

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

'It is easy to see that in long run, not only object of material culture but also customs songs, art motives and general cultural influences travel along the Kula-route. It is vast inter-tribal net of relationship'. (Malinowski 1922)

1.1 Background:

There are two major caste groups among the Newars of Tokha, viz; 'Shrestha' and 'Dangol' (Jyapoo). Caste is the principal basis of social hierarchy among the Newars. It was King Jayasthiti Malla, in the 14th century, who organized the society of the valley into four Varna and Sixty four castes on the basis of hereditary occupations and genealogies (Nepali 1965; 146). The Jyapoo peasants, who were the economically most important people in the society and Shrestha are merchant community which was becoming increasingly affluent with the flourishing Tibet Gangatic trade (Bista 1982, Nepali 1965). Even though they are thrust in mutual dependence and don't stand lower in ritual and commensally status, because Newari society of Kathmandu developed with an open society and melting pot concept (Bista 1982). Therefore Newar community of Tokha adopted multiple livelihood option.

A livelihood in its simplest sense is a means of gaining living, which straightway makes it more than merely synonymous with income because it directs attention to the way in which a living is obtained, not just the net results in terms of income received or consumption attained (Ellis 2000:7). Livelihood strategies operate both at household and individual levels, either through continuity or through modification of economic and social activities in order to meet the basic needs for survival and existence. Some people

continue their traditional occupations and activities while others modify their strategies. Several internal and external factors impinge up on the livelihood strategies of the people (see Chhetri 2006). Some of these factors operate from local level while other work in national and even global scale.

Livelihood diversification is defined as the process by which rural households constructs an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living (Ellis 2000: 15). Hence diversity may be taken overall to mean multiple and multiplying income sources, thus also typically requiring diverse social relations to underpin them. Ellis further says diversification, on the other hand, interprets the creation of diversity as an ongoing social and economic process, reflecting factors of both pressure and opportunity that cause families to adopt increasingly intricate and diverse livelihood strategies.

Change is universal and continuous phenomenon found in all the societies all the time. People have adjusted their ways of earning for livelihood to the changing environmental condition. The environmental condition change over a time and people in the same space can notice differences in the pattern of adoption from one group to another.

The means of earning livelihoods among rural people in developing countries seems to be very diverse, fluid and is therefore complex. The life of people and their agricultural activities are have not improved as expected, even they cannot sustain their life from agriculture alone (DFID 1998:173). The rural communities close to the cities face even more complexities being transition between urban and rural. The development intervention creates diversification in occupation, specialization in agriculture and

intensification in economic activities. As a result, the rural occupation broadens and people get access to the mainstream of activities.

1.2 Problem statement

The site of current research, Tokha, lies at the north of Kathmandu Valley, on south lap of Shifucho (Shivapuri 8962 ft.) hill. The land of Tokha as found in common observation, is irregular, small forested hill used for grazing animals. It is a *tar* (non-irrigated land) and *khet* (irrigated land). The soil of Tokha is sandy which contains clay, which is different than *kalimati* or the black clay (which is used for traditional manure in the central part of Kathmandu).¹ Therefore, the land in Tokha is probably less fertile than those found in central Kathmandu.

The one area in the hill zone where trade played an important role in the economy was Kathmandu valley. The trade of the Kathmandu valley was directed both towards the plains of India and Tibet (Stiller 1975; Bista 1982; Nepali1965). Shrestha Newar in caste hierarchy is merchant community on the basis of occupation and genealogies. So what are the traditional trade patterns of this community has been the concern of this study. Moreover, I intend to find out the effects on their trade resulting from the construction of road during 1970s and 1980s in their locality and surroundings. In the hill zone or in the valley as well, the manufacturing and commercial activities that existed until not long ago were related to the needs of substance but were not generally an independent means of livelihood (Regmi 1971). In general the economy was very little affected by trade and agriculture had to remain the basis of economical life (Stiller 1975: 14)

¹ Tokha does not fall under the gas zone (or the fertile area), which is mostly located in the central part of the valley where fine material like black clay (Kalimati) is best developed (Sharma 1990).

Jyapoo Newar on the other hand in caste hierarchy is agricultural community. In Tokha settlement, both Shrestha and Jyapoo live together. Therefore, agriculture is mode of their substance. But land tenure system such as *tulsing-boti* is accepted for the peasants of the valley. Regmi (1978) writes *tulsing-boti* is rent or portion of the crop accruing to the land owner. In the course of the fieldwork, one 75-year old farmer asked me: *Nepalma ganatantra ayo, aba ta yo jagga hamro afnai hunchha re ho babu?* (Nepal has recently been declared a republic. So will we be the owners of this land now?) Thus *tulsing boti* is problematic for Tokhali from historical past.

Another interesting feature of Tokha lies in the fact that it is very close to Kathmandu, and therefore is affected by global change which finds its way in Nepal mainly through Kathmandu. Tokha has also experienced many kinds of changes. For instance, the people here become more dependent on market economy, while being almost self-sufficient in the past. Similarly, in the past, they used to make *chaku* (molasses of sugarcane), and were engaged in transhumance duck farming and firewood selling. But today they cannot survive with these traditional occupations and skills. When a locally self-sufficient community no longer remains so, the ups and downs evolve; all members of the community are compelled to change their livelihood strategies (see Sharma 2004). The present study aims to explore the livelihood strategies of Tokhali through different historic periods.

1.3 Objectives

The general objectives of the study are to explore, explain and analyse the changing livelihood diversification of the Newars of Tokha of Northern Kathmandu valley. The specific objectives of this study are:

- a) To explore pattern of trade and agriculture of Shrestha and Jyapoo Newars of Tokha, around five decades ago.
- b) To find the effect of the road to their trade and agriculture; and
- c) To describe their changing livelihood opportunities in Kathmandu city and their own surrounding.

1.4 Research questions

- a) What is the livelihood diversity of people in Tokha today?
- b) How has the livelihood of the people changed through time, across five decades?
- c) How have their livelihood practices been influenced by the local environment?

1.5 Rationale

Kathmandu is the original homeland of Newar community. Kathmandu has flourished throughout time in all spheres of development. But despite being so close to the capital city, the village of Tokha and the people there seem to experience lower economic and social status much lower than those of Kathmandu. This study explores why this has happened by taking account of the historical development of the region and the changes in the traditional livelihoods and diversification of this community. The available literature suggests that there has been no such studies conducted so far in the

area in question and it would be a unique literature of this kind in the context of northern Kathmandu Valley.

The methodology adopted in the study to handle variety of data and information collected from different sources has been considered to be strength in exploring, understanding and explaining the real world situation. The rationality or the essence of this research is mainly academic and intellectual.

1.6 The concept of livelihood and its origin

Since the early times, anthropologist and scholars from other disciplines as well have been trying to analyse the interrelationship between society and nature, not necessarily from the livelihood perspective. However the concept of livelihood as a separate frame of reference is the development of the mid 1990s and much credit goes to Chambers who popularized the approach among academicians, researchers as well as development agencies (Koirala 2006:20).

The concept of livelihood is widely used in contemporary writings on poverty and rural development. Chambers and Conway proposed a popular definition of livelihood that 'comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for the means of living' (1992:7 cited in Ellis 2000:7).

The important feature of this livelihood definition is to direct attention to the links between assets and options people possess to pursue alternative livelihood strategies.

A framework for the analysis of rural livelihoods:

Fig. 1. A conceptual framework for livelihood and diversity of rural households

A	B	C	D	E	F
Livelihood platform	Access modified by	In context of	Resulting in	Composed of	With effects on
Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none">) natural capital) physical capital) human capital) financial capital) social capital 	Social relation <ul style="list-style-type: none">) Gender) Class) Age) Ethnicity) Caste institutions) Rules and customs) Land tenure) Market in practice) Organization) Association) NGOs) Local admin) State agencies 	Trends <ul style="list-style-type: none">) Population) Migration) Tech. change) National economic trends) World economic trends Shocks <ul style="list-style-type: none">) War) Drought) Floods 	Livelihood strategies	NR-based <ul style="list-style-type: none">) collection) cultivation(fo od)) cultivation(no n-food)) livestock Non NR-based <ul style="list-style-type: none">) rural trade) other service) rural manufacture) Remittance) other transfers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">) Livelihood security) Income level) Income stability) Seasonality) Degree of risk <ul style="list-style-type: none">) Environmental sustainability) Soil and land quality) Water and rangeland) Forests) Biodiversity

Source: Adapted from Scoones (1998:4) and Carney (1998:5) cited in Ellis 2000:30.

Assets may be described as stock of capital that can be utilized directly or indirectly to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well being at differing levels above survival (Ellis 2000:31). The five assets represented in livelihood framework are human, social, natural, physical and financial. Human capital refers to the labor available to the household, its education, skill and health (Carney 1998, in Ellis 2000:33). Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines and so on are physical

capital that is created by economic production process. Similarly, natural capital comprises the land, water, and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival. Financial capital refers to the stock of money to which the household has access. Social capital is defined by Moser (1998 cited in Ellis 2000:36) as reciprocity within communities and between households based on trust deriving from social ties.

