

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nepalese society is diversity with disparity. There is wide gap between rich and poor people. Nepal is having multiethnic, multilingual and multi-cultural features so late King Prithvi Narayan had once said 'Nepal is a common garden of four castes and thirty six sub castes'. It is clear that Nepal is a country of different tribes, castes and ethnic groups who has their own language, culture, faith traditions. Nepal is rich in diversity such as physical diversity, socio-cultural diversity as well as bio-diversity therefore it is itself proved that Nepal is garden of the world.

Although Nepal is a small landlocked developing country situated on the southern slope of Mid Himalayan with two third of land occupied by Hills and Mountains, it is a land of multiple cultural diversity and multiple ethnic group which has a long complex and diverse history and social and cultural life of the people has unique features.

The Yamphu is one of not indentified cast legally. Yamphu are subsumed under the term "Rai". It is clear that Yamphu are enlisted under Rai, which encompasses at least 28 Kirati groups, each of them has their own language, culture, customs and homeland. "Kirat Rai Yayokkha" is representing on behalf of these diverse groups. Yamphu people inhabit in their traditional area situated on the border between Pallo Kirat 'Far Kirat', i.e. the region of mountains east of the Arun and Majh Kirat 'Middle Kirat', the mountainous area immediately to the of the Arun. The traditional settlement of Yamphu lies on the northeast side of Sankhuwasabha district along the both sides of The Arun, one of the largest rivers of the East Nepal. Communities of Yamphu inhabit (core areas) in Hedangna (Pathibhara VDC), Num VDC and Makalu VDC.

The Yamphu called themselves *Yakhaba* and their language *Yakhaba Khap*. Yamphu community, an indigenous group of Nepal, is one among many marginalized groups. Originally, Yamphu people reside in upper Arun valley of Sangkhuwa-Sabha district. The land is itself remote. The original inhabitants of the valley and the ancestors of the Yamphu were the Kirati, famous hunters said to have put up a strong fight against the troops of Prithivi Narayan Shah who set out to unify the kingdom in the late 1700s. Unable to defeat the Kirati, Shah struck a deal. As long as the Yamphu Kirat leaders paid tribute to the king, they would be allowed to be kings in their own lands. They could settle their own disputes and claim the land north of the Sankhuwa River (Ann.

1999). These rights embodied in the land tenure system of kiptat and sealed in a royal decree.

The Yamphu are one of more than twenty two- twenty eight linguistically and culturally distinct groups subsumed under the ethnonym "Rai" and numbered among the "autochthonous" inhabitants of the eastern Nepal hill area, who are generally known as Kirat.

In Nepal, there are more than one hundred different types of races and castes. They have different origins and different cultural backgrounds. Among them, the government has listed out 59 indigenous ethnic groups all over the country and divided into five categories. Among 59, Yamphu is one of the many ancient indigenous nationalities and marginalized ethnic group of Nepal. According to CBS 2002, the total population of Rai is 2.79 percent of the total population within which the share of Yamphu is not known. But in the Census 2001, the total number of people speaking Yamphu language is recorded 1722. Yamphu have been recognized as a simple, polite, honest and sacrificial in nature. They are widely scattered within Nepal and some other countries as well. Whenever and whatever they may be; they love to maintain their cultural identity. Yamphu is one of the indigenous ethnic groups. They are scattered not only all over the country but also out of the country. They have own religion, language, typical culture ritual dress, indigenous knowledge and skills. Sentiment, culture, language and behaviour have been unifying all Yamphu residing anywhere. Their language of one geographic area is little different from another geographic area. The Yamphu have mongoloid physical feature with well proportioned facial contours and a yellowish colour. They belong to the Tibeto-Burma Language speaking family. Actually their mother tongue is *Yamphu Bhasha/Yakhaba Khap* Yamphu are wants to said Yakhaba themselves, which is originated from Tibeto-Burman family so their language influenced by the Tibetan language. According to the Census 1991, the total population of the Yamphu of Nepal is 1722 regionally the Yamphu are living in eastern region.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Nepal is one of the poorest countries of the world. Above 38 percent people are marginalized, disadvantaged and deprived of basic amenities. Social, economical and educational conditions are unsatisfactory. In Nepal all, the ethnic communities are socio-economically backward. Yamphu community is one of the very beginning inhabitants of Nepal living particularly in this district. Yamphu community is also socio-economically backward. This is particularly due to limited access to education and

exclusive policy of government in various sectors. Besides that, lack of awareness, blind faith in traditional values, unavailability of income generating activities and following traditional method of farming, they are socio-economically poor. Thus the common problem of Yamphu is:

1. Lack of education and employment opportunities.
2. The productivity of Yamphu is quite low.

In this way, it can be said that the lower socio-economic status of Yamphu in Nepal is a very serious problem.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to assess the present socio-cultural and economic status and to examine the causes of rural poverty of Yamphu people at Pathibhara VDC of Sankhuwasabha district. However, this study has the following specific objectives:

1. To find out socio-economic status of the Yamphu community in Pathibhara VDC.
2. To describe the causes of backwardness of Yamphu community in Pathibhara VDC.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Every country has its own language, religion, culture and traditions prevalent among the people. The countries identities are based in the cultural identities of peoples who live in her territory. Many community of Nepal are still backward. They are still marginalized from its mainstream. The Yamphu community is such group of lesser known and backwarded minority people of the country. Therefore, it is essential to undertake a study about this community because the socio-economic study represents the study of the living body of a particular community. But due to the lack of scientific research and timely intervention to bring about improvement in living standard of Yamphu community. It is observed that their socio-economic status is rather degrading day by day.

The socio-economic status of each ethnic group of Nepal is most important for introducing Nepal itself in the world. To introduce ethnic people to the worlds is possible only from the study of their socio-economic status. Thus, the socio-economic status represents the living body of a particular community. This study is an attempt towards that direction. Basically this study tends to capture single ethnic group i.e.

Yamphu of specific area. Significantly, these sorts of study will be required for the upliftment of the backward people. From this study, we can know that the overall feature of society that particular group is developed or underdeveloped. Apart from this is also helpful to know the weakness point of particular group of people in the society, in this point of view, economic condition in order to know their status. Therefore, this study plays vital role for the development of the study area in general and development plan and programs to improve the socio-economic status of Yamphu community. It equally helps the government and non-government organization and Yamphu community agencies to have clear understanding.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

Each and every study has its own limitation likewise; this study too is no exception. In the course of data collection the constraints have always been faced by the researchers. The information about property, land holding, source of income and actual income was very difficult to acquire from the respondents. They needed a lot of motivation from the researcher to disclose such information.

This study aims to study the socio-economic status of the Yamphu community of Pathibhara VDC. However, it is supposed that this study would be representative of the study related to this area. It is a micro study, which attempts to explore the socio-economic status of the Yamphu in Pathibhara VDC. It cannot comprehend the macro view of the socio-economic status because the socio-economic status of the Yamphu is vague and this study reflects some of the variables of socio-economic status.

