in the construction of Chautara near the Mahendra Gufa(cave). That Chautara was constructed by Mr. Khadka Bahadur Gurung and Indra Kumari Gurung, the husband and wife, are presently in United Kingdom. The other old inhabitant found in Batulechour was Bagale Thapa Chhetri. Similarly, Bhandari was found in Bhandari Thar and Baniya was found in Baniya Thar of Lamachour village. Dalit was found in Bhakti Path and Sangam Chowk. Bhattarai and Timilsina were the main dominants of the Badahar Bot of Batulechour village. Gurung community

has been settled on Amardeep and Ammare village. The Shresths community is found in Maidan of Batulechour village.

4.4 Age and Sex of Respondents

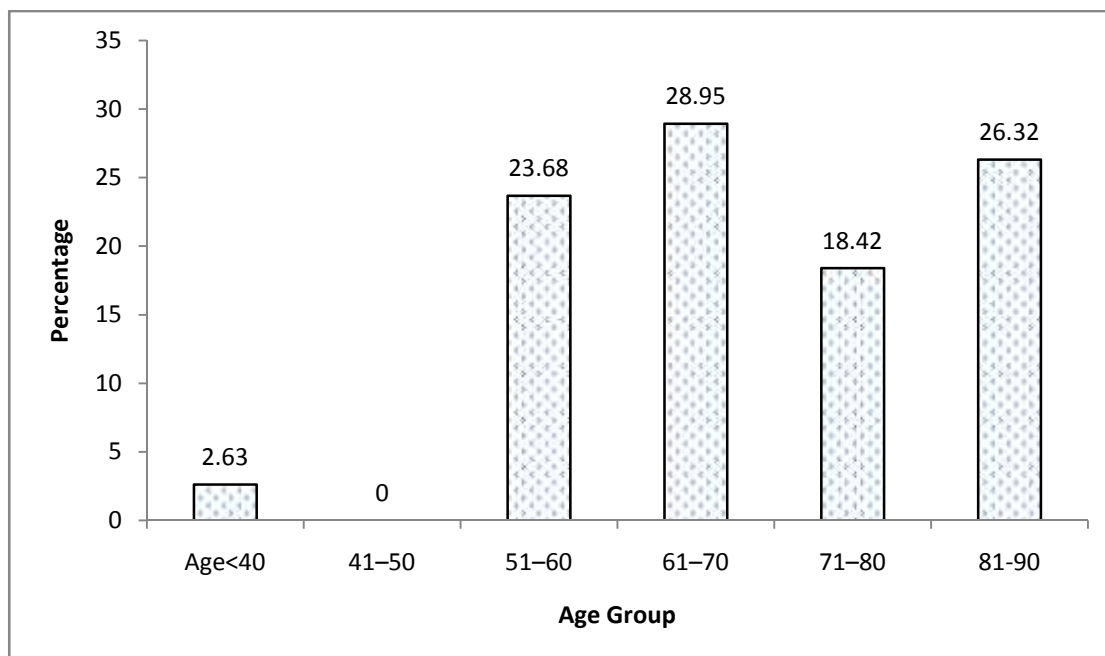


Figure 4.1: Respondents Based on Age

Source: Field Survey, 2016

During the field work oldest respondent was Batuli Suchikar whose age was 90 years old. The youngest respondents were Buddhi Bahadur Thapa whose age was 39 years old. Respondent's age group is categorized by taking intervals of 10 years, starting from < 40 to 81-90 years. The maximum percentage of respondents from the age group was 61-70 with 28.95 percentages. The age group percentage explains the active informants belong to age group (61-70, 81-90) with 26.32 percentages, (51-61) with 23.68 percentages. The primary data collected from these group shows that old citizens have more important information about Chautara. The age group 41-50 with zero percentage shows the lack of information of Chautari among younger generation.

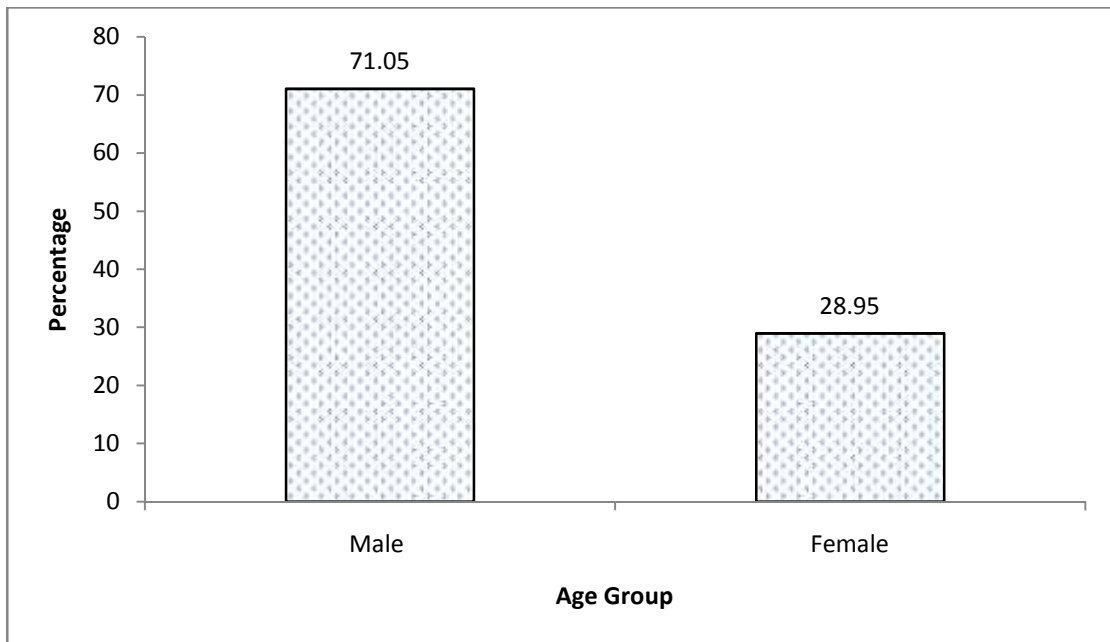


Figure 4.2: Respondents Based on Sex

Source: Field Summary, 2016

Among total respondents, 71.05 percents are male respondents and 28.95 percent are female respondents.