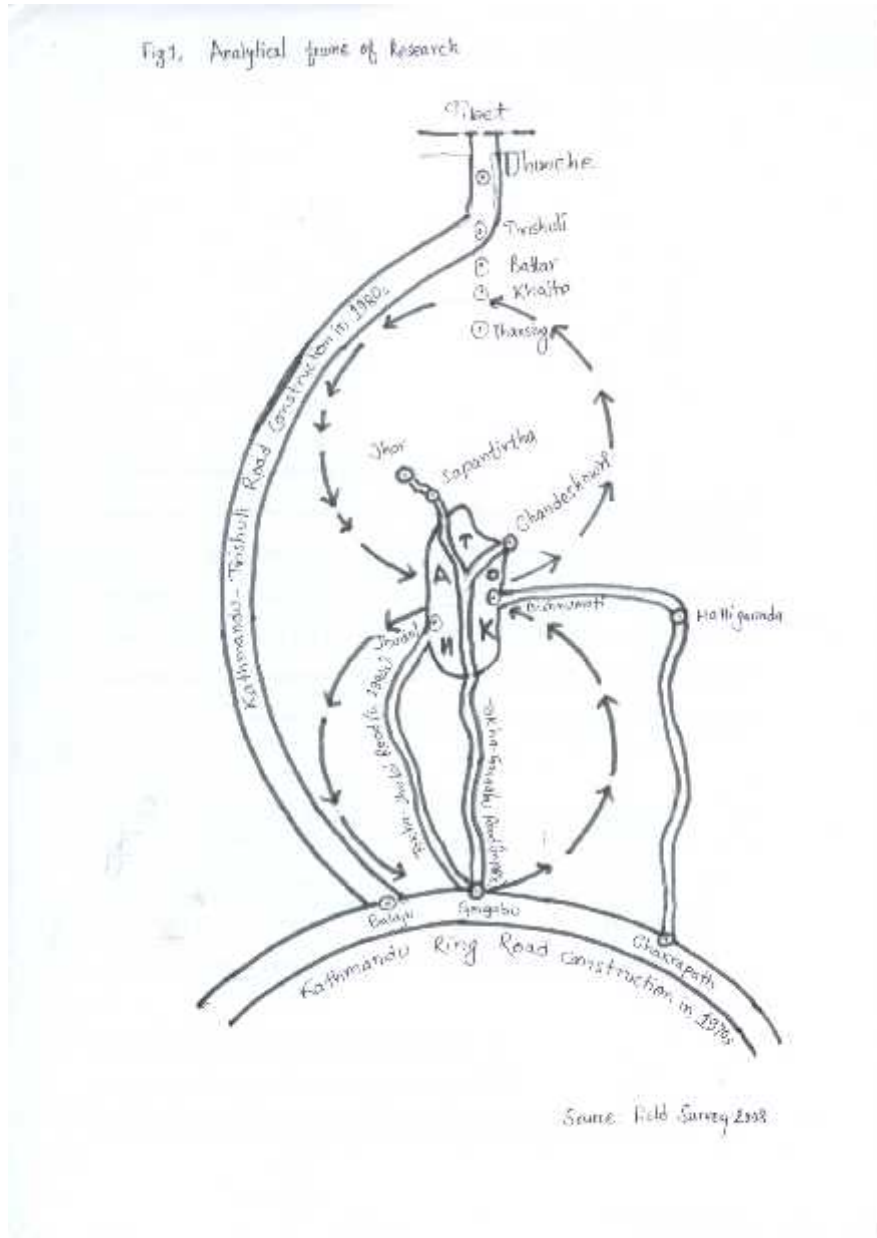
1.7 Analytical frame of the research

The upper circle refers time at least five decades ago when Tokhalis were involved primarily in trade and agriculture (see Fig 1). During off-farm time, they were involved in transhumant duck farming in adjacent Tamang village of Trishuli, Battar, etc. At the same time, they also bartered grain, chaku and were also involved in construction house building and suchlike craftsmanship. Jyapoos and Shresthas were interdependent on each other, lowlander Shresthas making chaku traditionally which was bartered with grain highlanders locally. In this way, the livelihood strategies composed of natural and resource-based activities. Besides these local barter systems, Shrestha traders traded on salt, kerosene, chaku on the north adjacent villages, like Battar, Trishuli, etc. with cash, grain or firewood.

This mutual dependence based on natural resources based activities was threatened by economic and environmental change. Social relation, institutions and organizations are critical mediating factors for livelihood because they encompass the agencies that inhibit or facilitate the exercise of capabilities and choice by individual or households. More clearly, factors like construction of road, expansion of market were inimical to the traditional livelihood system.

In the second circle, we see the breakdown of mutual relationship. The relation between Tokha and adjacent village becomes very weak in terms of trade and other aspects. Tokhalis are involved in diverse earning activities and have abandoned their traditional livelihood activities.

Fig 1. Analytical frame of livelihood strategies in Tokha.



CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Review of relevant works

Review of literature is an essential step to develop ideas as well as to have an analytical framework for research. It provides knowledge and concepts required to address the issues systematically from right perspective (Koirala 2006:16). The following is an attempt to review some of the theoretical and empirical works relevant to the present research problem.

2.2.1 Changes in assets status

Livelihood strategy composed of portfolio of income earning activities is mediated by a great number of contextual social, economic and policy consideration. As shown in the figure earlier, Ellis lays out that the primary distinction made in this framework is between social relation, institutions and organizations on the one hand and trends and shock factors on the other. The former category consists of social factors that are predominantly endogenous to the social norms and structures of which households are a part, which the latter category consists predominantly of the exogenous factors of economic trends and policies.

The term ‘social relation’ refers to the social positioning of individuals and households within society. This social positioning comprises such factors as gender, caste, class, age, ethnicity and religion, whereas laws, land tenure arrangements, the way market in practice are institutions and organizations as distinguished from institutions are

‘group of individuals bound by some common purpose to achieve objectives (North 1990:5, in Ellis 2000:38) for instance, police force, local government, NGO, etc. Social relations, institutions and organizations are critical mediating factors for livelihoods because they encompass the agencies that inhibit or facilitate the exercise of capabilities and choice by individuals or households (Ellis 2000:39).

The interrelationship between assets, mediating processes and livelihood activities is a process that is unfolding over time. The manner of this unfolding and the stresses and strains that results in new patterns of activity emerging are influenced by trends and events that are in varying degrees exogenous to household and local circumstances (as seen in Column C in Fig. 2.1).

2.2.2 Activities and livelihood strategies

The asset status of households mediated by social factors and exogenous trends or shocks results in the adoption and adaptation over time of livelihood strategies. Livelihood strategies are dynamic, and they respond to changing pressures and opportunities and they adapt accordingly. As shown in column E in the Fig.1 livelihood strategies composed of natural resource based activities include collection or gathering, food cultivation, non-food cultivation, livestock keeping and pastoralist and non-farm activities such as brick-making, weaving, thatching and so on. Non-natural resource based activities include rural trade (marketing of farm output, input and consumer goods), other rural services (like vehicle repair), rural manufacture remittances (urban and international) and other transfers such as pensions deriving from past formal sector employments.

The column F divides livelihood strategy outcomes between their livelihood security and environmental sustainability aspects. Livelihood security is defined as containing some combination of attributes related to income level, income stability, reduction in adverse seasonal effects and reduction in overall risk profile of the income portfolio.

This in turn leads to people becoming less vulnerable or more vulnerable in terms of their capability to manage adverse trends or cope with shocks. Likewise, environmental sustainability refers to changes in the resilience and stability of resources such as soils, water, rangelands, forests and biodiversity activities that can generate the income level required for survival (Ellis 2000:7). Hence, capabilities refers to the set of alternative being or doing that a person can achieve with his/her economic, social and political characteristics (Dreze and Sen 1989:18 cited in Ellis 2000:7).

2.3 Works related to livelihood strategies

Chambers (1995) states that the realities of poor people are local, complex, diverse and dynamic. Income poverty, though important, is only one aspect of deprivation. Apart from poverty, many dimensions and criteria of disadvantage, ill-being and well-being as people's experiences like social inferiority, isolation, physical weakness, vulnerability, seasonal deprivation, powerlessness and humiliation are also important in the cases of poor people. Chambers argues for sustainable livelihood as an objective to address the poverty and poor and stresses on redistribution of livelihood resources, proper prices and payments, health abolishing restrictions and hassles and

safety nets for poor people at bad times which can contribute in diminishing the poverty through diversified livelihoods as well as enhancement of sustainability.

Chambers strongly criticizes the measurement scales adopted by present conservative west bound thinking developed in the context of more industrial conditions by the professionals about the poor. Economist dominated poverty thinking concerned with income poverty, consumption poverty and employment thinking concerned with jobs. He firmly states that these are not always capable of measuring the quality of life and standard of living. Therefore, Chambers suggests for a rethinking of existing measurement scales and knowledge on poverty and advises the new professionals to put people first before thing, and poor people and their priorities first of all.

Ellis (2000) also argues that for many such households farming on its own does not provide a sufficient means of survival on rural areas. For this reason, most of the rural households are found to depend on a diverse portfolio of activities and income sources amongst which crop and livestock production feature alongside many other contributions to family well being. Engagement in a diverse portfolio of activities also means nurturing the social networks of kin and community that enable such diversity to be secured and sustained. Thus livelihood diversity has both economic and social dimensions and must be approached in an interdisciplinary way.

Department for International Development (DFID: 2001) made a valuable contribution by developing principles, framework as well as method for livelihood studies. DFID emphasized on the following six principles to pursue sustainable livelihood studies:

- a. People at the center of development rather than the resources they use or the governments that serve them.
- b. Adoption of holistic view which attempts to gain a realistic understanding of what shapes people's livelihoods and how the various influencing factors can be adjusted so that taken together, they produce more beneficial livelihood outcomes.
- c. It emphasizes on the dynamic nature of livelihoods as it seeks to understand and learn from change so that it can support positive pattern of change and help mitigate negative patterns.
- d. Focus on the approach towards strength and opportunities rather than problems and needs.
- e. Emphasis on macro-micro link policies and institutions to the livelihood options of communities as well as individuals.
- f. Key approach concerns livelihood with sustainability.

DFID developed a sustainable livelihood framework in order to understand and analyse the livelihoods. The framework provides a checklist of important issues and sketches the link among each other, and draws attention to the processes and emphasizes the multiple interactions between the factors that affect livelihoods. The people centered analysis begins with simultaneous investigation of people's assets (human, natural, financial, social, physical assets as well as influence and access) through the livelihood strategies to achieve the objective (the livelihood outcomes). DFID emphasized on feedbacks that are likely between transforming structures and processes and the vulnerability context and livelihood outcomes and livelihood assets.

DFID emphasized on quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques for the analysis of sustainable livelihoods at local level. To fulfill the purposes it insisted for key informant interview, focus group discussion, household surveys, resource assessment as well as participation in the fields.

2.4 Works on livelihood strategies in Nepal

Chhetri (2006) discuss the changing livelihood strategies of the Jalari people of Begnas area of Pokhara. The main focus of the paper is how the space (both physical and social) of the Jalari people's interaction have changed over time as a consequences of changes in the total environment around them. The total environment in relation to changes in livelihood strategies was provided a reference for 'progressive contextualization' of Andrew Vayda. "The total environment context in Pokhara Valley which includes populations of (Jalari and other communities around them) and population process (growth and migration) and natural resources (e.g. land and fish) provides the broader field within which the Jalari have been situated in the present study" (Chhetri 2006:81).

Fishing today, is no more the occupation of Jalaris people only. The Bahuns and Chhetris in particular did not consider fishing as a way of earning cash or income. Today these so-called high castes too have adopted such 'lowly' occupation. They employ Jalari at time of harvesting.

Thus it resembles like the idea of Barth (1981, in Chhetri 2006:81) that the environment for any particular ethnic group is not only defined by natural condition but also by the presence and activities of other ethnic group on which it depends. Each group

exploits only a section of total environment and leaves large part of it open for other group to exploit.

Barry Bishop could be credited as the first scholar to initiate the study of livelihood issues in the Karnali region, high mountain ecological belt of Nepal. Bishop (1990) described the difficulties of the inhabitants of Karnali areas. Located in the northern part of Himalayas with difficult terrain, the region is further characterized by inaccessibility in terms of road networks. As such livelihood strategies are very difficult to pursue. Livelihood ranching is the most important activity characterized by seasonal movement to higher elevation areas in summer and to lower areas in winter. Due to lower temperature in long winter season agricultural activities require long growing season. the author sees this lack of diversification of livelihood activities as a pressing problem and therefore he urges the concerned authorities for more activities to strengthen the livelihoods of the people to get rid them of the stress.