Time and money were the important constraints that made the study unable to carry out in depth. The study was limited to 65 households hence it was difficult to find out all the needed answers from the study. In this study all the information is based on the data collected by researcher.

1.6 Organization/Chapter plan of The Study

This study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one includes the introduction, statement of problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, organization of the study and limitation of the study. Chapter two deals with briefly about the review of the previous work or review of literature. Chapter three deals with the methodology adopted for the study to collect and analyze data. Chapter four introduction of the study area. Chapter five introductions of Yamphu people. Chapter six socio-economic status of the Yamphu people and final chapter or chapter seven presents the summary,

conclusion and suggests some recommendations for the upliftment of the Yamphu community in that particular area.

CHAPTER-II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature Related to Livelihood Aspect

Dahal (2001) studies the development and changes of livelihood strategy of the Baramu community. The Baramus are struggling for survival and adapting to the changing environment. He explains that change is a universal and continuous phenomenon, which is found all over the societies. It means the world is changeable. He deals with the changes in the livelihood strategies of the Baramus from Arupokhari V.D.C. in Gorkha district. He finds that the Baramus were historically Kipat holders but are not now. He explains that some non-Baramus in their area have seized the land from them. A few Baramus have managed to take benefit from Kipat. He also explains all the cultural and ritual system of the Baramu community. Their Dole system collapsed and *Bani* system almost is on the verge of collapse. Moreover, he explains the development process such as transportation, market expansion and other facilities, which directly affects their society.

Subedi and Pandey (2002) have studied the livelihood strategy of Rai community in Sitalpati and Makalu. Sitalpati is low land and Makalu is highland. In these both high land and lowland areas, the Rais have adopted various strategies to earn their livelihoods. This earning livelihood strategy shows continuity as well as change over space as they change over time. They found that in this study of livelihood strategies of the Rais in both locations (highland and lowland) demonstrated similarities.

Goldman (1998) discusses the decentralization and sustainable rural livelihoods. He believes that decentralization insists sustainability of rural livelihood. He points out decentralization is essentially the transfer of the locus of power and decision making either downwards or to the other units or organizations. Decentralization can have a profound effect on people's access to particular assets like natural, human, social etc. He concludes that if people can have access to the above assets then decentralization will be successful and the rural livelihood will become more sustainable.

Quan (1998) has studied land tenure and sustainable rural livelihoods. He points out that land also provides an important component of more diverse livelihood strategies for those, who rely at least on a part of off-farm employment income. The importance of

land tenure must be seen in a dynamic context of economic, demographic, and agrarian change. He addresses that the land is the basis of small holder agrarian livelihood. He has discussed the vulnerability of tenure issues and their importance by giving examples of different countries like Sub Saharan countries and Latin America countries.

Bhatta (1995) studies adoptive strategies of the Kumals. It is an ecological anthropological study of Chakratirtha V.D.C. of Lamjung. In his dissertation, he mainly focuses on the socio-cultural pattern, ecological, technical activities, interrelationship and interdependence through social interaction with other caste groups. He finds that Lamjung's Kumals are changing their traditional culture and occupation. And they are trying to get involved in the new fields of subsistence. He also indicates that development, changing environment and the contact with other castes mostly influence them.

Bhattra (2001) has studied about rickshaw puller and their poverty. He mainly analyzes rickshaw puller and their way of earning livelihood in Birtamode, Jhapa. He concludes that the condition of urban poor people is miserable at present. He also observes their pessimistic view and optimistic view regarding their livelihood. The main purpose of his study is to examine the socio-economic status, working condition, working hour, earning, their income levels, consumption pattern and relationship between income and expenditure of rickshaw pullers in Birtamode area. He also finds that among rickshaw pullers, 22 percent are immigrants and females are also involved in this profession due to low income of their husband.

Regmi (2000) studies the impact of modernization on the Prajapaties (the potters), one of the Newar occupational caste group of Thimi, Bhaktapur. Her study was descriptive in nature and aims at highlighting the existing situation of occupational caste group. According to her study, modern utensils have replaced the traditional types of products and the people who have been following their occupation are in crisis and they are facing many problems to fulfill their basic needs. Moreover, due to the large-scale production of durable and attractive plastics and aluminum (utensils) goods, their pottery occupation is facing problem. So, she suggests that if the earthen goods are glazed and designed artistically, their market will continue even in future to assure them to have success in their traditional occupation.

Sijapati (1988) has described about the socio-economic status of the Sarkis living in Jharuwarasi village, Lalitpur. He studies that socio-economic condition and skills lifecycle of the Sarkis. He finds that most of the Sarkis are engaged in agriculture. They

run their livelihoods from the agriculture, wage labour, masonry, shoe making and basket making. They have not enough land for farming. Most of them have small piece of land. Moreover, their annual income is very low and a few of them are literate. She argues that their condition is very poor.

Pandey (1987) has studied the livelihood of landlords and peasants. He analyzes about the agriculture, farming, nutrition, health condition of women and children, human resources, renewable resources, food policy, animal agriculture and farming systems in Nepal. He finds that landless peasants started to encroach upon the forest. The small portion of land provided by government for resettlement to the migrants could not support them. The main employment opportunity for peasants is agriculture labour, but it is seasonal and small area of farmland owned by their clients has left them with limited opportunities. However, the number of peasant has been increasing there.

Akroyd and Duncan (1998) have discussed appropriate framework for improving the sustainability of rural livelihood. They mainly highlight sector approach and claim that it is a means of managing government's role in a sector. They argue that the sector approach is essential to increase the effectiveness of development aid and the sustainability of development projects.

Timilsina (2003) has studied impact of Bhimdhunga-Lamidanda Road on the livelihood strategies of rural people. He mainly focuses on rural urban linkage by the road and its impacts on livelihood of rural people. He concludes that development takes place everywhere and every society for changing environment. So, he argues development is needed to improve rural infrastructure like economic, social etc.

Tashi and Pratap (2000) emphasizes on livestock for sustaining on Tibetan highland. They try to provide an analysis of the trends, issues and options of livestock based food security in the Tibetan highlands. They argue that livestock is the only means of sustaining their food security and livelihood.

Rai (2004) has studied about livelihood strategies of occupational communities especially *Damai* and *Kami* in Panchakanya and Namsaling V.D.C., Ilam. He analyzes that the so-called untouchable caste (*Dalits*) are subordinated by high castes. He points out that their main occupation such as *Damai* musicians and the *Kamis* are blacksmith and goldsmith. This traditional occupation is affecting the developmental processes and globalization. Basically, they have shifted towards agriculture and other economic activities. He finds that they have changed their traditional occupation into the diverse

economic activities like agriculture, wage labour, petty business etc. He concludes that road-construction, market facilities, imported readymade goods and commercialization of agriculture are the main factors behind the change. However, the development activities have brought positive impact on their ways of life and means of livelihood.