4.5 Caste/Ethnicity of Respondents

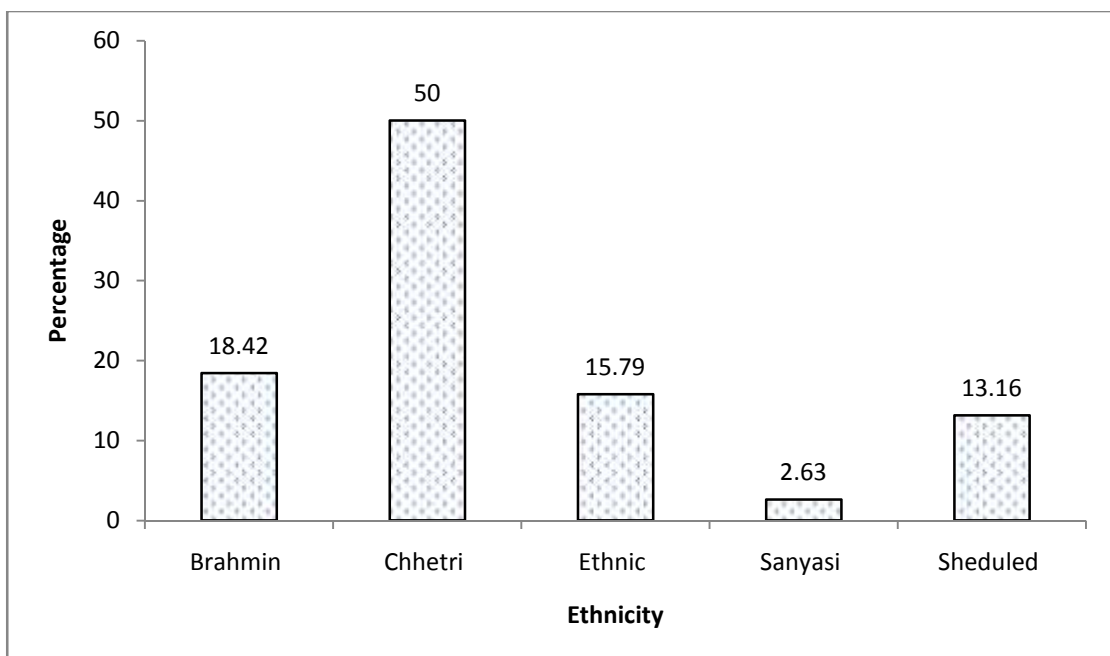


Figure 4.3: Respondents Based on Ethnicity

Source: Field Source, 2016

Five different ethnic respondents are categorized among total respondents. Gurung and Magar respondents are kept in one group as ethnic group. Different than of Chhettri caste are grouped in one chhettri caste. The highest percentage of respondents are belongs to chhettri with 50 percentage and highest number of Chautara construction was done by chhettri caste. Comparing the percentage between Brahmin and schedule caste, only 5 percentages is different between them. Brahmin respondent's with 18.42 percentage and schedule caste with 13.16 percentages. Ethnic respondents having 15.79 percentage and Sanyasi respondents with 2.63 percentages respect.

4.6 Religion of Respondents

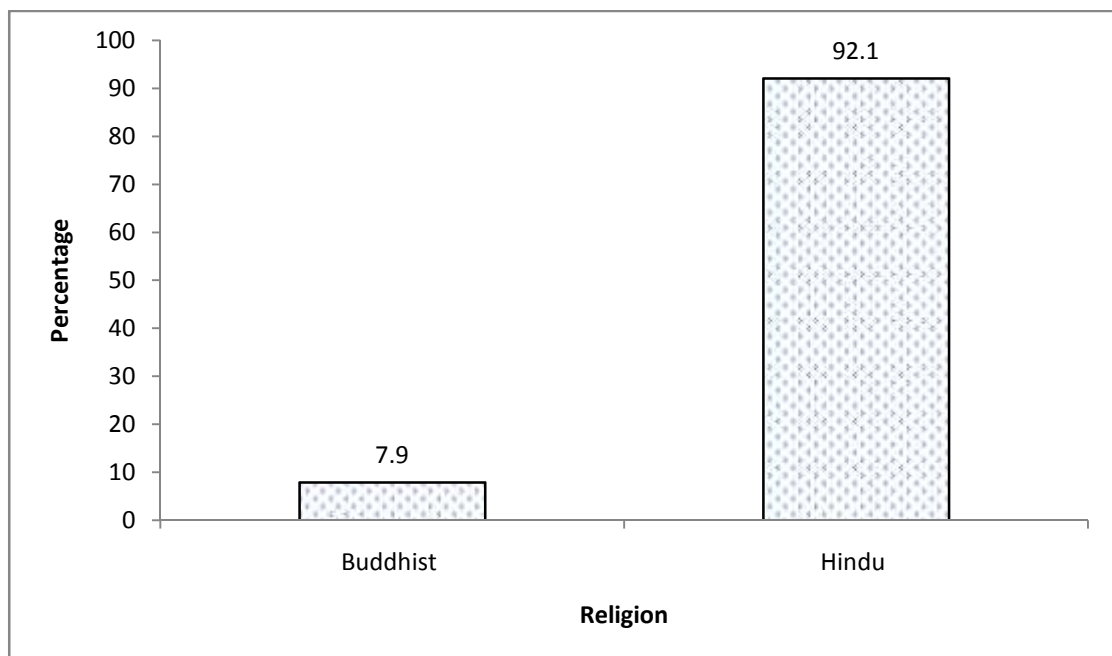


Figure 4.4: Respondents Based on Religion

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Among the respondents, 92 percentages are from Hindu religion. Only 7.9 percentages are from Buddhist religion. Religious tolerance is the example of Buddhist respondents through they have different rituals and beliefs.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECOLOGICAL CULTURAL AND SYMBOLIC INTERPRETATION OF CHAUTARA

Construction of Chautara is still practiced not only in the study area, also in subtropical land of Nepal with different beliefs, myths, rituals and custom. During field study, collecting data, analysis the data and interpreting on Sociological/Anthropological perspective, there were great scientific value to found to construct, conserve and manage the useful trees at Chautara. Only specific trees were found in plantation at Chautara. Only specific trees were found in plantation at Chautara. Only Chautara had proved that local people had indigenous knowledge to utilize certain trees among the Botanical world.

5.1 Indigenous knowledge of managing ecology and environment

Local people were specialized in their ecology, topography and environment. People had their own cognitive knowledge to survive and adapt at different condition. Before the introduction of transportation and modern technology, people had used animals and man as the means of transportation. Being tired of walking long distance, people and animals needed to rest for refreshment. Chautara culture was introduced by local people and used as resting place under the Bar, Pipal and Sammi. Ecological importance of sacred trees related for Chautara is associated more with hydrological cycle, though it is equally important for carbon cycle. Pipal is highest assimilates of carbon dioxide and oxygen producer. But pond near to Chautara and water donation during dry month indicating the importance associated with water Chalise (2016). Pipal (*Ficus benghalensis*) has runner type of rooting system and aerial roots which indicates that this type of plant absorber more water from surface than deep rooted tree. Bar, Pipal and Sammi are the habitat and food supply for many birds and insects. At ancient time, how these local people recognized and selected specific trees to plant at Chautara. Without having cognitive knowledge, the mechanism of Chautara could not develop. Even Chautara was the preserving mechanism used by local

people for managing the special trees. Construction of pond near the Chautara was actually for the collection of rain water at pond. More than 90 percents of the respondent had the knowledge about the importance of Chautara for balancing the environment mechanism in present condition. Lichen, example of symbiosis between algae and fungus found hugely at barks of trees at Chautara. These lichens are the natural indicator of air pollution. Number of lichens is decrease if the rate of air pollution increases.

5.2 Cultural Interpretation of Chautara

5.2.1 Social context, beliefs, customs and rituals

Though Pokhara is gifted by lakes and rivers, there were difficulties to get water easily. People had to walk long distance to bring water from rivers and lakes. People used to river water directly for drinking and other household activities. Agricultural activities were based on rainfall water. Society was guided by Hindu religious philosophy. In Nepali culture, son had the great importance in family and society. Local people from study area could not answer how and from when the culture of construction of Chautara (Chautara chhinera dharma kamaune). The couple who had no son desired to have son and constructed Chautara and planted the Bar and Pipal at Chautara. There would be chance to have son after doing the meritorious deed which was believed by local people of study area. Respondent Mittu Kuwar(70), Hikmat Bahadur Thapa (85) had answered that their forefathers had constructed the Chautara having that wish. Batuli Suchikar(90), Dhan Bahadur Baniya (89) had answered that if couple had not any child, constructed the Chautara, having wish to get a baby. People had believed that like Bar and Pipal, children would be born and become the resting place for parents with harmony and satisfaction. Motiniko Chautara, Lamachourko Chautara, Damai dilko Chautara, Kuwarko Chautara were constructed on that purpose.