Fisher (1986) has discussed extensively the economy of Tarangpur, his pseudonym for a village of Dolpa in Karnali. His contends in this book is that 'the ways in which Tarangpur is not economically and culturally self sufficient are far more interesting than the ways in which it is' (1986:2). The book is a detailed description of local economy, traditional and more modern trading practices and the cultural features which accrue to those. In the traditional system, we see the barter of home-grown grain for salt from the Bhotias, and the subsequent exchange of this salt for rice from the south. This pattern has been increasingly supplanted by the commodities circuit (occasioned largely by the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959) which is characterized by the use of

cash and movement away from hereditary trading associates to the more impersonal milieu of the open market.

Stevens (1993) offers an extensive historical account of the cultural ecology of Sherpas of the Everest region of Nepal. In general, we find here a skilful application of anthropological methods for studying relationship among culture, environment and land use over time. The first half of the book is a detailed summary of the history of Sherpa settlements and contemporary agriculture, pastoralism and forest use in the Khumbu region. The second half covers four centuries of changes in resources and resources use patterns. Two principal successive economic activities of Sherpas—trade and tourism—are restricted in final chapters. The author conducted an extensive fieldwork (three and a half years), and in the book uses comparative oral histories and oral traditions, enabling him to gain a native view of the environment.

Fricke (1993) describes with the constraints of two interdependent cycles: the short-term annual subsistence cycle which makes non-negotiable demands on labor, and the longer-term developmental cycle of households, which allows peak labor potential for only brief periods. He further places these two interesting cycles within larger historical processes in the Himalayas that variously affect the range of economic options open to villagers. He revisits the issues of change and addresses the contemporary forces that are drawing individuals off toward wage labor in greater Nepal.

Molnar (1981) examines the economic strategies of the Kham-speaking Magars of the hill region south of Dhaulagiri and Dolpa ranges. These Magars are adapted to the mixed high-altitude farming and pastoralism in varying degrees as a means of investigating the variations in economic strategies from one Magar community to

another. She applies data on ecological model of environmental constraints and potentials. Several factors emerge from this analysis which may account for the differences in economic strategy:

- a. access to pasture and grazing land
- b. trade opportunities and market options
- c. effects of seasonal labor requirement
- d. cultural attitudes/religious taboos on types of animal husbandry, and
- e. access to education and changing job opportunities in the organized sector.

Adhikari (1998) also describes that rural households with no resources have been following multiple survival strategies throughout the history of the Nepali nation-state. He also talks of economic strategies which are the results of the ongoing unsustainable economic, ecological and social development process. He presents example that the needs of the urban and wealthier household by supplying them quality of village product such as milk, rice, ghee, herbs, wild foods, timber, and stone slate, and short-term migration has also increased. Yet another strategy for the rural households to extend livelihood security is to consume cheap and low quality food products while selling their home products at higher prices. He argues that these livelihood strategies have become possible because of the greater interaction of rural areas with the national and international marketing channels.

Bhurtel (2000) has also carried out livelihood studies with respect to community and occupational caste group in Kaski district. The findings of Bhurtel shows that the development of the market centers and the tendency of taking up of clay pot making as an alternative by the local people encouraged the young generation of Kumals to shift to ssother occupations from traditional pot making in Pokhara valley. The vulnerable group after the mounting threat to traditional occupation opted for the alternative of visiting

some of the Gulf countries as foreign laborers. Similarly, the development of irrigation facilities and introduction of high-yielding seeds encouraged the community to shift from pot-making to farming.

Similarly, Pokharel (2000) has also carried livelihood studies with respect to indigenous craftsmen. He shows that the changes in economy and environment challenge to the traditional occupations of the Damai (tailor), Kami (blacksmith) and Sarki (cobbler/tanner) with specific analysis of the means they have been adopting in order to exist besides their economically and politically better-off fellow villagers from other caste/ethnic groups including the Brahmins and Chhetris.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Rationale of site selection:

Initially, I was interested on the use and non-use of oxen as draft power in Kathmandu Valley. Specifically, why don't the farmers of the Kathmandu Valley use plough, which is common for local resident in the valley but using plough by Newar community is interesting to them. Plough not using community blame to plough using community as *kauwa ko masu khane* literally those community who eat crow's meat mean they are excommunicated community Nepali (1964:44) said if Newar use plough they are excommunicated. Therefore, I selected Tokha as my site of research because I had observed that the Newars there used plough traditionally.

But I also feel that only this specific question of use and non-use of oxen as draft power in Kathmandu valley is too short title for an MA thesis. Therefore, according to my supervisor's suggestion, I totally changed the focus of the research to livelihood changes from historical past. The following sections discuss how the research was conducted and what the general methodology used in the research process.

Barry Bishop (1990:4) writes, "Specifically attempts to understand the articulation between and among households within a village, village within a sub region, sub region within a regional montage, region within a nation and nation within an international scale are missing." In this research, I also tried to understand my study from bottom level. What interaction held among household or symbiotic region and how

structural intervention, i.e. the world economy affects it. Thus, the approach of my study started from village level phenomenon and later extended to the global scale.

3.2 Research design:

By research design, we mean an overall framework or plan for the collection and analysis of data (Wolff and Pant 2000:74). The major objective of the present study is to explore how the transition of a particular section of the society has been undergoing. Therefore this study adopts the case study method. A case study not only uses the sources and techniques of historical study but also employs several techniques and sources of data to examine the current aspects of the phenomena under study (Shah 1972, cited in Wolff and Pant 2000: 85).

In this study, the researcher sometimes has to handle the whole society, which made the research itself more challenging. In Tokha, there has been a virtual collapse of traditional livelihood system over the years. Therefore, the historical study is important, but this alone is not sufficient. To answer questions like what the society is like today, it was important to employ descriptive research design too. Descriptive research is a fact-finding operation for adequate information. It is a type of survey study which is generally conducted to assess the opinions, behaviors, or characteristics of a given population and to describe the situation and events occurring at present. The repercussions are manifold and can easily be observed in the way they make sense of new economic environment. The case study method was used intensively during the fieldwork and after to organize the qualitative data so as to present a holistic picture of the lifestyles of Tokha villagers.

3.3 Nature of data:

The research largely depends on primary sources; relevant information for the research was collected using instrument like interview and observations. As the research aimed to inquire into the historical aspects, it was necessary to gather oral historical and narratives regarding the use and non- use of plough in Kathmandu valley. In this way data has been exploratory, descriptive and mainly qualitative in nature. However, the researcher has tried to make quantitative presentation as far as it is possible. The quantitative data has been used for variables representing economic characteristics. The qualitative data was used for socio-cultural variables. The source of data have been both primary and secondary; primary data have been generated from the field itself through interview and observation. The secondary data were obtained from various types of document like published material on development an environment management, which facilitated useful insights advanced in these fields.

3.4 Data collection techniques:

While collecting the necessary information and/or data in the field, household census, unstructured interview, key informant interview, focus group discussions were main tools and technique used.

3.4.1 Household survey

Tokha is a peri-urban area (i.e urban in peripheral area). I selected two small hamlet within this area, and conducted censuses of 40 households to get the basic socio-economic information. I also did key informant interviews, which provided information

on socio-economic facets in the historical past and changing context while household survey provided data on society and economy today. Using the survey method, I also collected data on age and sex composition, educational status, landholdings, major occupation, cattle population. It also helped the researcher for rapport-building and choosing key informants. The census comprises 40 households. The respondents were the household head or their spouses.

3.4.2 Key informant interview

In order to find the history of the traditional livelihood system and their collapse this technique was very important. Key informants and those who could provide information about past and present as well as the elderly farmers, pensioners, former VDC officials, development workers, schools principal, etc. from the village were interviewed for the sake of reliable and in-depth information on subjects.

3.4.3 Focus group discussion

It is an effective way to get the reactions of a small group of people to a focused issue. It also is useful when a researcher wants to draw together background information on an issue (Backer 1999:224). Many elderly Newar men gathered in public places mostly during evenings and afternoons. I used such occasions for focus group discussion with elderly farmers, VDC leaders (right from the Panchayat days), pensioners from Nepal government's office. They freely talked about the gain and pain resulted from the development processes and provided information about their changing livelihood practices. In this way, these discussions helped the researcher understand the history

about change and continuity of traditional livelihood system and collective reactions of the villager towards development and environment change.

3.4.4 Observation

Non participant observation is useful tool in comprehending the lifestyle and situation of the study area. It also validates the data collected through different way which conforms me about their real practice. Basically observation tool was used to observe physical setting of the study area, relationship within and between groups, *parma* system in agriculture, etc.

3.5 The issue of reliability:

Data are considered to be reliable when they give assurance that they are reasonably close to the truth. Reliability, thus, results from taking larger sample of respondent. In short validity results from careful planning of questionnaire items and reliability is an outcome of sampling. The qualitative data gives rise to the question of validity and reliability. The data has been generated through a three way process: observation, household census and interviews. This has led to validity and reconfirmation as it leads to the triangulation of the data generated. As a beginner we have difficulties to take larger sample to check reliability. Therefore, the above-mentioned triangulation of data generating process is an alternative to check the reliability of data. For example, household census was done which provide background knowledge of socio economic status. Then observation made it easy to reconfirm the data and finally interviews and

focus group discussions ensured the validity and reliability of the overall data/information.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation:

Data do not speak themselves unless the researcher categorizes, manipulates and deposits them in certain order so as to make them easily comprehensible. Raw data are muted which need to be processed. For processing, the collected raw data are first edited, coded, classification according to objective and presented through table and chart in descriptive manner.

Proverbs which express or illustrate the villagers' traditional and present system were been recorded as was told. Myths and stories were also helpful for the researcher. In that process, it is also important to distinguishing beliefs that are wrong or misleading from those that have been shown to be true through scientific observation. I collected some proverbs and mythologies which help show symbiotic relation between the Tamangs and the Newars. These myths were cross culturally constructed and modified during different time periods.

CHAPTER FOUR PROFILE OF THE STUDY SITES AND PEOPLE

4.1 Economy and society today

Tokha today is not an overwhelmingly agrarian society. Most families today have multiple income sources. The research study found out that only 42 percent people in Tokha are engaged in agriculture, but still is the main economic activity (See Table 4.5). While the role of non-farm (besides agriculture) wage labor is almost 15 percent, which is the second largest economic activity. Similarly, government and private service, foreign employment and business (like groceries) are other economic activities.

Ellis (2000: 4) argues that ‘participation in multiple activities by farm families is of course, not new, nor only confined to the rural sector of developing countries. In the industrial countries’ agricultural economics literature, it has been referred to as ‘pluri activity’, and there is recognition of the likelihood of its increasing prevalence, as agricultural income support gradually removed. It is also as much characteristics the livelihood of urban poor as those of the rural poor in developing countries’. Ellis further defines (p.15) livelihood diversification as ‘the process by which rural households construct an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living.’ Hence, he means ‘to survive and to improve’ as necessity and choice respectively. The necessity refers to involuntary and distress reason for diversifying and choice by contrast refers to voluntary and pro-active reason for diversifying (p.55). The development of livelihood diversification, according to Elis, necessity vs. choice, is sometimes posed as being contrast between survival vs. choice,

survival vs. accumulation, and it corresponds in the migration literature as push vs. pull (p. 56).