Hamilton Francis (1819) describes the Magar's nature as helpful and generous in his book, **An Account of Kingdom of Nepal**. They heartily welcomed Rajputs and they adopted their behavior and culture. It is mentioned that Gorkha's royal family arrived from Chitaura and they were not Rajputs. Instead, they were from the Magar family. The elder brother Khancha (Karancha) Khan was the founder of Matawali branch and the younger brother Mincha Khan was the King of Nuwakot adopting Janai system.

Bista (1967) has discussed the identification of Magar people and their social and cultural customs in his book, *Peoples of Nepal*. In the article entitled "Hami Magar" he has pointed that the Magars have inhabited middle hill and western hill of the Nepal. He argues that the basis of Magar economy is agriculture, which is largely self-sufficient.

Hitchcock (1966), in his book, **The Magars of Banyan Hills** has conducted his study on Magars. He has proved that Magars have been divided into two kinds: Barha Magarat and Atharha Magarat. The Barha Magarat consists of the surnames like Rana, Thapa, Ale, Burathoki etc. and their language is called *Magar kura*. On the other hand, the Atharha Magarat consists of surnames like Bura, Gharti, Pun, Roka etc. and their language is called *Kham kura*. Hitchcock has made a wide discussion on social, economic, political, cultural, and familial and other various aspects of Magars. He has mainly depicted the cultural aspects like worshipping gods and goddess, marriage system and other customs.

Khatti (1995), in his book "**Adaptive System of the Magar People**", he has made an ethnological case study of Magars of Argal V.D.C., Baglung. He has observed that the Atharaha Panthi Magars live in this area. Moreover, he has described customs, manners, behaviors and culture of the newcomers and natives. The systems of Athrha Panthi Magars are different from that of Barha Panthi Magars. The Magars neither have they been influenced by Hinduism nor have they been by Buddhism. They do not have either a Brahmin priest or a Buddhist Lama to get their rituals performed. Instead, they use the eldest son or daughter of the family. They do not have the custom of giving Sindoor in the marriage. However, they perform rituals like Kulpooja, Bayu puja. They do not know their mother tongue. They have adopted traditional cultivations and animal husbandry as the means of earning livelihood. They weave Kilfa (*Doko*), *Nanglo*, *Gundri* etc by using local resources. It has helped them to earn money. Though the Magars tend

to join the army, only a few Magar people Baglung have joined the army. No one has joined British army yet. The youths of present generation tend to go to India for earning money. Their co-operation can be observed in fairs and cultivation. Therefore, Magars are considered as unselfish, honest and sincere ethnic group.

2.2 Literature related to the Yamphu

George ven Dreim (1990) argues that the autonyms used by the Limbus, Yakkhas, Yamphu and Lohorung are indicative of a close historical relationship between them. The Limbu call them, *Yakthumba*; the Yakkha call themselves, *Yakkha*; and the Yamphu, Lohorung refer to their language *Yakhaba*. But, the last one is not so because Yamphu and Lohorung call themselves Yakkhba and their language *Yakkhaba Khab*. By contrast, the numerous Rai tribes were small, linguistically hetero-generous groups situated within the sphere of influence of minor Indo-Aryan dynasties to the south and the west. As small and scattered groups, the Rai may have been more easily subjected to Indo-Aryan linguistic influence than a large and populous group like the Limbu. Furthermore the influx of large numbers of Indo-Aryan colonists in Wallo, and Majh Kirat began soon after the Gorkha conquest and has led to a situation whereby several indigenous real groups have become a minority in their own tribal homelands (George ven Dreim, 1990).

McDougal (1979) produced a comprehensive monograph on the Kulunge Rai of the upper Honku Khola. This study is based on social anthropological approach. In this study, MacDougal considers the historical and economic conditions, but treats more particularly the system of kinship, with special regard to marriage exchange. In connection with this latter topic one notice towards the end of the book the increasing influence of the ideas of Levi-Strauss- which makes the book quite enthralling, even though at the end a number of questions remain open and the work has the air of being somewhat incomplete.

Charlotte Hardman produced a comprehensive monograph on Lohorung Rai of Pangma village. In this study, Hardman attempts to derive the various domains and conceptual complexes of the culture. This important ethnographic study explores the world view of the Lohorung Rai of the Eastern Nepal. In this ethnography, Lohorung people have been described as rice farmers with a tradition of migration combined with hunting and gathering. By examining Lohorung concepts and their discourse on self and ancestral influence dominates the daily lives and rituals of the Lohorung. It explores the 'other

world' of the Lohorung within which their concepts about the nature of the person and the natural world can be understood.

In this study, social psychology- 'means of explaining, predicting and attempting to control the relationship between the individual and his or her society' has been most fully utilized to explore the self-notion and emotion of the Lohorung people. She conducted this ethnography being influenced by the "culture and personality" theory, especially, by the work of Hallowell's work which became most pertinent to her and other writing about the self and emotion in the 1980s and 1990s. The notion of psychosocial reality being 'constructed' by our understanding of that reality owes much to Hallowell's concept of 'the culturally constituted behavioral environment' is central to this book, emphasizing as it does the interaction of individuals with the external world, and providing a frame of reference, within which notions of self and emotion and notions about self and other must be seen to be bound up with other cultural and social phenomena and with the terms in which people themselves understand their experiences. She used an approach "the participants' point of view" in the field which is central to the focus of her research (Hardman, 2000).

Another comprehensive study on the Mewahang Rai was produced by Martin Gaenszle in 1991 in German language and translated in English in 2000. This is a study of ethnic identity in a Kirati community of East Nepal, based on the field work in 1984-1985. In this study, the researcher has attempted to examine the traditions and practice of kinship of the Mewahang Rai. The ethnography of Mewahang Rai has shown that "ethnic identity" of Mewahang Rai is multi-layered and contextual rather than monolithic. The Yamphu's closest neighbors, both geographically and linguistically, are the Lohorung and Mewahang Rai.

Ann Forbes gives a good account of Yamphu people and their spiritual relationship with their land. By the account, it can be understood that the land of Yamphu is directly related with their existence. For example, "Kipat means land their ancestors cleared and made, land that they did not have to buy. Kipat means old things (purano Kura); it connects them to a past that is more glorious than that of other ethnic groups in Nepal. Only those Yamphu Rai who are the descendants direct or adopted, of the original ancestors who first settled in the village can hold kipat rights to the lands in Hedangna. Kipat connects them with more than the past grandeur of their Kirati ancestors. Anywhere they go, they are kipatya. As kipatya, they are from this place, Hedangna, They are unlike others, and kipat thus draws a conceptual boundary between those who are rooted in the land and history of Hedangna and those who are not (Ann, 1990:132)."