Recognized by name who had constructed the Chautara responsibility and duty for Chautara was transferred from one generation to another generation. The benefit and ownership of Chautara belongs to community as common properly.

People had also constructed Chautara for the welfare and helping the traveler. In the past, after one stop station (bisauni) to another stop station (bisauni), Chautara were constructed for the resting purpose under tree's shade at Chautara.

On the memory of late parents, children had also constructed the Chautara and planted the trees. Maidanko Chautara had constructed by Prem Bahadur Baniya (84) to tribute his late parents.

For prestige and fame, people had the tradition to construct Chautara in society. Chatureko Chautara was constructed as for this reason.

Traditionally Chautara was constructed using mud and stone. Male were participated in the construction and female were participated to carry mud and stones from the bank of river.

Traditionally, after construction and plantation, there were customs of marriage rituals between Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*) and Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*). Bar was symbolized as groom and Pipal as bride. With religious method, pond was dug and 'MaULO' was established in the centre of pond. The whole marriage rituals were called "Prachistha".

Whole days of Baisakha month, there was the tradition of "Dharmashala". It was the custom of keeping water in the earthy pot at Chautara by the Chautara constructor and family members. Bamboo shots were used to take water for drinking water. Water was brought from the river.

During field work, Biswambhar Tiwari(36), the key informant had told that on the month of Baisakha, the unique ritual and custom was practiced by some people for getting rainwater. People wrote opposite "ka" on Pipal's leaf. After writing on hundred thousand leaves, they have let these leaves to flow on river. Among these leaves, any one leaf would reach in the sea, it would be rained. People had believed on it. Tiwari was one of the eye witnesses of that custom which was done at Chiti VDC of Lamjung district on the year 1999. After ritual ceremony, heavy rainfall was occurred.

Among thirteen days of Hindu death ritual, the ritual of making Chautara was done on the 11th day. The key informant Banduraj Adhikari has told that the soul of the death person had to travel the 'Yamlok' where extreme heat of twelve suns had to endure by the soul of the death person. If son or relative could be constructing the Chautara, the soul would get the chance to sit under the shade of tree at Chautara and would get relief.

5.2.2 Trees and ethno medical knowledge

Table 5.1: Trees and ethno medical knowledge

Trees	Number	%
Bar, Pipal and Sammi	3	8.10
Bar and Sammi	11	29.72
Pipal	10	27.02
Bar	7	18.91
Pipal and Sammi	1	2.70
Sammi	1	2.70
Kapur	2	5.40
Lakuri	1	2.70
Jibre	1	2.70
Total	37	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and Sammi (*Ficus benjamina*) were dominant trees found in plantation at Chautara. The oldest tree of Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), App. 200 years old was found at Kuwarko Chautara. The oldest tree of Bar (*Ficus benghalensis*), App. 140 years old was found at Motiniko Chautara. Trees found at Chautara had signified that local people had their own indigenous knowledge about trees and uses mechanism of trees.

Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and Sammi (*Ficus benjamina*) are belongs to family Moraceae. On the way between Madyam Path to Tulashi Ghats, three Chautara were found where Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*)

were planted rectangular shaped Chautara. Respondent Hira Bahadur Thapa had explained that though one Chautara was round and another was rectangular and looked as two Chautara, it counted and thought to one Chautara representing Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*) as Shiva, Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) as Bishnu and Sammi (*Ficus benjamina*) as Brahma, trinity of destructor, survivor and creator. In every religious ritual, leaves of these trees must essential to complete the ceremony. Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and Sammi (*Ficus benjamina*) are the main trees among the five scared trees of Hindu ritual known as "Pancha pallab". 11 Bar Pipal Chautara were found in area of field study whereas 10 Pipal Chautara and 7 Bar Chautara were also found. Traditionally, Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) were planted at one Chautara. Only Bar Chautara and Pipal Chautara were the evidence of Bar Pipal Chautara. Respondent Khim Bahadur Thapa(60) told that huge number of Chautara were fall down by government to construct and widen the road during the year 1959 to 1963. Only new Sammi Chautara was constructed for the memory of late parents. Lakuri (*Fraxinus floribunda*) was planted at Deurali. Two Kapur (*Cinnamum camphora*) and Jibhre Phul (*Hibiscus rosasinesis*) were replanted at Chautara. Two Chautara were found with no trees though Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) were replanted at there.

Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*) is famous on account of its singular characteristics of down huge size branch-roots which gradually develop into strong new trunk and shadow grave is produced. The powder of branch root of Bar tree was mixed with mustard oil used for long hair. The gum produced from leaves was mixed with milk and to drink for gaining vitality of body. Young shout of Bar tree was used as home remedy for headache.

Sammi was planted at Chautara on the remembrance of late parents by children. During Vijaya Dashami, Sammi tree was worshipped by people with their weapons.

Kapur (*Cinnamomum camphora*) is large handsome medium sized tree. It is the source of camphor which is white crystalline solid at room temperature. Camper oil is used in perfumery.

Jibre Phol (*Hibiscus rosasinesis*) is used for offering on worship.

Lakuri(*Fraxinus floribunda*) is used to as a shaded tree for fresh air. Its woods were used firewood.

5.2.3 Taboos

After construction and plantation, the person had never put legs and sat on the Chautara. 'Chautara chinne aru ko lagi ho' is local people's concept for altruistic welfare. Chautara were found a quite far distance from the constructor's house implied the notion.

There were the moral of bowing the Chautara before sitting at Chautara among religious Hindu people.

The family members could not cut down any branches of Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and Sammi(*Ficus benjamina*). If anybody would dare to do, bad omen and accidents would be happened. Respondent Buddi Bahadur Thapa(39) did not believe the taboo and cut down the branches of Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) tree at Chatureko Chautara which was constructed by his grandfather. After cutting down the branches, he had headache and became sick of unknown disease and doctor's medicine could not cure him. After long medication of Shaman (Dhami/Jhakri), he was cured. The event was happened four years ago. He was now fully trust on the taboos relating to Chautara and trees.

After the plantation of (*Ficus bengalensis*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) at Chautara, marriage ritual must be done. Otherwise trees at Chautara were thought of impure and leaves were not used in religious rituals. Grand children were managed the marriage rituals of Bar and Pipal at Hawardarko Chautara after two generation later obeying the taboo.

Any person, who had destroyed Chautara, would be punished by Dharma of Chautara. During field work, the key informant Bhakta Bahadur Thapa(68) had shared the result of destroying Chautara. Those person who did such sinful work, was punished by psychological disorder, family detachment and heart disease.

If there would be the critical condition of destroying Chautara, permission from the constructor's family must be needed either they would or wouldn't.

5.3 Symbolic Interpretation of Chautara

5.3.1 Chautara as a symbol of family and responsibilities

In Hindu religion, marriage is a sacred social institution. The tie between husband and wife was already tied on the heaven, according to Hindu philosophy. Relation between husband and wife cannot depart even the death of husband and wife. Marriage is the starting point of family life. Bar, Pipal marriage at Chautara symbolically represents the importance of family with purity and responsibility. The ritual of Bar Pipal marriage was the symbol of importance of marriage in Hindu religion with moral and ethics.

5.3.2 Chautara for law and justice

In the past, local people had used Chautara as a place where 'Kachahari' was done. 'Kachhari' means discussion about the judgment of law and justice based on equality and equity. The Panchabhaladmi (five honorable wise persons) used Chautara as a public place and judged the wrong and right. To manage the conflict between two villages about any issues, Chautara was used as 'Amali'. The word Amali was used for the place where justice was done by 'Pancha Bhaladmi'. Amala Bisauniko Chautara was derived from the word 'Amali'.