The research findings show that the determinants of livelihood diversification among Tokhali is much more the result of necessity, involuntary, survival and push factors than choice, accumulation and pull ones. Of the total population, 1.52 percent people are involved in business. This business helped in the accumulation of cash. Of the total population size of 263, 7 men reported that their primary occupation is service. Of these, 3 work as *dakarmis* in Nepal Army, 2 as security guard in private hospital, 1 as a worker in Balaju Industrial Area, and 1 as a mechanic in tire-repairing shop in Samakhushi. Hence, these facts prove that there is a remarkable diversification of livelihood among Tokhali for survival, necessity and often involuntary reasons.

4.2 Demographic profile of Tokha

The total population of households in Tokha at the time of field survey (April-May 2008) was 263 with overall sex ratio of 106, showing the average household size of 6.4. Table 2 shows that the smallest household consisted of 3 members, while the largest one had 19 members. 73.9 percent of Tokhali lived in larger households consisting 6 or more family members. The survey data reveals that at least 35 percent of the total household had larger households than average for the whole community.

Table 2. Age and sex structure of the Population under study in Tokha, 2008.

Age group	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
0-4	8 (3.04)	6 (2.28)	14 (5.32)
5-9	10 (3.80)	6 (2.28)	16 (6.08)
10-14	16 (6.08)	17 (6.46)	33 (12.54)
15-19	19 (7.22)	17 (6.46)	36 (13.68)
20-24	15 (5.70)	18 (6.84)	33 (12.54)
25-29	10 (3.80)	8 (3.04)	18 (6.84)
30-34	8 (3.04)	13 (4.94)	21 (7.98)
35-39	9 (3.42)	10 (3.80)	19 (7.22)
40-44	10 (3.80)	8 (3.04)	18 (6.84)
45-49	7 (2.66)	4 (1.52)	11 (4.18)
50-54	4 (1.52)	7 (2.66)	11 (4.18)
55-59	3 (1.14)	6 (2.28)	9 (3.42)
60-64	2 (0.76)	3 (1.14)	5 (1.90)
65-69	1 (0.38)	2 (0.76)	3 (1.14)
70-74	7 (2.66)	2 (0.76)	9 (3.42)
75-79	4 (1.52)	1 (0.38)	5 (1.90)
80+	2 (0.76)	-	2 (0.76)
Total	135 (51.84)	128 (48.66)	263 (100)

Source: Field survey, 2008

4.3 Marital status:

Some interesting demographic patterns are revealed by data on the marital status of Tokhali by sex, as seen in Table 3. There are total 63 currently married couples in 40 households under study. There are 33 people (13 percent) of 20-24 age groups. Among them, 11 (35 percent) were married, while 22 (65 percent) were not married. About 15 percent currently married males were less than 25 years of age, while that for females was about 20 percent. Each of the male and female belonging to 24-29 age groups was not married. The absence of unmarried male can be seen only after 30. The cutting point on this occurs much earlier on 24 years of age. This indicates that the age at marriage for

males among the Tokhalis is closer to 20 years. Females too, about 44 percent of those in the age group 15-19 (36), were reported to be unmarried. However, there are only 2 females reported to have unmarried in the age group 24-29 and beyond. This suggests that most families among the Tokhalis were married before they reached the age of 24. in contrast, 2 females and 1 male were found to not married even in age group 25-29 and 30-34 age groups. This suggests that late marriage is not an uncommon observation.

Table 3: Marital status by age group and sex of Tokhali.

Age group	Unmarried		Currently married		Widow	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	34 (12.92)	29 (11.02)	-	-	-	-
15-19	17 (6.46)	16 (6.08)	1 (0.38)	2 (0.76)	-	-
20-24	11(4.18)	11(4.18)	5 (1.90)	7 (2.66)	-	-
25-29	1 (0.38)	1 (0.38)	8 (3.04)	7 (2.66)	-	-
30-39	-	1 (0.38)	18 (6.84)	19 (7.22)	-	2 (0.76)
40-49	-	-	15 (5.70)	13 (4.94)	1 (0.38)	-
50-59	-	-	9 (3.42)	8 (4.05)	-	3 (1.14)
60 +*	1 (0.38)	-	8 (3.04)	7 (2.66)	8 (3.04)	-
Total	64 (24.33)	59 (22.43)	63 (23.95)	63 (23.95)	9 (3.42)	5 (1.90)

Source: Field survey, 2008

M=Male F=Female

*One man in this age group was never married in his life.

4.4 Education status:

Similarly, findings also suggest that the younger generation of Tokhali is becoming more literate in comparison to their elders. As shown in Table 6.4, among the males those born within the past 30 years seemed to have had an access to better education. Of the 57 females between 5 and 29 years, only 4 (7 percent) were illiterate. Among them, one female was literate, and 25 percent had primary level education, 35

percent had lower secondary education, 19 percent higher secondary education, and only one had university level education. Among the males those who are less than 25 years are better educated than the rest of total male (71). In the 5-29 age group of males, more than 36 completed their primary level education, 16 percent completed their lower secondary education, and 29 percent secondary education, 14 higher secondary, and 2 percent university education (bachelors level).

Table 4: Education status by age group and sex of Tokhali

Age group	Illiterate		Literate		Primary		Lower secondary		Secondary		Higher secondary		University (Bachelors)		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
5-14	0	1	0	0	20	10	5	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	25	18
15-29	0	3	0	1	6	4	7	14	21	10	10	6	2	1	46	39
30-44	3	2	1	1	8	1	4	2	10	1	2	1	0	0	28	34
45 +	22	2	3	1	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	32	23
Total	25	5	4	3	35	15	1	22	34	12	12	7	2	1	132	114

Source: Field survey, 2008

M=Male F=Female

4.5 Occupation today:

In the study of their occupations, no primary occupation was reported for those below 10 years of age at the time of survey. As shown in Table 5, of the 17 females in the age group 10-14, only 1 female and no male of the 16 males of the same group had adopted agriculture as their primary occupation. The survey data indicates that 63.87 percent of the total population was economically active in 2008. Of the 7 seven males who had occupation in services, 3 work as *dakarmis* in Nepal Army, 2 as security guard

in private hospital, 1 as worker in Balaju Industrial Area, and 1 as mechanics in tyre-repairing shop in Samakhushi. Of the 2 females whose primary occupation was service, one was in the finance office and the other in the paper industry. Compared to males, females are fully engaged in agriculture as primary occupation. Of the total population, only 6 percent male and 30 percent female was fully engaged in agriculture. Similarly, the study showed that 21 percent of males had multiple occupations, while that number for females was 3.42 percent. Though not stated in the Table below, 8 people (all males) were involved in foreign employment as their occupation.

Table 5: Primary occupation of Tokhali by age group and sex

Age group	Agriculture		Agriculture plus others*		Regular job/service		Total in the age group	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
10-14	-	1	-	-	-	-	16	17
15-19	1	5	7	5	-	1	19	17
20-24	2	14	15	2	-	1	15	18
25-29	-	8	7	-	-	-	10	8
30-34	-	12	7	1	-	-	8	13
35-39	1	9	2	1	1	-	9	10
40-44	1	7	8	-	1	-	10	8
45-49	3	5	3	-	1	-	7	4
50-54	1	5	1	-	2	-	4	7
55-59	2	4	3	-	1	-	3	6
60-64	-	3	2	-	-	-	2	3
65-69	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	2
70+	7	3	-	-	-	-	13	3
Total	18	78	55	8	7	2	117	116

Source: Field survey, 2008

M=Male F=Female

*Students (15 males and 7 females) are also involved in agriculture besides being students. It is referred to as multiple occupations in Table 5.

6.5.1 Multiple Occupations:

Of the 40 households in Tokha, few households had primary occupation as agriculture. Except these, all other households had multiple occupations. As shown in Table 6.5, it is seen that agriculture is important occupation for households where it was combined with other occupations (also called multiple occupations).

Table 6: Involvement in multiple occupations of Tokhali

Categories	Male	Female
Agriculture + semi-skilled wage labor [^]	32 [†]	-
Agriculture + skill wage labor ^{^^}	6	-
Agriculture + business	2	-
Agriculture + cottage industries	-	1
Agriculture + studies	15	7
Total	56	8

Source: Field survey, 2008

[^] 'Semi-skilled' here refers to those who worked as *dakarmis*. [†]This figure also includes 1 *kulli* (laborer).

^{^^} 'Skilled' includes 3 carpenters, and other 3 who worked as house decorators (*gharko butta banaune*).

4.6 Land holding:

The research study also revealed that the land holding ranged from 1 ropani to 20 ropanis of *khet* in Tokha (as shown in Table 7). All of the households had *khet*. Among them, only 6 households had *khet* below 3 ropanis. 19 households had 4-7 ropanis of *khet*, and 7 households reported that they had *khet* above 12 ropanis. Similarly, 18 households had below 3 ropanis *pakho*/grazing land, and 2 households had 4-7 ropanis of such land. 20 households (which made 50 percent of total households) had *pakho bari* used for fodder and grazing animals. This had supported their animal husbandry.

Table 7: Land holding by households in Tokha

Categories	Below 3 ropanis	4-7 ropanis	8-11 ropanis	12 +
Khet	6	19	8	7
Bari	16	1	-	-
Pakho	18	2	-	-
Total	40	22	8	7

Source: Field survey, 2008

4.7 Livestock keeping:

Regarding the livestock patterns of Tokha, it was found that this traditional occupation had significant contribution in the past. According to one elderly farmer, every morning, he used to go to his *goth*, which was built a bit distant from his home. In his *goth*, he milked his cows and buffaloes and carried back to his home five or six liters of milk. Then after having his meal, he used to go to his field for farm, and return home late evening. He said that this was the general scenario of the agriculturalist Tokhalis in the past, when they used to have large number of cows and buffaloes unlike now.

It was found that 3 households kept one *hal* (1 hal=one pair) of oxen as draft power. To maintain a single *hal* of oxen, they needed 20 ropanis of land but in fact had much less amount of land (4, 6, 4 ropanis of land). One farmer Astanarayan had only one *hul* of oxen, but it was also contributing to his income, because he rents it to others who needed it. He charged Rs 600 a day for the Newars, because the Newars fed the oxen well, while for the non-Newars the charge was Rs 700. In addition to money, he takes some *paral* (hay) from the oxen-users to feed the oxen. He also reported that after tractor was introduced in Tokha some 5 years ago, people have less and less relied on oxen as draft power.

In addition to oxen, people also keep goat as livestock. Like Table 8 shows below, there are 9 households who kept 1-2 goats and 11 households who had 6 goats. Goats needed less fodder than cows or buffaloes. Goats can also be bought and sold more easily than the latter. It was found that some families who had small amount of land kept goats sseasonally, i.e. kept goats during rainy seasons when fodder is available, and sold them during winter when fodder is scarce. In this way, goat-keeping is one of the contributing factors for the subsistence of Tokhali people.