With regard to the Yamphu, Roland Rutgers conducted a linguistic research as a doctoral dissertation in 1998. In her dissertation, she has analyzed the characteristic of Yamphu language and categorized Yamphu language under the group of complex-pronominalizing languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Roland, 1998). From anthropological side, Ann Forbes studied about the land-ownership and the landscape among the Yamphu in the upper Arun Valley (1995, 1996, 1998). However, these studies are from outsider perspective. The Yamphu seemed to be interesting primarily because they are among the least known eastern Kirati groups and the region they live is also relatively remote than other for which reasons I have selected the Yamphu community for my study. Till now, there is wide gape in our knowledge about their culture, ritual traditions, religion, household organization, pattern of crops, and the socio-economic status which have not been studied.

Summing up, an analysis of these studies shows that various kinds of research materials on Kirati/non-Kirati indigenous groups are available, but research materials conducted on Yamphu people from socio-economic perspective. There is a huge lack of basic knowledge of Yamphu history, culture, religion, socio-economic condition for the purpose of bringing them in the forefront of mainstream of development. Therefore, the study, I undertook has made an attempt to explore these aspects too.

CHAPTER -III METHODOLOGY

3.1 General Background of the Study Area

This study has been conducted in indigenous community in Pathibhara VDC, Sankhuwasabha district. It lies in northeast part of Nepal and VDC lies in north part of Sankhuwasabha district of Nepal. This VDC is situated upper Arun valley, which is 35 Km. northeast of the Sankhuwasabha district center, Khandbari. The villages where the Yamphu form the majority are Hedangna, Uwa, Aala and Uling. Pawakhola and Num in east, Makalu in south, Hatiya in north and Num VDC in south surround it.

Having majority of Yamphu caste/ethnic in this VDC, and minority of other religious group of people, there exists different condition of people determining the situation of socio-economy status, which is influence by their social and economic activities of people. In the study, area is known as original place of Yamphu community. No study has been yet conducted on the socio-economic status of Yamphu community and its impact on rural development, reduction of rural poverty.

3.2 Source of Data:

The study in general is based on primary data generated from the field survey whereas the secondary data are obtained from district profile, village profile and many published and unpublished sources. The primary data are obtained from household survey of Yamphu community in Pathibhara VDC and 65 household (40%) more selected randomly for this study purpose from 161 total households of ward No. 5, 6 and 8. Structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used for collecting information about rural poverty and its impact on socio-economic condition in Yamphu community using interview and FGD method.

3.3 Sample Size:

According to CBS 2001, there were 161 households of Yamphu Rai in ward No. 5, 6, and 8 of Pathibhara VDC. But when I visited the field I found 162 households of Yamphu in that VDC. Then from these 162 households 65 households (approximately 40%) as sample is select randomly to conduct this study if the targeted group in this study.

3.4 Sample Design

This study is descriptive in nature. However, the analytical approaches have also been used to some extent. The sample size was select based on non-probability sampling.

3.5. Tools and techniques of data collection

Different tools and techniques were adopted to collect various types of data and information according to their nature. These data collection tools and techniques are follows:

3.5.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire is best tool for data collection. A set of structured questionnaire was prepared to get information from the tourists and local people. Such a way, quantitative and qualitative data were obtained.

3.5.2 Interview

Interview was useful to find out the condition social, cultural aspects. To take reliable information, key informants were also selected for interview including related and informed persons.

3.5.3 Observation

In this study, semi-participatory and field observation were adopted for collecting related information. Observation played great role to check the reliability of the information. Their economic condition, social aspects and living style was observed during the field visit, which has given clear-cut picture of this area and their activities.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of the Study

In order to increase the reliability and validity of my study, I've done the pretest of the questionnaires, each and every households of Yamphu community in Pathibhara VDC have visited by myself; questions relating to objectives have asked to those family member who were capable to answer. And in some cases the some issues have been discussed with different survey tools (i.e. structural questionnaire, FGD guideline, key informant interview etc.). After filling up the questionnaires, all the questionnaires have been fully edited coded and produced the required data. Finally, the data relating to objectives have been analyzed making table with descriptive method.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

The quality of any research were depends upon the techniques used to analyzed and present of data. The data has been collected in the fields according to its research objectives, design and crude data has been collected in fields has been one fully coded, checked and edit. There will utilize both simple and advance statistical tools such as:

- (a) Tabulation and clarification of data.
- (b) Graphical representation
- (c) Percentage distribution
- (d) use of bar and diagram

CHAPTER- IV

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY AREA

4.1 Sankhuwasabha District

The name of the district is named from the names of Two River. The one Sankhuwa River flows from the west and another Sabha flows in the middle from the northeast of the district. Before 2031 BS, the headquarters of the district was in Chainpur Bazaar and presently it is located in Khandbari. Sankhuwasabha encompasses an area of 3468.17 sq. km. It is bounded on the east Taplejung and Terahthum, while to the south Dhankuta, on the west Bhojpur and Solukhumbu and to the north China. The major five population of the district are Rai (Yamphu, Lohorung, Mewahang, and Yakkha) 22.44%, Chhetri 19.43%, Tamang 9.45%, Brahman 6.58% and Gurung 5.78 % (CBS, 2001).

The Sankhuwasabha district is in the Far Kirat region. In the history of Nepal, the Kirat region was generally divided into two sections on either side of the Arun River, i.e., "Khumbuwan", lying to the west, and the "Limbuwan", lying to the east. The Sankhuwasabha district is dominated by Kirat Rai groups. In addition, there are other groups of people in the upper boarder area who have Tibetan characteristics such as their language and culture. The lower Arun area, however, seems to be gone through a rapid change after the unification of Nepal in the late 18th century. Brahmins, Chhetris, and occupational castes of the Hindu society have integrated themselves with the indigenous society.

The life style and livelihood pattern of the various caste and ethnic groups in Sankhuwasabha has been largely determined by the environmental conditions. The upper Arun valley (upper area of Sankhuwasabha) is inhabited by Bhotes and the middle mountainous region is dominated by Indigenous Kirati groups. The Bhote people of this region are considered to be different from those in the Khumbu, Pharak, and Solu region and have not been studied intensively (Furer Haimendorf, 1975 cited by Shrestha, 1989)." Besides, in the southern region of Sankhuwasabha, Yakkha, an indigenous Kirati group, Tamang, Magar and Gurung live in this region. Other caste groups of typical Hindu culture-Bhramins, Chhetris and ethnic groups Newar live near to and in the district center Khandbari. The occupational caste are scattered throughout the district.

A small group of traditional potters called Kumale are to be found in the Kumal gaun area near Tumlingtar.

4.2 Location of the Study Area

Hedangna and Uling, the focal village of the study which is in Pathivara VDC, the traditional area of settlement of the Yamphu lies in Sankhuwasabha district in the eastern Kirat region. Sankhuwasabha district is situated in on the border between the traditional Kirat regions known as Pallo Kirat-the region of mountains east of the Arun, one of the largest rivers of the eastern Nepal, and Majh Kirat, the mountainous area along the west of the Arun.