5.3.3 Chautara as a symbol of status and prestige

Being the important part of social life and society, Chautara was also the symbol of status and prestige. Local elites had constructed Chautara for gaining status and prestige. To take the revenge against enemy, sometime people used to destroy the enemy's Chautara.

Case Study 5.1

Sher Bahadur Gurung: Journey from British Army to Chautari Management

Sher Bahadur Gurung 84 years old was born in Dadathok Bhalam VDC and had joined the British-Indian Army at the age of 16 in 1946 A.D. After getting retirement, he came back Nepal in 1965 A.D. and migrated to Batulechour VDC in 1967 A.D.

Kuwarko Chautari is situated near his house, where he had migrated; there was a pond near the Kuwarko Chautari and Maulo was in the centre of pond. The pond was used by local people to make land for settlement. Then only Chautara was reminded which was in poor condition. Nobody said about Chautara to Sher Bahadur Gurung, but his inner heart inspired him to reconstruct Chautara. He collected money from local people with the help of local club, Ama Samuha and other people and reconstructed the Kuwarko Chautara, though the responsibility and duty was of their family and relatives. Sher Bahadur Gurung had reconstructed many Chautara as believing it as our own tradition and culture. "Chautara is our own tradition and every person has responsibility to conserve and manage the Chautara"; says Sher Bahadur Gurung.

The person who constructed Chautara will die but their sovereign will be always with us, when you become tired and want immediate refreshment, Chautari is/will be the best option and that feeling cannot express in the words.

30 years ago, Deurali Than (Deurali Temple) was located in the centre of the road, on the process of widening road, Deurali Than was replaced by the road and nobody cared about that Deurali Than. Local people who used to worship Deurali Than every year asking and begging water, but those people did not shoulder up the responsibility to manage Deurali Than. He constructed Chautara, planted the Lakuri Tree (*Fraxinus floribunda*) and established the Deurali Than on the Chautari.

According to Sher Bahadur Gurung, every year Dhami-Jhakri (faith healer) with local people had used to worship Deurali Than asking water and protect their

locality from thunder, hailstorm. They had sacrificed the female goat. They also used to let free a couple of pigeon. Now days, local people have stopped to worship Deurali Than. Sher Bahadur Gurung opens up his heart and says he has a great faith on Buddha and his teachings. He also wants to continue traditional rituals and believes on this indigenous knowledge, believe system. In present condition, Pokhara is densely populated city and it has the scarcity of public land to construct Chautara so, he has constructed Bar Pipal Chautara at Armala VDC. He had already celebrated the marriage ceremony of these two Chautara and made a pond with Maulo in the centre of pond.

Being old age, Sher Bahadur Gurung has already handed the responsibility of maintenance and management of Chautara to his two sons. Because of doing Dharma work i.e. construction and management of Chautara with faith he believes his descendents are in right path and has prosperous life.

Finally, Sher Bahadur Gurung says," Now a day's people do not believe on ancestor's traditional beliefs and rituals because they have no trust inside of their heart. If we do not carry on our traditional culture and believe then who will carry on?"

CHAPTER SIX

CAUSE OF DETERIORATING CHAUTARA

6.1 Chautara: Obstacle of infrastructural Development

The historical Chautara are found in study area as a result of hardship and devotion of local people with active participation. With changing context, environment and time, people's perception toward Chautara is changing. Being constructed on a public land near the road sides, Chautara is becoming the victim as well as obstacle of infrastructural development. Some trees with huge and large branches may cause the accident during the heavy rainfall, wind and hailstone. At observation, poles of electric wire were established on the opposite side of Chautara to prevent accident. Chautara which were constructed on public land are found as a private land in field study. Maidanko Bansko Chautara (Bamboo Chautara) and Pipalko Chautara were constructed on public land. Later the land was encroached by government school. These Chautara are in critical condition because of construction of newly building construction. Even Pokhara sub-metropolitan office has not the solid policy about management of Chautara. Evaluation and monitoring is not done properly by sub-metropolitan office. Actually people's participation and inclusive development were done only on counting the number not performing quality of holistic development. Even those people who had the knowledge about the importance of Chautara were not initiating to let people understand. It was exposed during group discussion at Sangam Chowk. The mentality of not shouldering ups the responsibility, blaming others and escape interaction from public issues were found among the people.

6.2 Conflicts in different form

Conflicts are natural phenomena in human society because of heterogeneous people, their perception and ideology. When decision is made and others interest is encroached, people divided themselves in opposing group (Regmi). Conflicts were already developed since the cultures of Chautara were introduced. Respondents

and some key informants did not give the right information initially about conflict which was happened in the past. After the repeating of indirect questions relating conflict they had accepted that these were different formed conflicts were different formed conflicts. The form of conflicts was changed with the changing time, situation and environment.

Caste conflict are occurred frequently from past to present condition. Chautara was constructed as altruistic deed for people could not consume the equal right for sharing and using Chautara. Caste system is one of the most powerful factors to differentiate on ascribed states among people. This ascribed state creates conflicts though it was supposed to balance and harmonize the functional approach of the Hindu society though it was supposed to balance and harmonize the functional approach of the Hindu society based on work division. These were restriction of low caste to drink water and use the Chautara during "Dharma Shala Period". Low caste people had also the custom of "Dharma Shala Period" for their own caste. Lok Bahadur Nepali had constructed more than three Chautaras at Bhakati Path (Sarki Dahar), near Aamli Bisauni. One Chautara was destroyed at the time of school construction and another was destroyed by upper caste thinking why high caste should use and sat under the Chautari constructed by low caste. New Chautari was constructed after destroying old.

In present condition, new tenure system of land and rising value of land have been caused the encroachment of land by the local elite political leader and other institution. During field work ponds were not found near any trees which were constructed during the "Prachista". These ponds were encroaching by people we can see then and now character encroachment strategy is starting for getting more land. People don't directly destroy the Chautari on the name of better management, trees were unscientifically plumed and slowly trees die. After dying, now trees are planted immediately. These events cause conflict between conservers group and land needed group.

Case Study 6.1

Ganga Baniya: Role model among Ama Samuha

Ganga Baniya, 69 years old lady is local inhabitants of Baniya Thar, Lamachour. She is the former chairperson of Jalpa Devi community women development group. She had been working tirelessly as chairperson since 2002 A.D. Participating not only in women empowerment, but also actively participating in construction, reconstruction, maintenance and management of Chautara. She is the role model for everybody to do for our tradition and beliefs.

Motiniko Chautara (Approx.140)years old, which was constructed by Subedar Karna Singh Mahat. He planted the Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*) and Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) to fulfill his wish to get son because he had only daughter. After the death of Subedar, Chautara was maintained by his wife Motini. After marriage, Motini's only one daughter unfortunately died and her son-in-law married to another lady. Later, Motini was cared and supported by Ganga Baniya's in-laws. Duty and responsibility of Chautara was shouldered up by Ganga Baniya when Motini died, now everybody call and know the Motiniko Chautara.

At the time of Mayer Krishna Thapa, Pokhara metropolitan office had decided to construct water drainage along the road side at Lamachour, local government had decided to cut down the Motiniko Chautara because it was situated at the drainage construction area. The land owner whose house was just behind the Chautara forcefully insisted to cut down the Chautara. Being ancestor's gift how could Ganga Baniya let give people to cut down the tree of Bar and destroyed Chautara so, on her initiation all women from Baniya Thar and Ama Samuha challenged the local government's decision and made compulsion to modify the drainage construction. After getting success to save Motiniko Chautara, Ganga Baniya and her women group are continually working on construction and management of Chautara.