Table 8: Livestock population by households in Tokha

Categories	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	Total
Buffalo	10	-	-	-	10
Cow/Oxen*	18	-	-	-	34
Goat	9	11	1	-	56
Sheep	1	1	-	-	5
Poultry	4	7	1	3	73

Source: Field survey, 2008

* Cow=12, oxen=11 (including 5 calves)

CHAPTER FIVE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH SITES

Char saya tokha, sat saya phera
(Seven hundred unit of land for four hundred Tokhalis)

5.1 Kathmandu Valley

Myths and legends about the origin of Nepal suggest that Kathmandu valley was initially a big lake, and the first settlements in the valley was established only when the lake water was drained out. Not only lore, legends and chronicles but also many historical accounts have portrayed the valley of Kathmandu as a fertile land with high agricultural productivity (Sharma 2004; Acharya 2006). It is also mentioned in the pages of history that the native people of valley were what is now known as Newars and to a large extent, agriculture in this fertile valley has been their primary mode of living.

In different historic period people continued to come into the valley from all directions as it provided a good climate, productive land and trade across the Himalayas, A prosperous community began to grow and people with different backgrounds of language, culture and ethnicity began to develop here a common life style with common language and culture (Bista 1982).

5.2 Tokha Village

According to one elderly man of Tokha, Pun Singh Dangol, before the name Tokha, the place was known by the name Laxmipur, since its annual grain production was greater than what was needed locally. Therefore, a proverb is popular in Tokha

which goes like “*char saya tokha, sat saya phera*”, literally meaning seven hundred unit of land four hundred Tokhali which implies that the amount of land was more than enough the people in Tokha.

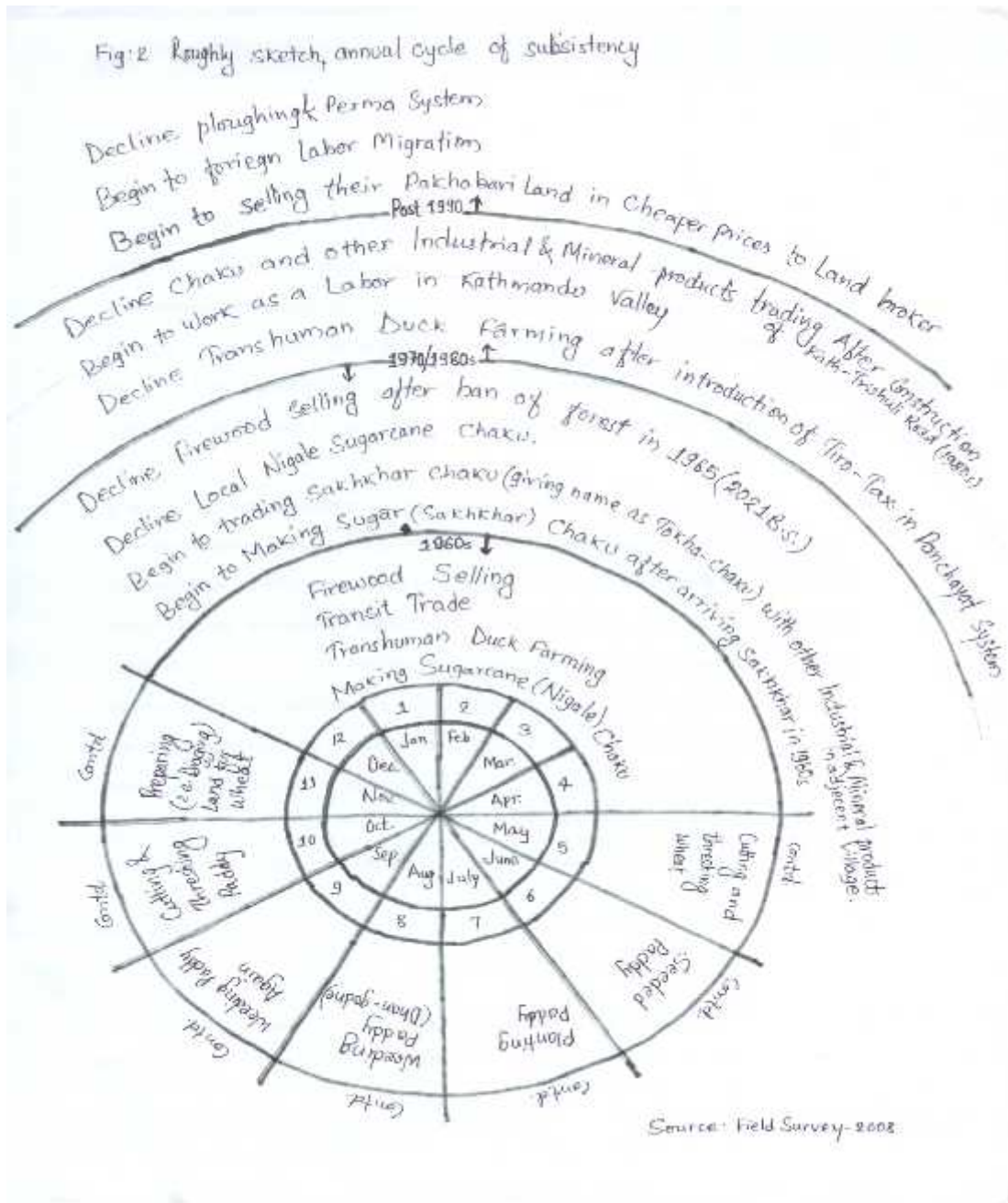
The mythology of the village has it that when an evil spirit *to* (locally called *khyak*) started troubling people of Laxmipur by killing a man every day, people reached an agreement with the *khyak* by providing one pathi of beaten rice instead of human body. But the evil spirit was not satisfied with the agreement and again started killing humans. By this, people were agitated and finally killed *to khayak*. In this way, this place got its name from *to khyak* (Sapkota 2056 B.S.).

Some others say that in Panchetar, some distance away to west from Tokha, people were suffering from bedbugs (*udus*) biting , and so they migrated from Panchetar to meditation place of 'Twey' monk called 'Twey+Khya' <Tokhya <Tokha. In Newari, 'Khya' means a land. Therefore Tokha is land of 'Twey' monk.

Historical records like Devmala Vamsawali suggests that in 629/630 Nepal Sambat, King Ratna Malla established Tokha settlement with four hundred houses in order to protect people from the invasion of Kun-Kun Bhote Dewan.

5.3 Occupation

Caste is based on occupational grouping in Newar Society. Formerly, each caste was associated with certain types of hereditary function- some related religious events and others to the community (Nepali 1965:146). In Tokha, there were people of other Newar caste groups like Manandhar, Nakarmi, Rajopdhya, Joshi, Kasai, Karmacharya, Sthapit, Pode. But however, the main were Shrestha and Dangol Jyapoo, who lived mainly in



Bisnumati and Jhudol. Now people from these two caste groups are engaged in multiple occupations (see chapter 7). Traditionally Dangol Jyapoos were mostly in agriculture; and Shrestha in trade and agriculture. Since trade is not an independent means of livelihood for the people here, agriculture remains the basis of economic life.

5.4 Agriculture and economy

It was as true of Greater Nepal in the early 18th century as it is today that the economy rested primarily on agriculture (Stiller-1975:15). The bulk of the Newar population as represented by the Jyapoos has its occupational interest in agriculture and trade comes to it only as the second primary occupation (Nepali 1965:37).

Land is classified in many ways - according to productivity of the soil which depends on the irrigability of the plot. There are three types of land in Tokha-Chaur, Tar and Khet. Chaur is that type of land which is situated on the higher elevation, which is not subjected to irrigation; such lands are mainly used for grazing animals. Tar is an intermediate variety which has some possibility of irrigation such lands were used for dry crops like sugarcane (traditionally), Ghaiya, millet, peanuts. And Khet is best type of land which is flooded by river and small stream which is used for cultivation of paddy and wheat

5.4.1 Pastoral economy

Nepali (1965:6) writes 'since the lack of pasture does not permit a pastoral economy in the Kathmandu valley, milch cattle are not found in abundance; goat and buffaloes, which are consumed in the valley are imported from Tarai.' But in Tokha, we can still observe traditional cowshed (*gai goth*) as distinctly separated from the old closely clustered settlement.

This study found that the people in a small cluster of Tokha possessed a good number of domestic animals. Out of 40 households, 10 had buffaloes, and 18 had cows. This figure strikes distinctly when compared with another small settlement cluster of

Kirtipur, located in the south of Kathmandu valley. In Kirtipur, except one, there were no household had which were keeping buffaloes or cows. However in both the cases, the number of cattle each household kept was declining than in the past.

Thus from this observation, what can be seen is that, the pastoral economy had a significant contribution in Tokha in the past, and still continues to be so, though the overall number is declining.

“Annual subsistence cycle is defined as a fairly rigid set of activities constrained by the requirements of crops and animals on which survival depends” (Fricke 1993). This cycle will have the people of Tokha working at agriculture from Baishak to Mansir. Each of basic subsistence activities has its own labor requirements, the cyclic intensity of which permits or forbids investing time in other work during different times of year. Thus Chaitra/Baishak and Kartik/Mansir are those months in which the work is single-mindedly focused on agropastoral aspect of the economy.

5.5 Trade and economy

The stress given in these pages to the importance of agriculture and the land in the economy of Tokha traditionally. However, in addition to agriculture there was some trade and commercial activity. Though it seems to be relatively less important, this also must be discussed to complete economic picture.

The trade both in indigenous product, such as Chaku making and transit trade i.e. process of being taken salt and kerosene from kathmandu and transported to adjacent villages of Tokha. Transhuman duck farming is a kind of intermediate trade between indigenous products and transit trade.

5.5.1 *Chaku Making (tokha chaku machabula haku)*

In Newari, *Tu* means sugarcane and *khya* means land. Tokha was popular for sugarcane traditionally, and therefore it is also believed by some that the name Tokha comes from *tu* and *khya*. In dry land, Tokhali planted thin sugarcane called Nigalo ukhu, which is used for making *Nigale chaku*. *Nigale chaku* was used in their barter or exchange with rice locally.

Shrestha (locally called Srista) Newars are mostly involved in making chaku and Jyapus are primarily, from the past till now, involved in wetland cultivation. Some of them are also involved in chaku barter are outside Tokha with their relatives. Sugarcane farmers produce 12-15 kg of chaku from a crop of sugarcane in own ropani farm land.

Among the Newars of Tokha, the Jyapus and Shresthas produce *chaku* and paddy respectively. They even exchange these products among themselves. 2.15 kg of *chaku* is exchanged with 3 pathi of paddy. In this way, a considerable amount of *chaku* is consumed at the village itself, while some amount goes to other villages (especially the north and south of Kathmandu valley) for their *mit* and *ista* ones.