The villages where the Yamphu form of the majority are Hedangna Uwa, Mangsima, Ala, Uling. Large communities of Yamphu also live in Num and Seduwa. Hedangna is just one and a-half day's walk to the northeast from Tumlingtar, the only one airport of Sankhuwasabha. In another words, Hedangna is 35 Km far from the district center Khandbari. Hedangna renowned for its terraced paddy fields on upper Arun valley. Agriculture is a main source of income of Yamphu people but it has based on subsistence traditional farming system. It is bordered with Num one of the largest villages of Yamphu, to the southeast; with Num and Pawakhola VDC in the east; with Hatiya VDC to the north and Makalu to the west. It covers the area of 80.42 sq. km., which is 2.31% of the District and 0.05% of Nepal.

4.2.1 Climatic Features

Physical environment of the mountain, particularly latitude, altitude and position in relation to seas and land-masses, determine or limit not only the distribution of plants, animals, and natural resources but also the activities of human beings. Many of the most important physical factors of land environment are understood in terms of climate. The climate of an area is generally expressed in various meteorological parameters, considering the whole range of weather conditions, temperature, rainfall, evaporation, sunlight, wind and so on.

The monsoon starts from April and May in Pathibhara VDC. The pre-monsoon rainfall during April and May is more pronounced. It is often accompanied with hailstorms and thunderstorms. During this time, farmers fear their crop of being destroyed. At that time there will be maize and potatoes. However, the pre-monsoon rainfall plays a

significant role in initiating the growth and spread of protective vegetal cover of weeds and grasses on land surfaces. Besides, the spring rain is indispensable to agriculture for planting maize, millet, and yam.

4.2.2 Water Resources

The theoretical hydropower potential of Nepal is estimated to be about 83,000 MW. Hydropower potential of the Arun River at its six sites is estimated to be of the order of 1,185 megawatts. Arun is a main river of this study area. The Arun drainage has formed a number of flat terraces, composed of alluvial plain deposits. The Arun III hydroelectric project (402 Megawatt), which is Nepal's biggest project, is to be built at the base of the Pathibhara and Num VDC. Besides meeting the domestic power needs, the project was expected to open the possibility of exporting electricity and thus provide a new dimension in the economic development of Nepal. The water resources of the Arun for hydroelectric power have great potential in Nepal.

4.3 The Yamphu People

The term Yamphu holds little weight in national and is generally only to be heard in the local inter-ethnic social environment or interaction. The Yamphu people belong to Kirati tribe, they represent one of more than forty-eight linguistically, and culturally distinct groups subsumed under the ethnonym "Rai". Yamphu people are one of the very least known groups across the country and even within the diverse Kirati groups. The Yamphu people call themselves "*Yakhaba*" and their language "*Yakhaba Khap*". The neighboring socio-cultural groups call them "Rai" although this term does not exactly address them because the term "Rai" is not by origin an ethnonym as they responded me, but a title conferred by Hindu rulers upon one segment of the tribal chieftains of East Nepal in recognition of their semi-autonomous status. It is also accepted by many historians that this term was introduced with the idea of incorporating them into the state administrative system. It was only during the course of the past century that this title became an ethnonym for the corresponding groups.

Historically, the Yamphu people reside in the few villages of the upper Arun valley of Sankhuwasabha district. These villages are situated on the broader between *Pallo Kirat* (Far Kirat) and *Majh Kirat* (Middle Kirat). The Yamphu's closet neighbors, both geographically and linguistically are the Lohorung and Mewahang Kirati groups.

Numerous linguistic relics still bear witness of the period in which the Yamphu are the first settlers in their territory.

According to the Yamphu myth, their ancestors were great hunters. The original inhabitants of the valley and the ancestor of the Yamphu were the Kiranti, famous hunters said to have put up a strong fight against the troops of Privithivi Narayan Shah who set out to unify the kingdom in the late 1700s. Unable to defeat the Kirati, Shah struck a deal. As long as the Kiranti paid tribute to the king, they would be allowed to be kings in their own lands. These rights were embodied in the land tenure system of kpat and sealed in a royal decree (Forbes, 1999:117)

4.4 The Yamphu and their Neighbors

There are three ethnic groups residing in the northeast of Sankhuwasabha district. They are Mewahang, Lohorung and Yamphu ethnic groups. Beside these groups, this area is homeland of some other Kulung, Chamling and Khaling ethnic groups. But these other groups are migrated from the Khumbu region. This region can be called as a "culture area" as the three Kirati groups-Yamphu, Mewahang and Lohorung share some linguistic and cultural affinities. Regarding the meaning of 'Culture Area', Berreman states:

This is a term, which anthropologists use to describe areas within which the ways of life of the residents are relatively distinctive and homogeneous. That is, they share more elements of culture, or more of the elements deemed crucial for purposes of the comparison being made, with one another than they do with other groups. They share a distinctive pattern of learned and transmitted characteristics (Gerald Berreman, 1963).

Therefore, the Yamphu's closest neighbors are Mewahang and Lohorung. Mewahang communities inhabit on the north side of the Arun and to the west, the Yamphu settlements and Lohorung inhabit on the south-west of the Yamphu settlements.

There is another argument made by George ven Driem (1990) that "the autonyms used by the Limbus, Yakkhas, Yamphu and Lohorung are indicative of a close historical relationship between them. The Limbu call them, *Yakthumba*; the Yakkha call themselves, *Yakkha*; and the Yamphu, Lohorung refer to their language *Yakkhaba*". But,

the last one is not so because Yamphu and Lohorung call themselves Yakkhba and their language *Yakkhaba Khab*. From this perspective, Limbu, Yakkha, Lohorung, and Mewahang can be supposed as the close relatives than other Kirati ethnic groups. In the field too, I found the respondents supporting this argument. The Yamphu people suppose that these groups are their brothers separated long years before. Regarding inter ethnic relations, Gaenzle (2000) states:

The situation is ambiguous with respect to descendants of the second eldest brother, Mewahang, This term is naturally taken to refer, other Rai groups of the Arun Valley-that is the Lohorung, Yamphu, Yakkha and others-subsumed under it "in the broader sense." It may be seen as certain kind of ethnocentricity that the ancestral father of all these groups should be called Mewahang (Gaenzle, 2000)

Many Kirati groups have myths relating to their origin and migration. Yamphu myths explain that all the Kirati groups Limbu, Khombu, Yamphu, and Kochemech of the Terai are of offspring of a common Kirati ancestor. However, the Yamphu myths assert that the second eldest brother is Yamphu and remains silent about Yakkha, Mewahang, and Lohorung Kirati groups.

The researcher found some elementary similarities such as the ancestral cults, *Mangsuk rite*, *Nuwagi rite*, *Iksamang rite*, relations between affine, ancestral deities, the symbolism of the household and ritual significance of pig and house made beer exist among these Kirati groups, which offer a proof as being they are the close neighbors of the Yamphu people. Besides, they have marriage relation with each other and they have close linguistic affinity too. The Yamphu people prefer marriage partner from among Lohorung, Mewahang and Limbu rather than Khombu, which is evidence that shows they are brother groups.