Ganga Baniya and her women group are jointly working with Milan Ama Samuha, Jagaran Ama Samuha, Amar Deep Club and other local institutions in development activities as well as social and cultural activities. From Madhyam Path to Tulsi Ghat, Jalpa Devi Community women development group initiated to construct infrastructure at Tulsi Ghat such as road, water tap, community building for Malami and also constructed the Chautari for Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*) and Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*). Sammi(*Prosopis spicigera*) Chautara was constructed by Prem Bahadur Baniya. Pokhara sub-metropolitan office had also helped them by 40 thousands rupees from local government funds. Ganga Baniya and her women group had already arranged marriage ceremony of Bar and Pipal.

According to Ganga Baniya, we are the decendents of our ancestor. If we do not shoulder up the responsibility to conserve and manage Chautara as precious gift, who will do? She faithfully trusts on the tradition relating to Chautara. She shares one unique accident that happened in 2012 A.D., in the month of Baisakh. The unexpected flood in Seti River damaged the entire man-made infrastructure at Tulsi Ghat but Chautara were as same as its previous natural condition. If there was not truth and power on the Chautari how can it remained as constant as usual. All these was possible because of supernatural power that was believed by our ancestos but now-a-days people think Chautara has not any uses and old fashioned, Ganga adds that Chautara tradition is not old but people's mind is being crazy and they can't see the reality behind the Chautara.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL PEOPLE IN CONSTRUCTION, CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT OF CHAUTARA

S.N.	Chautara	Reconstructed by	Causes	Replanted by	Causes	Conserved & Maintained by	Causes
1	Deep Housing ko Chautara	Constructed	For Dharmako lagi	×	×	Deep housing and Gausubba Gurung	1. For the sake of Dharma 2. For natural shade 3. For decorating beauty
2	Mawaldarko Chautara	Hikmat Bahadur Thapa	Decendent's duty to conserve ancestor's gift	×	×		1. To conserve ancestor's gift and Dharma 2. To save chautari for coming generation. 3. For natural shade and resting place.
3.	Chatureko Chautara	Keshar Bahadur Thapa	Must preserve the gift of ancestor	×	×	Buddhi Bahadur Thapa and Local people	1. To conserve ancestor's gift and Dharma. 2. For environment. 3. For resting place.
4.	Madyampathko Chautara	Chauman Shingh Thapa	Duty to conserve ancestor's gift and	Mira Bahadur	Bar (Ficus Bengalensis) was	Hira Bahadur Thapa	1. To conserve ancestor's gift and Dharma.

			Dharma	Thapa	replanted because old one died	Gonda Thapa & Tulashi Ghat Bato Nirmad Samiti	2. For environment. 3. For resting place.
5.	Tulshi Ghatko (A) Chautara	(Newly Constructed) Jalpadevi Samudayik Mahila Bikasha Samiti	To help Malami by making Chautara	Newly Planted	Bar. Pipal and Sammi was planted for the sake of religious purpose	Jalpadevi Samudayik Mahila Bikash & Prem Bahadur Baniya	1. To conserve the Chautari 2. For resting place. 3. For environment
6.	Tulsi Ghatko Chautara	Lok Bahadur Thapa	Duty to Conserve ancestor's pride	Ripu mardan Thapa (Bar and Pipal replanted two times but died)	Old one was already died	Lok Bahadur Thapa	1. Duty to conserve ancestor's pride
7.	Chautara Ramcheko Chautara	Reconstructed by Baniya Tharko Ama Samuha	i. To conserve chautari ii. To preserve ancestor's gift ii. For the purpose of gaining Drama	Baniya Tharko Aama Samuha (Bar 1)	To make the couple of Pipal	Hira Bahadur Thapa and Baniya Tharko Aama Samuha	1. For the sake of Darma. 2. For environment clean and fresh. 3. For the resting purpose for malami
8.	Motiniko Chautara	Dhan Bahadur Baniya	i. To save the Dharma of	×	×	Dhan Bahadur Baniya,	1. To save the Dharma of ancestor

			Karnashingh Mahat			Ganga Baniya and Other Aama Samuha	2. To save the prestige of ancestor. 3. For better environment
9.	Lamachaur Chowkko Chautara (A)	Sumitra Nepali and Guman Bahadur Nepali	i. We should save and protect our ancestor's Dharma	×	×	Suraj Nepali and local Aama Samuha and Tol Bikasha Samiti	1. To save and protect Chautara 2. For the better Environment 3. For environment
10.	Lamachaur Chowkko Chautara (B)	Rana Bahadur Bhandari and Local People	i. For long lasting conservation of Chautara ii. For saving the Dharma of Ancestor	×	×	Naba Aadarsha Yuwa Club and Tole Sudar Samiti	1. To save the ancient socio-cultural gift and ancestor. 2. For better environment. 3. For shade
11	Bhakti Pathko Chautara	Lok Bdr. Nepali Bal Bdr. Nepali Krishna Bahadur Nepali	In the memory of late father's remembrance For the protection of Ancestor's gift	×	×	Lok Bdr. Nepali Bal Bdr. Nepali Krishna Bahadur Nepali	1. To save the Purk's Dharma 2. For resting purpose 3. For environment
12	Gairabariko Chautara	(Newly Constructed)	i. For the religious ritual purpose ii. For the purpose of Dharma	×	×	Gairabari Lamachaur Thapa Bhaikhalaka	1. For religious ritual purpose 2. To sit under Chautara at summer and gather old people. 3. For environment

13.	Gandaki Boarding Schoolko Chautari	(Newly constructed) by Durgaman Shingh Bhandari	i. For the memory of late wife's remembrance	×	×	Durgaman Shingh Bhandari and Naba Aadarsha Yuwa Club	1. For the memory of late family members. 2. To sit under Chautara at Summer time 3. For prestige
14.	Gandaki Boarding School ko Chautari	Hem Kumari Bhandari	i. It may cause Dharma ii. It will be happen good and harmonious future for coming generation iii. It is children's duty to reconstruct	Hem Kumari Bhandari	Old Chautari and tree was fell down in 2052/053. Sotorsthe Sake of Saving Ancestor's Dharma	Hem Kumari Bhandari	1. For Dharma. 2. It will be good fortune for coming generation 3. For prestige
15.	Bhandariko Chautari	Udaya Bahadur Bhandari and Bhai Khalaka	i. We must save ancestor's gift ii. Toget the leaves of Pipal in Puja	×	×	Udaya Bahadur Bhandari & Bhai Khalaka	1. Decendent's responsibility to conserve and maintain 2. For environment 3. For the death ritual
16	Suratesworko Chautari	×	×	×	×	Surateswor Shivalaya	1. It is necessary for Hindu rituals.
17.	Deuraliko Chautari	Sher Bahadur Gurung	30 years ago, during the process of construction of road,	Sher Bahadur Gurung	Lakuri () was in deurali than so he	Sher Bahadur Gurung	Local habitant did not care and take responsibility of