Old men say that as recently as forty years ago (late 1960s or early 1970s) sugarcane was available in Kathmandu towns. With this, the Shrestha Newars of Tokha used to make *sakkhar chaku*. This resulted in the drastic decline of sugarcane production in Tokha. According to one sugarcane farmer, they would not benefit from nigale sugarcane, because of which they shifted to the production of *sakkhar chaku*. They used to produce a large quantity of *sakkhar chaku* than before. They branded this *sakkhar chaku* as tokha

chaku, so that it would be easy for them to sell in the markets of Kathmandu. They used to sell it by brandishing the tokha *chaku* as the real *chaku* (*kassam yo ta tokha chaku nai ho*). And at that time, they used to trade 12 to 15 kg of *chaku* with other commodities to the north old route. And in with the cash income, they bought maize flour, and some even brought livestock like he-buffalo.

5.5.2 *Transit trade (Tin dinko das ruppe)*

As the north-bound exchange circuit began to contract alternative series of transactions evolved. Of the few households that sent one or more members to the south during the winter, most of them brought back commodities for themselves and for resale to the north. Some of the households of Tokha were not involved in trading manufactured commodities but simply sold enough animal and grains to enable themselves to buy clothes and utensils as and when needed.

Those who brought back more than they needed at home from Kathmandu can be considered as traders in the fullest sense, for they maintain the circular flow of goods from south to north.

Tin dinko das ruppe, as their common expression would be, Shrestha Newar would earn ten rupees in three days out of this trade. On the first day they would bring commodities to Tokha from Kathmandu towns. On the second day, they would take these goods for sale in adjacent village. And on the third day, they would return back the unsold good to their homes. In this way, this three day trade cycle repeated many times a month, and each cycle would fetch them 10 rupees fifty years ago.

5.5.3 Firewood selling:

Tulsing-boti land tenure system still exists in Tokha. According to the elderly people of Tokha, tulsing is a person who lives in town and eats without work (*saharma basera kam nagari khane manchhe*). The land is beautiful for those who don't have to work here but bad and difficult for those who have to work and make a living as well as to those who are trying to help develop it.

If anyone of Tokhali could not pay rice paddy under Tulsing land tenure system, he/she should pay either chaku (or molasses of sugarcane) or firewood (or chhwali of rice) as tulsing-boti. Therefore, it is necessity to low land holding households especially for Shrestha.

There is a tale related to firewood, told to me by an elderly Gajaraj Joshi, which is quite popular in Tokha. Bhajuratna Jyapu of Tokha, due to insufficiency of land and large family size, he made firewood selling as a means of his livelihood. Every day and night, he was busy collecting and selling firewood in Kathmandu. Once in the middle of the jungle, he suffered from headache and stomach pains but he did not stop collecting firewood. But he was so tired of collecting the firewood that he felt asleep as soon as he lay on a stone nearby. When he was asleep, he saw one dream in which he was performing tapasya (meditation) in Kailash Bhawan (abode of Lord Shiva) in the name of Mahadev. The dream was so pleasing to him. But at the meantime, a piece of firewood fell upon him, when an owl which was to land on the tree-branch. Then he woke up thinking this dream as a harbinger of something virtue. Suddenly, a saint emerged out of the corner of the stone and said to him, "Hey Bhajuratna, despite being ill and fragile, you

didn't give up your work of collecting firewood for your family. I'm very pleased with your dedication and perseverance. Therefore as a reward, I can offer you three gold coins. You can sell them and make money to support you and your family." When Bhajuratna got these gold coins, he sold them and became rich overnight. As a rich man, he established a Guthi called Silandevi Lane Guthi, where the Tokhali bring one *mana* (a pint) of silandevi rice to make a torma (an idol) of Lord Shiva.

This tale is a good symbolic representation of cultural and economic aspect of Tokha society. It signifies how firewood has been so much attached to their identity. One old man, Ratna Shrestha in Tokha reported that back in 1930s and 1940s, he and other villagers used to go to Shivapuri jungle to collect firewood. Carrying this firewood in *khan* (*doko*, a bamboo basket carried on the back), which they later sold in Kathmandu. They used to sell it at the rate of 25 paisa a doko. Later the price rose to 100 to 200 paisa a doko in 1950s. Gajaraj Joshi said Tulsing demand as somehow firewood instead of grain so that Tokhali provide either Chhwali, a bulk of dry grass or molasses of sugarcane or firewood from jungle. Therefore, firewood selling somehow was necessary for them.

Along with the Tokhali people, there were Tamangs coming from the surrounding villages of Kathmandu valley to sell firewood. The Tamangs sold about a hundred dokos of firewood in Kathmandu. Therefore, a Tokhali says to Tamangs, 'bhote [a Tamang] was one day older than firewood'. Therefore, it is believed that the Newars actually learnt from Tamangs the art of selling firewood in Kathmandu. So Tokhali involved in firewood trade because they are neighbor of these Tamangs.

5.5.4 Duck farming:

Some Tokhali people made periodic trips or transhumance duck farming in the north of Kathmandu. It is another subsistent alternative adopted by them in winter season from the month of Mansir to Chaitra.

During winter, duck cannot hatch egg in Kathmandu valley because of cold temperature. The farmers therefore, collect ducks from different houses and bring them to warmer areas to the west Kathmandu. Some of such warmer places include Chhahare, Soti Thansing, Khalte, Khaltebagar and Kumale Phant, where ducks hatched eggs, which were again bartered with rice, salt, oil, etc. from Asan bazaar in Kathmandu.

According to old duck-farmers, they graze duck in the north-west region of Kathmandu like Trishuli, Battar and Kumale Phant. The duck herders made two-storied *goth* (duck-houses), in which the lower floor was used for duck farming and the upper floor was used for the herder's stay. These herders used to bring eatables like chyura (beaten rice) or rice from their homes in Tokha to their temporary houses (duck-houses). The farmers remember that there were about 20 to 30 such duck-houses in that region.

These temporary migrants (the herders) did not pay any taxes to the locals. Instead, they used their land and made fictive kinship ties with the locals. They brought presents like *nigale chaku* to the locals and in turn received bananas and seasonal fruits from the locals. During Rana period, they had to pay nominal tax for the land where they grazed their duck. Later in Panchayat period, they had to pay 2.50 rupees per shed. The changes in grazing rights and the tax is one reason to suggest the decline in herding practices among the locals.

Tokha's history, thus has not been static, but rather been in constant change over time. They have built different Hindu temples like Chandeshwari, Sapantirtha,

Muskaneshwar Mahadev (see also Joshi 2061 BS). They have also adopted Hinduism to a large extent, and quite different from the past tradition, they have taken to sugarcane-farming to make their living. Not only that, they have also become popular for nigale chaku, transhumance duck trading, selling firewood. One another change has been the increase in the trend of migration to the adjacent places like Battar, Trishuli, in the north of Tokha.

CHAPTER SIX PATTERNS OF CHANGE

*Mitlai char pathi dhan sittaima diye
Mitle auta halo sittaima diyo*

(I gave my *mit* four *pathis* of rice for free. In return, he gave me a plough for free too)

6.1 North movement:

The research findings show that the people of Tokha are not in a homeostatic relationship with their environment. As Bennett (1969: 14, cited in Fricke 1986) puts, the study of a people's adaptation must focus on process.

The trade of Kathmandu valley with Tibet finally came to an end by 1950s due to its annexation by China in 1959. Therefore, it can be estimated that the movement of Tokhalis in North villages began at least before 1959. The elderly people did not remember exactly when they moved on north villages. However, for about five months of winter season, from Mansir to Chaitra, the duck farmers used to Tokha with some foods to the duck grazing sites where they have made duck-sheds.

Duck farming cycle involves more than just grazing and hatching. In their places of duck-sheds, Tokhali establish special relationships (called *mit* or *ista*) with the Tamangs. This sort of *mit* relationship tends to be a life-long bond, and the instances of such relationship in Nepali society have also been accounted by other writers too (Fisher

1986; Okada 1957). On the other hand, *ista* relationship is established more casually and therefore less permanent and stable than the *mit* one.²

There is popular saying in Tokha: *mit lai char pathi dhan sittai diyan, mitle euta halo sittai diyo* (I gave my *mit* four *pathis* of rice for free. In return, he gave me a plough for free too). In this way, with grain and livestock, other technologies were also imported from adjacent villages, where *mit* lived. Thus in Tokha, the *mit* relationship fostered a level of barter economy, thereby creating a symbiotic dependence between the villages/villagers. The reliance on kin is one of the adaptive strategies for people on both sides.

Apart from their periodic trips of the transhumance duck farming, Tokhalis also exchange *chaku*, paddy, eggs, etc. with ghaiya, peanuts, maize, cattle, livestock, etc. with Tamangs or Brahmins and Chhetris of adjacent villages. One elderly man Hirkaji Shrestha reported his memory and said that he started trading *chaku* from Jhor, a place north of Tokha to Dhunche, a place near the Tibetan border. When coming back home, he would bring along peanuts which he again sold in Asan, Kirtipur and Kalimati of Kathmandu.

Many elderly people also agree that their use of oxen as a draft power is one of offshoots of their ties with Tamangs of the adjacent villages. But this use of oxen is an uncommon practice for the people of other places of Kathmandu, where it is taken as a taboo. Nepali (1965:43) writes; “Newars stick to their tradition of the non-employment of the plough. The handling of plough by a Newar is enough for him to be excommunicated from his caste”.

² The *ista* relationship is similar to the ‘guest-friend’ relationship between Navaho and Zuni (Fisher 1986: 246)

The origin of this draft power by the Tokhali is quite uncertain, but as an educational guess, we can say that it is only because of their relation with the Tamangs that they knew the use of plough and the practice of oxen as draft power. It is worth mentioning that their relation with these Tamangs began with the unification of the Nepali kingdom in 1769.

6.2 Self sufficiency to dependency

Another elderly villager also informed me that the village had also received food donations from the government in 1934, when the earthquake had devastated valley. But the Tokhalis refused to accept the donation because they had enough food with them already.

After the earthquake turmoil, the reconstruction the population of Kathmandu increased drastically. Then, the food demand soared thus high in the valley. Again in 1972 and 73 Nepal faced a severe food crisis due to low rainfall in places and excessive rainfall in other places. Thus Nepal Food Corporation (NFC) was established in 1974. In spite of its efforts to distribute food to the needy, the supply has not been adequate, and the general public now depends primarily on private sources for their food.

However, food-supply related problems have a much longer history. Various types of taxes have excessively burdened peasants and town dwellers especially during unification period (1769-1816) and during Rana regime (1846-1950). In fact most cultivators of the Tokha village informed me that they paid about fifty percent of the produce grain as the name of *Tulsing-boti*. In the course of the fieldwork, one 75-year old farmer asked me: *Nepalma ganatantra ayo, aba ta yo jagga hamro afnai hunchha re ho*

babu? (Nepal has recently been a republic. So will we be the owners of this land now?) Thus still old laws and rights drag on and on like in hereditary disease. In this way, Tokha, like other places of Kathmandu, now depends on private sector that supplies food.