4.5 Demography

4.5.1 Size of Population

According to CBS 2001, the total population of Rai is 7.2 percent of the total population within which the share of Yamphu is not known. But, in the Census 2001, the total number of people speaking Yamphu language is recorded 1722. According to the estimate of Yamphu Kirat Society, the National organization of

Yamphu people, established in 2060 for the conservation, preservation and development of Yamphu culture, language and religion, the population size of Yamphu could go many folds more than this. This organization claimed that the Census record does not represent the exact number of Yamphu population. According to the Census 2001, Pathibhara VDC alone constitutes 1856 Yamphu population.

4.5.2 Age and Sex Structure of Sample Households

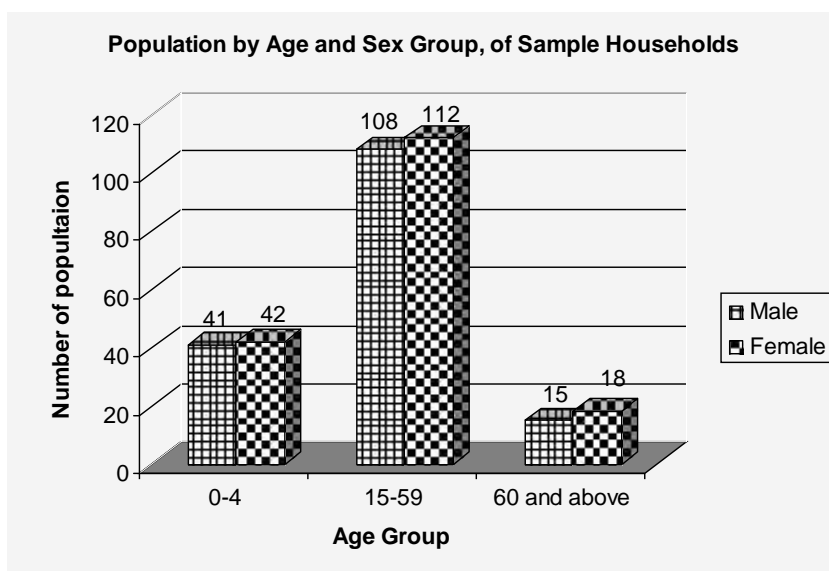
The breakdown of a population into a various age groups shows the age structure of that population. (Table-1) Yamphu 15 to 59 constitutes 65.5 percent, which is higher economically active population of Yamphu out of which the number of female composition is 33.3 percent and 32.1 percent male. In the case of early and youth population, Yamphu aged under 15 constitutes 24.7 percent and above 60 composition only 9.8 percent.

Table No. 4.1

Population by Age and Sex Group, of Sample Households

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 -14	41	12.2	42	12.5	63	24.7
15-59	108	32.2	112	33.3	220	65.5
60 and above	15	4.3	18	5.4	53	9.8
Total	164	48.8	172	51.2	336	100

Figure No. 4.1



4.5.3 Ethnic Composition of Pathibhara

It is customary to analyze total population by caste/ethnic composition, since such kind of information can be used for socio-economic, socio-cultural and political planning. According to the census 2001, the study area is inhabited by different 12 caste/ethnic groups found in Nepal. Most of the population of Pathibhara VDC is dominated by Yamphu. According to the Census 2001, total number of household is 640 in Pathibhara VDC. According to the Census 2001, the total population of Pathibhara VDC is 3150 out of which 1856, (59%) are Yamphu; 241 (7.8%) Gurung; 83 (2.6%) Tamang; 281 (9%) Chhetri; 8 (0.3%) Newar; 60 (1.9%) Brhmin; 256 (5%) Sherpa; 173(5.5%) Kami; 78 (2.4%) Damai; 95(3%) Bhote; 3 (0.09%) unidentified; 7 (0.2%) others. Based on this data, the majority of the population is Yamphu and second major group is Chhetri and the third major group is Sherpa.

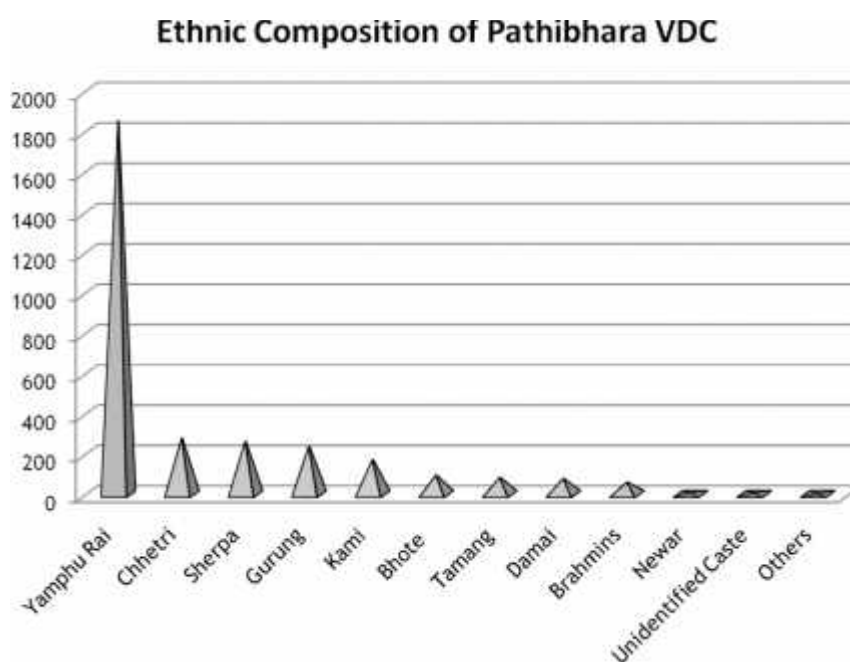
Table No. 4.2

Ethnic Composition of Pathibhara VDC

S N	Caste/Ethnicity	Total Population
1.	Yamphu Rai	1856
2.	Chhetri	281
3.	Sherpa	265
4.	Gurung	241
5.	Kami	173
6.	Bhote	95
7.	Tamang	83
8.	Damai	78
9.	Brahmins	60
10.	Newar	08
11.	Unidentified Caste	07
12.	Others	03
13.	Total	3150

Source: Jilla Bastugat Bibaran, Sankhuwasabha, 2063 (2007)

Figure No. 4.2



4.5.4 Ward wise Population Composition of Pathibhara VDC

According to census conducted in 2001, the total population of Pathibhara VDC is 3150 of which 1563 (49.62%) are males and 1587 (50.38%) are females.