			old Deurali Than was damaged by Road office and nobody initiated to reconstruct and care about Deurali than so, he made a chautara and established Deurali than		replanted Lakuri		
18.	Kuwarko Chautara	Sher Bahadur Gurung, Mitu Kuwar and her descendants	Chautara are the sign of our ancestor constructors of Chautara died but chautara never dies. So for the sake of saving our tradition it was reconstructed	×	×	Mitu Kuwar & Family Sher Bahadur Gurung & Other local people	Chautara are the sign of our ancestor. Constructors of chautara died but chautara never dies. So for the sake of saving our tradition it was conserved and maintained
19.	Ammareko Chautara	Chitra Devi Thapa & Bharat Thapa	i. To conserve and maintain grandfather's chautara ii. For the sake of preserve the Dharma of	Chitra Devi Thapa i) Pital (Ficus religiosa) i) Sammi	Only Bar is in chautara. So pipal and sammi is planted	Chitra Devi Thapa Bharat Thapa	Maintained for future generation and save the Dharma of ancestor is descendant's duty and responsibility

			ancestor	(Prosopis spicigera)			
20.	Chandika Tole ko Chautara	Kim Bahadur Thapa	i. We must conserve our father and fore father's gift. So the chautara was reconstructed	×	×	Kim Bahadur Thapa	i. Our duty to conserve and maintained.
21.	Batulechaur Schoolko Chautara	Chhabilal Aadikari	i. To save the ancestor's gift ii. To conserve chautara and iii. For the sake of getting Dharma	×	×	Chhabilal Adhikari	i. It is descendants duty and responsibility to take care and maintain chautara.
22.	Maidanko Chautara	Jim Narayan Shrestha	i. Responsibility to take care of Ancestor's dharma ii. For the sake of getting Dharma iii. To save chautara	×	×	Jim Narayan Shrestha and Family	i. Family descendants duty to care and maintain chautara
24	Maidanko Chautara	Newly constructed (Prem Bahadur Baniya)	i. It is inner voice of heart to make new chautara and plant lot of new trees is	×	×	Prem Bahadur Baniya	1. For satisfaction 2. For Dharma Purpose 3. For future generation

			own hobby				
25.	Bindhebasini campus ko Chautara	–	–	–	–	–	–
26.	Sanichauriko Chautara	Humanath Bhattarai	i. Our duty to reconstruct for the sake of ancestor's dharma	Humanath Bhattarai	Old tree was died. So, it was necessary to replant.	Humanath Bhattarai and his family	It was too necessary to save and conserve chautara, that was why our ancestor constructed chautara. Now our duty to conserve and maintain the chautaras.
27	Maiko Chautara	Timilsina Clan	i. Ancient time, small fox was called mai in local language. To to cure mai, people sacrifice the female goat (she-goat) at chautaris which was constructed near the water resource that people can early see the water from chautari	Pipal and Bar was replanted but could not grow properly and died	Old trees were already died and could not grow properly so there was no trees in Chautara	Timilsina clan Badharbot Ama Samuha, Environment conservation club and other local people	Maiko chautari has unique historical background and cultural and religious value so it must be preserve and maintained.

28.	Badharbot Ama Samuhako Chautara	Newly constructed by Badharbot Aama Samuha	There was a old chautara which was constructed by Ghachowk Jamani Budhi. Now that chautara was	Badharbot Aama Samuha	Old tree were already died and destroyed	Badharbot Ama Samuha	1. Our beliefs and traditions must preserve and maintain 2. For healthy environment 3. For future generation
29.	Khadako Chautara	Sangam Chowk ko local people	i. For fresh air and healthy environment. ii. There were no good place to sit at chautara so local people reconstructed chautara.	×	×	People of Sangam chowk with self motivation	1. For fresh air and healthy environment. 2. Chautara is better place for meeting discussion and taking retired old people 3. For future generation
30	Damaidilko Chautara	Batuli Suchikar and Jana Jagaran Aama Samuha	i. Every body can sit under the fresh air of Bar ii. Chautara must preserve	Kancha Pariyar	Pipal and Bar was Died, So, new plant were planted	Janajagaran Aama Samuha	1. Chautara are necessary for resting purpose. 2. It is good for our health to sit under chautara. 3. It must conserved for our future generation.
31.	Mahendra	Khadka	i. To save and	×	×	Local People of	1. For resting purpose and

	Guphako Chautara	Bahadur Gurung Indra Kumari Gurung	protect the trees of Chautara			Mahendra Gupha	getting fresh air 2. For conserve our tradition and belief
32.	Tagako Mukhako Chautara (A)	Local People	i. For sitting purpose ii. For conserve purpose iii. For religious purpose	×	×	Mahendra Gupha Management Committee constructed wall on the centre of Chautari and it was not conserve and maintained	×
33.	Tagako Mukhako Chautara (B)	Maidan Aama Samuha	i. To conserve chautari ii. It is very necessary for poster to rest under chautari when they feel tired	×	×	Maidan Aama Samuha	1. Chautari is very necessary for farmer walker, poster and other people. 2. It must preserve for future generation. 3. Trees of chautari give more fresh air
34.	Tagako Mukhako Chautara (C)	Dil Bahadur Sherstha	Duty and responsibility to reconstruct	×	×	Dil Bahadur Shrestha	i. Duty to conserve ancestor's Dharma. ii. It is altruistic work for society

			ancestor's gift of work				and family. iii. Chautara must conserved for future generation.
35.	Dhobinipatan ko Chautara	Kashinath Adhikari & His family relatives	Father and forefather's memory must preserve	×	×	Kashinath Adhikari & his family relatives	i. For conserve chautara ii. For continuity of ancestor's Dharma work iii. For fresh and health environment.
36.	Amala Bisauniko Chautara	Udaya B. Basnet's Co-ordination and Local people's participation	Old Chautara was destroyed. So, local people initiate to reconstruct new chautara	Local people (Kapur)	Old trees were died	Chameri Gupha Tole Bikas Samiti and local people	i. To continue the tradition of our ancestor ii. For sitting and gathering station. iii. It is for decoration of environment and society.
37.	Kailako Chautara	Krishna Prasad Adhikari and Local people	i. Chautara are the symbol of right justice. ii. They are also the symbol of prestige in society iii. Chautara are our tradition and cultural heritage.	×	×	Krishna Prasad Adhikari and Chameri Gupha Tole Bikasha Samiti	i. We must conserve our traditional culture. ii. It is our responsibility to take care these chautara iii. Chautara conserved means our environment conserve

38.	Chameri Gupha Chautara	Krishna Prasad Adhikari and local people	a ruined traditional chautara was there, so, newly chautara was reconstructed	Kishna Prasad Adhikari	Old Bar tree was fell down	Krishna Prasad Adhikari and local people	There was need to construct chautara and conserve that is way our ancestor made chautara. Now it is our turn to reconstruct and conserve.
39.	Saunepaniko Chautara	Yam Lal B.K.	Our fore father made chautara, now our turn to reconstruct chautara	×	×	Yamlal B.K. and Bala-Yogeswor Sat Sanga Margh- 16	We must preserve our ancestor's gift and maintain for future generation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

This study has been conducted to find out the history of People's Participation and management of Chautara at Ward no 16 in Pokhara. On the basis of research objectives, the center part of the study is Chautara and the person who had participated in the construction and management of Chautara and the person who had participated in the construction and management of Chautara are the primary source of data collection. Key informants of local as well as other places are the secondary sources of data collection.

The theoretical framework of this study is guided by ecological and symbolic interpretation of belief, rituals, customs and rituals relating to construction and management of Chautara under the Exploratory and Descriptive research design based on qualitative as well as approach.

Guided by Hindu religion's ideology and using the indigenous knowledge about trees and environment, the Chautara construction was developed. Different rituals and customs were developed for manage the Chautara.

The study has exposed and explained the history and people's participation on the construction and management of Chautara which are as follows:

-) In study area, 39 Chautaras are found in managed condition. 3 Chautara were destroyed by local people during the period of 3 years. In total number of Chautara are found in 42 altogether.
-) Among the 39 Chautara, 2 Barko Chautara and 1 Pipalko Chautara are in critical conditions.
-) Among these Chautara, 3 Bar, 3 Pipal and Sammiko Chautara are found in the between Madhyam Path to Tulashi Ghat.