6.3 Torrent of the road

With the building of Kathmandu-Trishuli motorable road in the 1980s, new markets were established in places like Trishuli and Battar. And with this, the commodity trade made by Tokhali Newars became more irrelevant, and gradually their commodity trade declined and stopped.

The construction of the Gongabu-Tokha-Chhahare road in the late 1970s and early 1980s had an impact on the nature of transporting goods and commodities from one place to another. It created new opportunities for middlemen and land-brokers (as the land of Tokha started being sold as *ghaderi* with the road construction). The number of groceries and cloth shops increased in the south of the ancient Tokha settlement. Similarly, the *chaku* traders established *chaku* shops in their houses, and also supplied their home-made sakkhar *chaku* to the businessmen of Asan in Kathmandu.

Table 1: Road network of Tokha with other places

S.N.	Name of the road	Length (in km)	Nature
1.	Gongabu–Tokha (main access from Kathmandu)	10	Metalled road
2.	Tokha–Hattigaunda	1.25	Earthen
3.	Tokha–Jhor	2	Earthen
4.	Tokha–Phutung	1	Earthen
5.	Tokha–Jhudol–Gongabu	2	Earthen

Source: Field survey, 2008

Thus network of road inside Tokha territory had another remarkable effect of the land. The land fragmentation increased in Tokha. Land brokers bought the *pakhobari* land in cheaper prices, plotted it and sold it to other people at higher prices. Not only this, they also sold the soil (earth) for the people in Kathmandu. This land fragmentation had such an impact on the lifestyle and livelihood of the locals that their livestock and animal herding almost collapsed, while they themselves had to live in their cowsheds. Similarly, traditional ploughing practice also came to a halt.

CHAPTER SEVEN COMPARISON

7.1 Tokha then and now:

In recent years, Tokha's households have faced hardships in earning their livelihood from their own production due to the growth of urbanization. As a result they are shifting their emphasis from subsistence farming to other sources of income to maintain their livelihood.

7.1.1 Changes in occupation:

In the past, also a large portion of households depended on multiple source of income for survival. It largely depended on natural resource-based system as their farming is major fulfillment all requirements of basic food. But now Tokhas' livelihood diversification not only relies upon natural resource base but also on non-natural resources.

Before 1950s, Tokhalis made their livelihood option to different sources like agriculture, forestry, transhumant duck farming and firewood selling (see chapter one). For these natural-based strategies they belong to their own territory and others as well. In the past, they kept social relations with the adjacent Tamangs. Tamangs help them to make two storied duck-shed for duck farming.

But the nature of that traditional diversity has changed its color at this time. Now Tokha as it is undergoing an intermediate phase in its process of transformation from a natural resource-based agrarian society to non-natural resource-based industrial /survival

economy. Construction of road during 1970s and 1980s, establishment of school, fragmentation of land, non-natural (e.g. migration) population growth are responsible for these changing diversification in Tokha. One of the Tokhalis, Lal Singh Dangol, interviewed in Bishnumati Area (Tokha) said “I had 3 ropanis of land, which was *tulsing* land. We were altogether 6 in our family to work and sustain our life. Now, I work as a porter in Samakhushi (Kathmandu) because I cannot read and write.”

In this way, now, Tokhalis doing alternative works like portering beside agriculture. Other occupations of the Tokhalis now are dakarmi, craft service, government and private sector. Some of the population also keep bullock which is used for wage.

7.1.2 Changes in pastoralism:

Together agriculture, pastoralist is also important occupation in the past. At a distance of main settlement of Tokha, there were two storied cowsheds which we can see still there which were used for animal husbandry. They also kept a large number of cows, buffaloes and livestock, but now it has been drastically reduced.

Road inside Tokha territory had another effect of the land. The land fragmentation increased in Tokha. Land brokers bought the *pakhobari* land in cheaper prices, divided it into smaller plots and sold them to other people at higher prices. That’s why, traditional practice of pastoralism has drastically reduced. Pun Singh Dangol, an elderly said, “From six in the morning to seven in the evening, we used to be busy doing agricultural, pastoral and other related works. But now we have been like cows in cowsheds.” Similarly, the

open grazing lands have either been plotted or iron-fenced by the outsiders who bought them. In this way, pastoralism has drastically reduced in Tokha.

7.1.3 Fewer social relations

Some male farmers in the past worked in their own lands from April/May to November/December. After preparing land for wheat, they would go to adjacent villages for off-seasonal works like duck-farming, craft service and trade. Meanwhile, they established *mit* relationship over there. They carried *chaku* and paddy for their *mit* or their families and brought back home *ghaiya*, millet maize from their *mit* houses. These adjacent villagers helped them make two storied duck-sheds and allowed using the land for duck-farming. Battar, Trishuli, Khalte, Khaltebagar of Rasuwa and Nuwakot districts were where Tokhali maintained strong social relationship with local Tamangs in the past.

But now there is one-way relationship with these places. Tamangs come to Tokha to plow land of Tokhali for wages. Now Tokhalis have no special relationship like *mit* with these Tamangs. An elderly, Bishnu Tamang from Trishuli said, “They (Tokhali) used to pay us Rs.150 per day along with accommodation facilities. We used to stay over there up to 15-20 days, and after finishing work we used to return to Trishuli with some groceries from Kathmandu.” In this way after construction of road and process of urbanization in Tokha, Tokhalis become weak and drastically reduced. With the building of Kathmandu-Trishuli motorable road in the 1980s, new markets were established in places like Trishuli and Battar. And with this, the trade, duck-farming made by Tokhali Newars became more irrelevant. And thereby, trade gradually declined and stopped.

7.1.4 Foundation of new technology:

Before 1980s, Tokhalis used a narrow road, walked with a bamboo basket (*doko*) carrying behind, which is used for exchange locally produced goods and commodity from Kathmandu. But now, there were webs of road in Tokha (see Table 5.1) which completely replaced traditional transportation system. The constructions of roads, buildings, adoption of new technology (like tractor instead of plough or hoe) have incurred many changes to the Tokhalis and the locality there. Such physical assets has made everyday life quick and easy but some people feel pain instead of gaining something through these changes.

Similarly, findings also suggest that the young people of Tokha are becoming more literate in comparison to their elders. Skilled and semi-skilled labour has also increased than in the past. In Tokha Saraswati School, a school located nearby the study site, 13 out of 20 teachers were from away of Tokha's Newar community. It indicates that local human capital is not competitive for high paid salary services (like teacher and so on).

Many Tokhalis do not sell their livestock, ducks, some grains as they save none of these items for sale. Neither money nor loans are directly productive forms of capital there. They owe their role in the asset portfolio of households to their convertibility into other forms of capital or indeed directly into consumption. Keeping of livestock and making home often play critical role as a store of wealth. Although service holders and those who keep groceries were somehow collect money in finance bank.

In this way, the pentagon (five capitals: natural physical, social, human and financial) have been changing over time in Tokha. Out of them, natural capital, especially land and small forest have reduced significance mainly due to urbanization process. Social capital or mutual dependence within territory or in symbolic zone has also significantly reduced and been replaced by commercial relation with Kathmandu city. Physical capital (like construction of road, building, bridge, modern technology) has increased, and so have human and financial capital.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

The study was initiated with the aim of exploring life and living of rural communities in the Northern Kathmandu. It has provided some glimpse of Tokha, a town in Northern part of Kathmandu Valley, which is inhabited by Newar communities with varying of livelihood strategies for survivals. Similarly, an attempt was made to explore the livelihood pattern of the past and how that has persisted or changed. The strength of the study is the use of some concepts accompanied by a methodology with necessary qualitative and quantitative technique to handle a variety of data and information collected from a range of sources. Specific analysis through qualities and generalization through quantitative method are found useful in exploring, understanding and explaining. Following are some conclusions which can be drawn from the research work.

Tokha is in the process of shifting from agriculture-based to non-agricultural livelihood option. The household assets of this community have greatly influenced the process of adoption of new strategy or modification and eradication of traditional occupation. The households with comparatively better access to the capital to pursue livelihood have been adopting the influence of urbanization in their areas more easily than the households who have less access to the assets. As the development of surrounding spaces, the people of particular space have to change their way of life to adopt with the changing environment.

People also derived their livelihoods from agriculture-based activities mainly. Land was major household asset for crop production (like paddy, wheat, etc.) and sugarcane

cropping were the means of survival. However, agriculture even in the past was not sufficient for them rather they had to dependent other activities beside agriculture.

In the past, they depended on transhumance duck farming, firewood collection and selling and trade. Beside this, they also worked in the field of carpentry, wage labor and services, beside agriculture in the past. But rapid urbanization and globalization pushed them in the transition providing both opportunities and constraints. The household assets have undergone rapid modification. Now they have no option other than modifying or leaving of the traditional occupation, which necessitates adoption of urban oriented non agricultural activities.

Land-plotting or selling has changed their social institution (like *parma* system) and regularization in communal resources such as forestry and grazing land can be considered the constraints resulted from environmental and political change. Similarly, there has been new urban oriented ‘off-farm’ and somehow ‘on-farm’ diversification in economy and society of Tokha. Today females are engaged in domestic and agricultural works while males are supplement part. Mostly males are engaged in outside of their homework in private and government services, wage labor in construction building, decorating house etc. One of the livelihood strategies has been the migration as foreign employment.

When diversification is discussed in this village context, it is usually posed in terms either of the need for farm changes in the mix of agricultural activities or of the desirability of developing non-farm activities. The former diversification of Tokha offered reasonable

security and reliable exchange among a very limited number of goods, but the exchange was not cumulative because it was primarily made for subsistence. The latter diversification seeks to provide alternative full/part time occupation in Kathmandu city where single individual or household to engage in multiple occupation.

Livelihood strategies adopted by families were also found to vary. In poorer communities with low education and no skill, wide arrays of strategies were found to be adopted to secure the livelihood. Livelihood was based on relatively a few activities like salaried job, business, on labor emigration.

CHAPTER NINE SUMMARY

Initially, I was interested on the use and non-use of oxen as draft power in Kathmandu Valley. Specifically, why don't the farmers of the Kathmandu Valley use plough, which is common for local resident in the valley but using plough by Newar community is interesting to them. Plough not using community blame to plough using community as *kauwa ko masu khane* literally those community who eat crow's meat mean they are excommunicated community. Therefore, I selected Tokha as my site of research because I had observed that the Newars there used plough traditionally. But later, I was only give attention to the exploring life and living of Tokhali because their livelihood pattern is more interesting and useful then use and non use of oxan as draft power.

The study was initiated with the **Objective** of exploring life and living of rural communities in the Northern Kathmandu. It has provided some glimpse of Tokha, a town in Northern part of Kathmandu Valley, which is inhabited by Newar communities (especially Jyapoo and Shrestha Newar) with varying of livelihood strategies for survivals. An attempt was made to explore the livelihood pattern of the past and how that has persisted or changed. It also aims to describe their changing livelihood opportunities in Kathmandu city and their own surrounding in the present context.