Table No. 4.3

Ward wise Population Composition of Pathibhara VDC

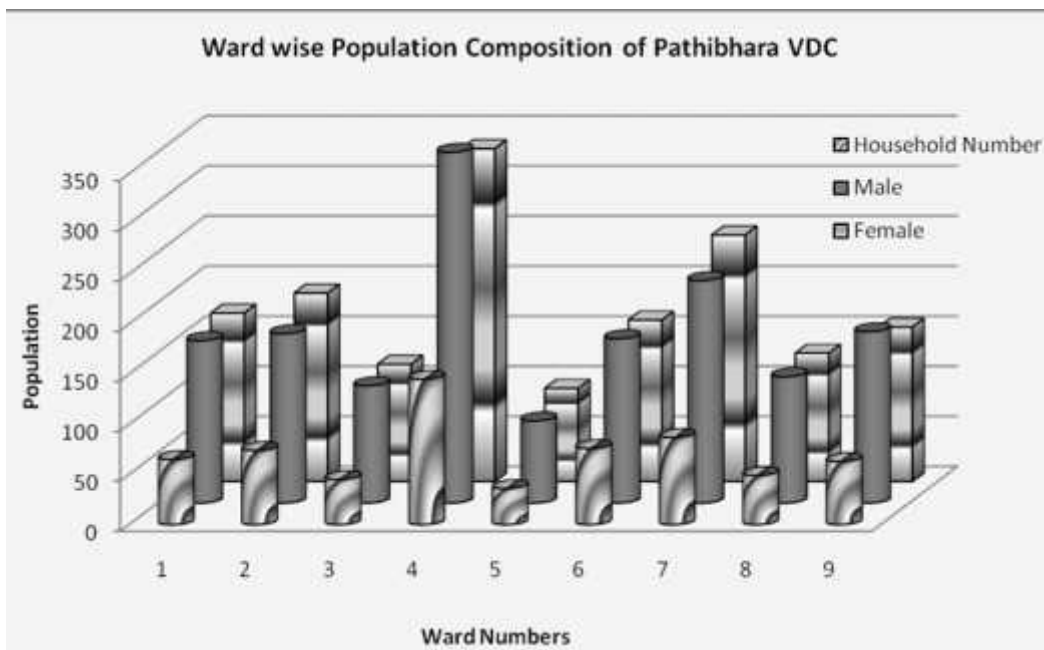
Ward No.	Household Number	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
Total	640	1563	1587	3150
1	65	162	168	330
2	74	169	188	357
3	45	117	117	234
4	145	350	332	682
5	36	82	93	175
6	76	164	161	325
7	87	222	246	468
8	50	126	128	254
9	63	171	154	325

Source: Jilla Bastugat Bibaran, Sankhuwasabha, 2063 (2007)

The above table shows that in most of the Wards of Pathibhara VDC, the population of female is slightly higher than male. The majority populous Wards of the VDC are 4 and 7.

Figure: No. 4.3

Composition of Ward wise Population of Pathibhara VDC



4.6 Educational Status of the Pathibhara VDC

Analyzing the school attendance the educational status above 6 years above of Pathibhara VDC seems not satisfactory. Of the total population 3150, only 2.9% have attended high school. Majority of the population (29.2%) are in the condition of "Read and Write" and 7.7% only can read and 60.2% people are illiterate

Table No. 4.4
Education of the Pathibhara VDC by level

Level	Male %	Female %
Illiterate	51.5	69.6
Informal	10.1	5.0
Primary	20.8	14.9
Lower Secondary	12.4	9.9
SLC or Above	5.1	0.6

Source: CBS, District Profile of Bhojpur and Sankhuwasabha, 2007

4.7 Health Status of the Study Area

Yamphu are basically dependent on traditional healing practices. With the exception of some Yamphu individuals, health services are almost beyond access for a great majority of Yamphu people. There is only one health post which does not have sufficient medicine and services to offer the people. As most of the Yamphu are living in remote and inaccessible/undeveloped areas, and are illiterate and poor, they are not in a position to reap benefits from the current health service delivery system.

Most Yamphu first prefer to go to their shaman for the treatment. Access to health post of all samples household is within 1 to 3 hours to reach. Access to hospital is 12-18 hours of reach because the only one hospital of the district is situated in Khandbari. So, they are at disadvantage. The only one hospital is situated in Khandbari, which is 35 Km. from Pathibhara VDC. In emergency case, they have to carry the patient on their back. They are far from the hospitals. Yamphu are remained at a disadvantage in access to services provided by the government line agencies. But some Yamphu were found suffering from Jaundice, Tuberculosis, and other normal illness.

4.8 Infrastructures of Development

Overall, the VDC has been categorized remote, as it lies on the way to Kimathanka, the border with Tibet (China). However, some of its Wards 1 and some village of ward number 8 are very remote. Gadhi is the main market place Pathibhara VDC where the VDC office, Post Office, Ayurved, veterinary and police post. There is a very small weekly *hat bazaar* (local market) held each Friday where women from nearby villages sell lentils, potatoes, raksi (liquor made locally from millet), sweet potatoes, vegetables and, very occasionally, bananas or oranges. Health post is in ward no three. Some households are using Solar system for TV set and light. There are four Telephone lines in the Pathibhara VDC. There is one High school, one lower secondary and nine Primary schools.

CHAPTER- V

The Yamphu People

The Yamphu society is completely based on the traditions of respect and honor. There are different traditional indigenous institutions which have made possible smooth running the Yamphu society since time immemorial. This chapter will briefly throw light on these socio-cultural institutions and their functions to achieve the social goals.

5.1 Ethnic History of the Yamphu

Yamphu myths of origin tell that they are immigrated into the present settlement from the south. It is said that in the time of 'Sristi' (origin), there were four brothers who set off their journey to the north from the Kasi. Among the four brothers, one left in the Terai called *Koche-Meche*. Other three, one elder *Khombu* took the route of Dudh Kosi, next brother *Limbu* took the route of Tamor and Yamphu ancestors traveled along the route of the great Arun River as far up as the Tibet, where they intermarried with the Tibetan women and in the end they moved back to the present area of the settlement. There are still some indicators that show a close cultural and ritual affinity with Tibetan Bhote of the northern region of the present settlement. Those who reached up the Tibet and came back are called "*Kessaba-Ungsaba Yamphu*".

At the same time, there is another Yamphu category which is called "*Kessaba Yamphu*". Mythically, those Yamphu whose ancestors did not cross the Arun River in the time of migration are called *Kessaba Yamphu*. In this regards, most clan groups have their own legends describing how their ancestors came and founded settlements and took the possession of their territory. These founders (ancestors) are generally terms "*Tuba-Labaji*" and are generally colorful personalities enriched with divine powers or magical power. Yamphu people suppose that these ancestors are the sources of power and prosperity because they used to have extra ordinary abilities.