- J 11 Bar Pipal Chautara, 10 Pipal Chautara, 7 Bar Chautara, 2 Kapur Chautara, 1 Lakuri Chautara, 1 Jibre Phulko Chautara and 1 Sammi Pipalko Chautara are found. 2 Chautara contains no trees.
- J The 'Prachista' word represents the marriage rituals of Bar and Pipal at Chautara.
- J 'Dharmashala' represents the altruistic distribution of water at Chautara by constructor of Chautara. This custom was done at the month of Baisakha.
- J Chautara represents the different meaning at different context. Bar and Pipal Chautara is the symbol of marriage, justice, status, altruistic work and resting places.
- J Chautara is the culture produced by the combination of indigenous knowledge of ecology, topography, ethno medicine and Hindu rituals.
- J With changing time and context, perception towards Chautara is changing.
- J Traditionally, Chautara was managed by family and relatives. Different local people's group actively participating in construction and management of Chautara.
- J There are taboos found in rituals, customs of Chautara.
- J In present condition, there are challenges and conflicts on the management of Chautara.

8.2 Conclusion

The number of Chautara is increased and slowly local people are aware about the importance of Chautara. Chautara is not common word but had significant meaning and function as Nepali own culture. The people's participation in the construction and management of Chautara plays the vital role to benefit ecological as well as cultural civilization of Nepali own culture which is the final conclusion of the study.

REFERENCES

- Adhikari, J. and Giri H. (2003). *Urban context of environmental justice: A study in Pokhara (In Nepal) pp. (54-57), Kathmandu: Martin Chautari/Social Development Research Center.*
- Baker, L. Therese (1999). *Doing social research*, pp (134-165), Singapore: McGraw-Hill, Companies.
- Bista, D.B. (2001). *Fatalism and Development: Nepal Struggle for Modernization*, P. 11, Patna: Orient Longman Limit.
- Bohannon & Glazer (1988). *High points in Anthropology*, PP (257-213), PP (503-528) and PP (379-403), New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.
- CBS (2011). *Population of Nepal*, Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Chalise, K. (2016). *Scope of Srikrishna Gandaki in Context to Field Museum of Nepalese water culture*, PhD. Thesis (Unpublished), Nepal: Nepal Sanskrit University.
- Chalise, K.R. (1995). *Chautari reports of Pokhara*. Pokhara: Environment Conservation Union.
- Chalise, K.R. (2000). *Social marketing approach to conserve Ficus religiosa*. Link between culture and Biodiversity, China: Yunnan University of China.
- Dahal, D.R. (1991). CANS, Kathmandu Tribhuvan University.
- Gurung, H.G. (1980). *Vignettes of Nepal*. PP (150-152). Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan.
- Keslinger, F.N. (2004). *Foundation of Behaviour Research*, PP (479-536), Delhi: Sunjeet Publication.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004). *Research methodology*, pp. (2-59). Delhi: New Age International.

- Manandhar, N.P. (2002). *Plants and people of Nepal*, pp. 58, Portland, Oregon: Timber Press Incorporated.
- Microw, D. (1997). *Thirty years in Pokhara you must have seen a lot of changes*, New Delhi: Pilgrims Books House.
- Panta, R. Prem (2010), *Social science research and thesis writing* pp. (112-121), Kathmandu: Buddha Academic Publishers and Distributors Pvt. Ltd.
- Regmi, R.R. (2003). *The essentials of sociology*. pp. (69-88). Kathmandu: Buddha Academic Publication.
- Regmi, R.R. (2007). *Model of culture*, Kathmandu: Academic Book Centre.
- Upadhyay, P. (2003). *Model of culture*, Pokhara: Samjhana Publication.
- Urban Context of Environmental Justice: A study on Pokhara (In Nepali 2003). pp. (54-57), Kathmandu: Martin Chautari/ Social Development & Research Center.

Appendix-I

Questionnaires

- 1) Name of respondent:
- 2) Address:
- 3) Occupation:
- 4) Religion:
- 5) Cast:

Questions regarding history of construction/plantation of Chautara.

- 6) Types of tree planted as Chautara.
 - a) Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*)
 - b) Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*)
 - c) Sammi (*Prosopis spicigera*) and
 - d) Others
- 7) Can you tell the age of Chautara?
- 8) Can you tell the age of the tree/s planted in Chautara?
- 9) Who had constructed the Chautara?
- 10) What are the purposes of Chautara constructed for?
 - a) .
 - b) .
- 11) Do you or your family member worship the tree of Chautara?
- 12) If yes, what are the causes that you worship the tree plant?
- 13) Do you have any particular faith and belief on the tree of Chautara?
- 14) Do you know any myths, stories and incidents relating to this Chautara?
- 15) Which gender participated more for the construction of Chautara?
 - a) Male, b) Female and c) Both

- 16) Do you know any ethno medical value of tree planted as Chautara?
- 17) In your locality, do the Ama Samuha(Mother's Group), local club and local people participate in construction of Chautara?
- 18) If yes, how they are participating?

Questions regarding positive management of Chautara by local people participation.

- 19) Who reconstructed this Chautara?
- 20) What is the cause/s that inspired you to reconstruct this Chautara?
- 21) Who are maintaining and conserving this Chautara?
- 22) What is the cause/s that inspired you to maintain and conserve this Chautara?
- 23) Do you still want to participate for the management of Chautara?
- 24) Do you think that Chautara must be constructed, reconstructed and maintained?
- 25) Do you know that the traditionally how the people maintained and conserved the Chautara?

a) Yes b) No

- 26) If yes, how and in what way they are maintaining the Chautara?
- 27) The importance of Chautara falls under is:
 - a) Environmental Importance;
 - b) Religious Importance;
 - c) Socio-cultural Importance;
 - d) Economic Importance;
 - e) Others.

- 28) In your community, any programs that are related to Chautara management are running on?
- 29) If yes, what kinds of program are running on?
- a) Construction of Chautara;
 - b) Reconstruction of Chautara;
 - c) Maintenance of Chautara;
 - d) Others.
- 30) Do you know who the owner of this Chautara is?
- 31) What are the positive roles of local people in management of Chautara?
- 32) The relationship among Ama Samuha, local club and other local people in the management of Chautara are:
- a) Good and harmonious;
 - b) Average or Satisfactory;
 - c) Unsatisfactory;
- 33) Is there any vital role of Ama Samuha, Tole Bikash Samiti and local club in decision making in decision making of management of Chautara?
- a) Yes b) No
- 34) If yes, how they participate in decision making of management of Chautara?

35) Do you think that all traditions and beliefs about Chautara are relating to scientific cause?

a) Yes b) No

36) If yes, can you tell how and why these tradition and beliefs are relating to scientific cause?

37) Are there any difficulties during positive management of Chautara?

Questions regarding negative management of Chautara by local people participation

38) In present time, Chautara is being destroyed because:

- a) It is obstacles of development activities;
- b) May cause unwanted accident by falling on the road;
- c) It is old and unscientific tradition;
- d) Others

39) do you think that the traditions and beliefs about Chautara are false and superstitions.

a) Yes b) No

40) If yes, what are the reasons?

41) Is there any conflict among local people during cutting down the tree and destroying Chautara for development activities?

42) Does your Ama Samuha, Tole Bikash Samiti and local clubs are involving to destroy the Chautara?

a) Yes b) No

43) If yes, what are the main three causes?