To completion these objective I raise the **Research questions**; firstly, what is the livelihood diversity of people in Tokha today? Secondly, how has the livelihood of the

people changed through time, across five decades? And finally how have their livelihood practices been influenced by the local environment?

The strength of the study is the five assets represented in livelihood framework are human, social, natural, physical and financial has been changing over time as a main **concept**. Human capital refers to the labor available to the household, its education, skill and health. Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines and so on are physical capital that is created by economic production process. Similarly, natural capital comprises the land, water, and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival. Financial capital refers to the stock of money to which the household has access. Social capital is define as reciprocity within communities and between households based on trust deriving from social ties.

This concept was accompanied by a **methodology** with necessary qualitative and quantitative technique to handle a variety of data and information collected from a range of sources. Data collection procedure included household surveys, key informant interview, focus group discussion, and observation. Specific analysis through qualitative and generalization through quantitative method are found useful in exploring, understanding and explaining livelihood strategies.

Following are some major **findings** which can be drawn from the research work.

In recent years, Tokha's households have faced hardships in earning their livelihood from their own production due to the growth of urbanization. As a result they

are shifting their emphasis from subsistence farming to other sources of income to maintain their livelihood. In the past, also a large portion of households depended on multiple source of income for survival. It largely depended on **natural resource**-based system as their farming is major fulfillment all requirements of basic food. But now Tokhas' livelihood diversification not only relies upon natural resource base but also on non-natural resources. Before 1950s, Tokhalis made their livelihood option to different sources like agriculture, forestry, transhumant duck farming and firewood selling. For these natural-based strategies they belong to their own territory and others as well. In the past, they kept social relations with the adjacent Tamangs. Tamangs help them to make two storied duck-shed for duck farming, for example.

But the nature of that traditional diversity has changed its color at this time. Now Tokha as it is undergoing an intermediate phase in its process of transformation from a natural resource-based agrarian society to non-natural resource-based industrial /survival economy. Construction of road during 1970s and 1980s, establishment of school, fragmentation of land, non-natural (e.g. migration) population growth are responsible for these changing diversification in Tokha. Some occupations of the Tokhalis now are dakarmi, craft service, government and private sector.

Together agriculture, pastoralism is also important occupation in the past. At a distance of main settlement of Tokha, there were two storied cowsheds which we can see still there which were used for animal husbandry. They also kept a large number of cows, buffaloes and livestock, but now it has been drastically reduced. Land brokers bought the *pakhobari* land in cheaper prices, divided it into smaller plots and sold them to other people at higher prices. That's why; traditional practice of pastoralism has drastically

reduced. Similarly, the open grazing lands have either been plotted or iron-fenced by the outsiders who bought them.

Some male farmers in the past worked in their own lands from April/May to November/December. After preparing land for wheat, they would go to adjacent villages for off-seasonal works like duck-farming, craft service and trade. Meanwhile, they established *mit* relationship over there. They carried *chaku* and paddy for their *mit* or their families and brought back home *ghaiya*, millet maize from their *mit* houses. These adjacent villagers helped them make two storied duck-sheds and allowed using the land for duck-farming. Battar, Trishuli, Khalte, Khaltebagar of Rasuwa and Nuwakot districts were where Tokhali maintained strong **social relationship** with local Tamangs in the past. But now there is one-way relationship with these places. Tamangs come to Tokha to plow land of Tokhali for wages. Now Tokhalis have no special relationship like *mit* with these Tamangs. In this way after construction of road and process of urbanization in Tokha, the social relations of Tokhalis become weak and drastically reduced. With the building of Kathmandu-Trishuli motorable road in the 1980s, new markets were established in places like Trishuli and Battar. And with this, the trade, duck-farming made by Tokhali Newars became more irrelevant. And thereby, trade gradually declined and stopped.

Before 1980s, Tokhalis used a narrow road, walked with a bamboo basket (*doko*) carrying behind, which is used for exchange locally produced goods and commodity from Kathmandu. But now, there were webs of road in Tokha, which completely replaced traditional transportation system. The constructions of roads, buildings, adoption of new technology (like tractor instead of plough or hoe) have incurred many changes to the

Tokhalis and the locality there. Such **physical capitals** have made everyday life quick and easy but some people feel pain instead of gaining something through these changes.

Similarly, findings also suggest that the young people of Tokha are becoming more literate in comparison to their elders. Skilled and semi-skilled labour has also increased than in the past, which indicates that local **human capital** is becoming stronger but not competitive for high paid salary services because they still involve in low pay salary work like, dakarmi in army camp, guard in hospital etc.

Many Tokhalis do not sell their livestock, ducks, and some grains as they save none of these items for sale. Neither money nor loans are directly productive forms of capital there. They owe their role in the asset portfolio of households to their convertibility into other forms of capital or indeed directly into consumption. Keeping of livestock and making home often play critical role as a store of wealth. Although service holders and those who keep groceries were somehow collect money as **financial capital** in bank.

In this way, the pentagon (five capitals: natural physical, social, human and financial) have been changing over time in Tokha. Out of them, natural capital, especially land and small forest have reduced significantly. Which mainly due to urbanization process. Social capital or mutual dependence within territory or in symbiotic zone has also significantly reduced and been replaced by commercial relation with Kathmandu city. Physical capital (like construction of road, building, bridge, modern technology) has increased, and so have human and financial capita

Annex-I
M.A. Thesis in Sociology/Anthropology (T.U. 2008)
Social and Demographic Profile of two Hamlet in Tokha
Household Survey

Respondent: M / F Caste /Ethnic group /class
 Natal Village/VDC. ward/district.....
 Current address/Ph. HH/No.
 Dates: First Second Visit (1) (2)

Please Provide some information on individuals who belongs to this household (begin with the oldest person)

Individual's Full Name	Relation to respondents	Sex	Age	Marital status	Occupation			Education	Residential status		
					I	II	III		Full time	Part time	Away

Livestock						Ag. Equipments						Land distribution (In ropani)					
Co w	Oxe n	Goat	Pi g	Shee p	Other s	Ploug h	K o (i)	K o (l)	K M		Othe r	P	B	K	Lan d sold	Land bough t	EL D in No.

Use of forest by HH	Firewood	Fodder	Fi & Fo	L, Fi & Fo

Relation: R = Respondent, Hu = Husband, W = Wife, Br = Brother, Si = Sister, Fa = Father, Mo= Mother, So = Son, Da = Daughter (Use of these for other relations),

Marital Status: NM = Never Married, CM= currently married, Wid = widowed, Sep = Separated, Div = Divorced

Education: Specify as Illiterate, Literate (For those who can read and write only) and Class/Level Degree (if applicable)

Which of the following are the sources of Livelihood for this household? (Circle the applicable categories and underline the primary source)

- a. Agriculture b) Horticulture c) Livestock Raising d) Traditional craft Service e) Wage Labor f) Wage Labor (Other-locally) g) Wage labor (Other-elsewhere)
 h) Business (Hotels/lodges) L) Long distance trade j) Service – Govt/Pvt k) Other (Specify)

Arjun Panthi 2008

With Sp. reference of R.B. Chhetri '04

- Adhikari, Jagannath. *Changing livelihoods: Essays on Nepal's Development since 1990*.
Katmandu. Martin Chautari. 2008.
- Baker, T.L.. *Doing Social Research*. New York; MC Graw Hill Inc. 1999.
- Bennet, John W. *The ecological Transition: Cultural anthropology and human
adaptation*. New York Pergamon Press Inc. 1976.
- Bhurtel, Bidyanath. "Changing livelihood strategies of the Kumals living in Pokhara
Valley of western Nepal." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Tribhuvan University. 2000.
- Bishop, Barry C. *Karnali Under stress; livelihood strategies and seasonal rhythms in
changing Nepal Himalaya*. University of Chicago. 1990.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. "The process of Nepalization," in *Anthropological and linguistic
studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal*. 1982.
- Chambers, R. *Poverty and livelihoods; whose reality counts?* A policy paper
commissioned by UNDP for the world summit for social development New York;
UNDP.1995.
- Chhetri, Ram Bahadur. "Changing environments and livelihoods: Adaptation of the Jalari
People in the Pokhara Valley," in R. B. Chhetri (ed.), *Contribution to Nepalese
Studies* (Sp. issue), 33: 81-109, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur Nepal. 2006.
- "Changing Environments and livelihood in Nepal: An overview," in R.B. Chhetri
(ed.), *Contribution to Nepalese Studies* (Sp. issue), 33: 81-109, Tribhuvan
University, Kirtipur Nepal. 2006.
- DFID. *Sustainable livelihood Guidance sheet*. www.livelihood.org. 2002.
- Ellis, Frank. *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries*, Oxford University
Press. 2000.
- Fisher, James F. *Trans-himalayan Traders; Economy, society and culture in Norhwest
Nepal*, Berkeley; University of California Press. 1986.
- Fricke, Thomas E. *Himalayan households; Tamang Demography and domestic
Processes*, Ann Arbor, Michigan; UMI Research Press. 1986.
- Joshi, Gajaraj, *Shree Sapana Tirtha ra Shree Chandeshowri Deviko Bibhinna Kathaharu*.
Kathmandu Gajaraj Joshi. 2061 B.S.

- Koirala, Hriday Lal. "Livelihood pattern, adaptive strategy and sustainability of communities in southern valley of Nepal Himalaya". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Gauhati. India. 2006.
- Kottack, Conrad Phillip. *Anthropology. The Exploration of human diversity*. New York Mc Graw Hill. 2000.
- Milton, Kay. "Ecologies; Anthropology, culture and the environment," in *International social science journal*. 154 XLIX (4):477-495. 1997.
- Molnar, Augusta. "Economic strategies and ecological constraints: Case of the Kham Magar of North West Nepal," pp. 20-51. In C. Von Furer- Haimendorf(ed). *Asian Highland Societies: In Anthropological perspective*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1981.
- Nepali, Gopal Singh. *The Newars*, Bombay; United Aasia Publication. 1965.
- Regmi, Mahesh Chandra. *A Study in Nepali Economic History 1768-1846*. Bibliotheca Himalayica Series I, Volume 14. New Delhi. 1971.
- Regmi, Mahesh Chandra. *Thatched huts and Stucco palaces peasants and landlords in 19th century Nepal*. New Delhi Vikas Publication. 1978.
- Sapkota, Pravat. *Prachin Shahar Tokha; Ek Addhyan*. Kathmandu, Nepal. Pravat Sapkota. 2056 B.S.
- Sharma, Chandra K. *Geology of Nepal Himalaya and adjacent countries*. Kathmandu, Nepal. Sangeeta Sharma. 1990.
- Stevens, Stanley F. *Claiming the High Ground: Sherpas, Subsistence and Environmental Change in the Highest Himalaya*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasisdass Publishers. 1996.
- Stiller Ludwig F. *The rise of the house of Gorkha; a study in the unification of Nepal 1768-1816*. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar. 1973.
- Wolff and Pant. *Social Science Research and Thesis writing*. Kathmandu Nepal. Buddha Academic Publishers and Distributers Pvt. Ltd. 2002.