- a) .
- b) .
- c) .

44) At last, do you have your opinion on participatory management of Chautara in your locality?

Appendix-II

Key Informants

S.N.	Name	Address	Sex
1	Mr. Sarbanga Man Pradhananga	Bhairab Tole	Male
2	Mr. Jhalak Thapa	Gyankunja Marg-8	Male
3	Mr. Krishna Thapa	Batulechour-16	Male
4	Mr. Krishna K.C.	Ramghat-10	Male
5	Mr. .Nar Nath Bhattarai	Maidan-16	Male
6	Mr. Puspa Lal Timilsina	Badhar Bot-16	Male
7	Mr. Biswambhar Lal Tiwari	Deep Housing-16	Male
8	Mr. Tara Prasad Timilsina	Badhar Bot-16	Male
9	Mr. Bhakta Bahadur Thapa	Danda Thok-16	Male
10	Mr. Rishi Ram Adhikari	Tagako Mukh-16	Male
11	Mr. Bandhu Raj Adhikari	Sangam Chowk-16	Male
12	Mr. Lal BAHadur Suchikar	Sangam Chowk-16	Male
13	Mr. Nabin Bhandari	Lamachour-16	Male
14	Mr. Chom Nath Timilsina	Badhar Bot-16	Male
15	Mr. Mahendra Khadka	Sangam Chowk-16	Male
16	Mrs. Narayani Timilsina	Badar Bot-16	Female
17	Mrs. Gumadevi Timilsina	Badar Bot-16	Female
18	Mrs. Batai Suchikar	Sangam Chowk-16	Female
19	Mrs. Khim Kumari Gurung	Deep Housing-16	Female
	Female Percentage	21.05%	
	Male Percentage	78.95%	

Appendix-III

Chautara Under critical Condition

SN	Chautara	Place	Age	Condition of Chautara	Causes	Solution
1	Bindhabasini College ko Chautara	Bindabasini College, Maidan-16	App. 160 years	The area of Chautara is under encroachment, due to; 1) College building is under construction; and 2) Ward office-16 is also under construction.	1) College administration did not use and apply Anthropological knowledge to make new building; and 2) Local Government did not take serious about the protection and conservation of Chautara.	1) Without changing the concept and attitude of the people about value and importance of Chautara, it is hard to preserve and manage it.
2	Khadka ko Chautara	Sangam Chowk-16	App. 150 years	1) Local people are planning to fall down the tree because its trunk are expanding and growing higher; and 2) Pokhara Metropolitan Office is planning to construct the drainage system along the side of the road while the Chautara is situated nearby the road which may cause the uprooting of Chautara.	1) People are afraid of being victims due to Chautara misshape. 2) New development planning and strategy are being applied by neglecting anthropological and sociological aspects; 3) Monitoring and evaluation of development activities has not been reached to the grass root level.	1) Even-if , Pokhara Metropolitan office fell down tree, the local people are planning to replant the Chautara.
3	Kalika ko Chautara	Mandan Aashrit Marga-16	App. 100 years	1) The old Chautara was already died and local people were planning to replant again.	1) The lack of technical knowledge, the branches of Chautara cut down as a result of which the Chautara died.	1) New replantation will be going on.

Source : Field Visit 2016

Appendix-IV

Respondents who are directly or indirectly participating in construction, reconstruction of Chautari and plantation, replantation of trees in Chautara.

SN	Name	Place	Age(Years)	Caste	Ethnicity	Sex	Religion
	Lamachour Area						
1	Dal Bdr. Rana Magar	Jau Bari, Deep Housing-16	83	Magar	Ethnic	Male	Hindu
2	Krishna Psd. Bhattarai	Jau Bari, Deep Housing-16	55	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
3	Gau Subba Gurung	Amar Deep-16	70	Gurung	Ethnic	Male	Buddhist
4	Rama Thapa	Dandathok, Batulechour-16	58	Chhetri	Chhetri	Female	Hindu
5	Hikmat Bdr. Thapa	Dandathok, Batulechour-16	85	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
6	Lok Bdr. Thapa	Ghati Patan, Madhyam Path-16	39	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
7	Hira Bdr. Thapa	Madhyam Path, Lamachour-16	66	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
8	Ganga Baniya	Baniya Tole, Lamachour-16	69	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
9	Lok Bdr. Thapa	Madhyam Path, Lamachour-16	63	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
10	Dhan Bdr. Baniya	Baniya Tole, Lamachour-16	89	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
11	Sumitra Nepali	Khatri Dahar, Lamachour-16	82	Dalit	Sheduled	Female	Hindu
12	Rana Bdr. Bhandari	Gaira Bari, Lamachour-16	87	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
13	Tulki Neplai	Bhakti Path	54	Dalit	Sheduled	Female	Hindu
14	Til Kumari Thapa	Gaira Bari, Lamachour-16	52	Chhetri	Chhetri	Female	Hindu
15	Ram Bdr. Thapa	Gaira Bari, Lamachour-16	57	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
16	Durga Man Singh Bhandari	Bhandari Dahar, Lamachour-16	52	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
17	Hem Kumari Bhandari	Bhandari Dahar, Lamachour-16	82	Chhetri	Chhetri	Female	Hindu
18	Udaya Bdr. Bhandari	Bhandari Dahar, Lamachour-16	73	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
19	Swami Narayan Giri	Surateswor Shivalaya -16	61	Sanyasi	Sanyasi	Male	Hindu
	Batulechor Area						
20	Sher Bdr. Gurung	Amar Deep, Batulechour-16	84	Gurung	Ethnic	Male	Buddhist
21	Mithu Kunwar	Ammare, Batulechoue-	70	Chhetri	Chhetri	Female	Hindu

		16					
22	Chitra Devi Thapa	Chandika Tole, Batulechour-16	78	Chhetri	Chhetri	Female	Hindu
23	Khim Bdr. Thapa	Chandika Tole, Batulechour-16	60	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
24	Chhabilal Adhikari	Baikuntha Marg, Batulechour-16	79	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
25	Jim Narayan Shrestha	Maidan, Batulechour-16	78	Newar	Ethnic	Male	Hindu
26	Prem Bdr. Baniya	Madhyam Path, Batulechour-16	84	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
27	Huma Nath Bhattarai	Badhar Bot, Batulechour-16	72	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
28	Nanda Lal Timilsina	Badhar Bot, Batulechour-16	84	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
29	Karna Bdr. Khadka	Ganesh Chowk, Batulechour-16	65	Chhetri	Chhetri	Male	Hindu
30	Batuli Suchikar	Sangam Chowk, Batulechour-16	90	Dalit	Sheduled	Female	Hindu
31	Meher Man Karmakar	Mahendra gufa, Batulechour-16	56	Dalit	Sheduled	Male	Hindu
32	Naryan Psd. Adhikari	Tagako Mukh-16	63	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
33	Dil Bdr. Shrestha	Sangam Chowk, Batulechour-16	80	Newar	Ethnic	Male	Hindu
34	Kashi Nath Adhikari	Dhobini Patan-16	58	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
35	Krishna Psd. Adhikari	Mandan Aashrit Marga-16	62	Brahmin	Brahmin	Male	Hindu
36	Yam Lal B.K.	Mandan Aashrit Marga-16	63	Dalit	Sheduled	Male	Hindu
37	Bal Kumari Karki	Chandika Tole, Batulechour-16	66	Chhetri	Chhetri	Female	Hindu
38	Santa Bdr. Gurung	Ambika Tole, Batulechour-16	59	Gurung	Ethnic	Male	Buddhist