5.2 Kinship System and Kinship Terminology

Kinship has been a central to anthropology since its origin, and perhaps especially so since the publication of Morgan's "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity (1870)" (Dictionary of Anthropology, 1986:157). Yamphu kinship includes marriage alliance and relations of affinity. In Yamphu society, father represents the side of "bone" (had) and the mother represents the side of "milk" (dudh). A unique characteristic feature of Yamphu kinship is the strong bond of relationship between brothers and sisters. For

example, a man is supposed to be responsible to see his sister's interest is safeguarded, shows protective concerns for her and her children even after she gets married.

Most of the Yamphu kinship terms are classificatory, so they refer to a whole class of genealogical positions.

5.3 Social Structure

When we look at the Yamphu society, it appears to be based on the beliefs of equality. In this sense the Yamphu society is an egalitarian society. Though they have a complex clan organization, yet hierarchy is not found among them. Clan as a system is very important in Yamphu society to maintain social relationship with one another.

The Yamphu society is patrilineal and partifocal in structure. However, men and women enjoy relatively equal status. A woman has equal chances for influencing the household decisions as well as attending all ritual ceremonies. The ownership of the property is common. The group identity as social groupings constitute themselves not only vertically-that is, across generations by means of filiations but also horizontally, namely, by marriage relations. The Yamphu society is divided into many clans, further into sub-clans and finally into lineage.

5.3.1 Clan

"Clan" connotes the smallest patrilineal descent groups, a specific name, having a generational depth of at least seven generations also representing, in ideal terms, the agnatic exogamous unit. "In Mewahang, the name of a clan is frequently derived from the name of a son or descendant of the mythical first settler, or else the latter from the former" (Gaenzle 2000: 136). One of the most important features of Yamphu is dual process of emergence of clan called *sekowa pokme* or *hardphora* (breaking bones) and clan separation due to migration or individual characters. In Yamphu, the name of a clan-'*Seppa*' is derived from the name of a place-Seduwa which can be assumed due to migration and a son with special characters or from the residential situation. The clan name *Michreng*, may be given here: it is derived from the words Mick (eye) +Chi (wing eye frequently) and eventually the name of his generations as a clan name are derived. A similar situation exists in the case of Lohorong. For example, *Lamsong* : it is derived from the word lam (path)+song (upside) which is explained as referring to the origin of the clan through a household residing above the roadside.

The Yamphu are divided into a number of named units as *bansa* which can be considered for the clan. Over the years the clan has become dispersed, and its

segments have cleared and laid claim to virgin lands in a number of areas of northern part of Sankhuwasabha.

Yamphu Clans

Kessaba-Ungsaba	Kessaba
Mennaba, Khakkura, Khikkura, Seppa	Hanglemba, Kesa, Chankha, Rumbangsa, Tyangsa, Michreng, Tinguwa, Mangbakhim, Yumpang, Sibau Yangkhira, Aala, Yuba, Mangbakhim, Walihang

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The split of a clan group takes place after at least seven generations when a marriage take place between relatives in the agnatic line which is called *harphora* (incestuous). It is the customary law of Yamphu that the marriage between the same clan is not permissible before seven generation. This has to do with the *harphora* rule, according to which marriage may legitimately occur "within the clan after seven generations, which then leads to a formal split of the clan. But in the time of field survey, respondents said that there was no such practice even after eighth generations. However, it is difficult to check, but several clans do indeed seem to have a generational depth of much more than eighth generation.

The Yamphu society shows that the clan system is the basis of social relationship with one another. Clan purity is given high priority. Stated genealogically, the clan is strictly exogamous for seven generations, beginning with the generation of the sons of the founder. It is forbidden for a man and women tracing common agnatic descent to marry between members of the same clan regardless of genealogical distance. As discussed above, marriage between the same clans before seven generations is considered a serious offensive that pollute the Yamphu individual and his or her clan and he/she involved in such marriage losses one's status and right in the Yamphu community. From this point of view, the primary function of the clan is to regulate marriage. In addition to not marrying a fellow clan member, one should not marry a member of one's mother's or grandmother's lineage.

We can find that some clan groups have other clan groups as brother clan groups. Such system is found among Athapariya Rai of Dhankuta. "Among the

Athapariyas sometimes two clan groups are also made 'social-brothers', and sexual relations between these two groups are then considered incestuous and intermarriage is forbidden (Dahal, 1985:31).

5.3.2 Local Clan Segment

As clan is an exogamous unit, the marriage within clans is excluded up to seventh generations and afterwards, either new clan arise through intra-clan marriage or -that is not the case- the old clan retains. Generally, the Yamphu do not want to split the clan and want to have inter-clan marriage. But we can find many segments of one clan having different sub clans within one clan which are still exogamous. For example, Khakkur and Khikkura were both subsumed under one clan Khakkura, they may not intermarry. We can find this fact by *Mangsuk* rite which ancestral cults occur in every household in every year. Some local clan segments are: Khumbuwa Tengsa and Pirthya Tangsa, Num Kesa and Mangsing Kesa.

This de facto exogamous portion of a clan can be termed as "local clan segment". This, in practical terms, is relevant and most significant dimension of clans. When one clan breaks up into several local clans, it is nothing but the common name that binds the members of these various local clans together.

Before the abolition of the kipat system, by virtue of membership of such a local clan segment a Yamphu obtains the rights of ownership to kipat land in the territory with which it is associated. Even if a member of a local clan segment living away from the territory of the group, could exercise his rights to a plot of land.

5.3.3 Lineage

"When segmentation occurs within the local clan segment the unilineal descent groups which emerge can be called lineage." (Caplan 1960:26) Lineages are emerged from the division of clans and the members of which trace their relationship to a common remembered ancestor. In lineages in which a particular ancestor was well-known and prestigious, the members of such lineage may enjoy prestigious life. A particular lineage becomes established as highest by virtue of having had an illustrious or influential founder. Within that lineage, descendants of the founder's oldest son are highest; descendants of the second son are next, and so forth. This type of social hierarchy also manifests in ritual

performance and feast and festivals. The lineage group of Yamphu forms a cooperative unit, both with regard to economic and, more importantly, ritual concerns. It is expected that lineage brothers will come when called whether on the occasion of certain kinds of work or particular ritual affairs. The various lineages are organized within clans.

5.3.4 Lasa Gotra-Kasi Gotra and Kasi Gotra (Totem)

The Yamphu myths divide the whole Yamphu in two categories- Kessaba-Ungsaba (Kasi gotra-Lasa gotra) and Kessaba (Kasi gotra). Based on this position, some cultures are found among the two groups. According to their myths of Yamphu advent, those Yamphu who reached in Lasa (in Tibet) from Kasi and returned and settled in the present territory across the Arun river are called *Ungsaba* and those Yamphu who did not cross the Arun river and settled in the present territory are called *Kesaba*. According to their ethnic history, the major sub-tribes who returned back from Lasa were *Mennaba*, *Khakkura* and *Seppa*. Over the years, these major divisions became dispersed and its segments made settlement clearing the virgin land of the Arun Valleys.

Such type of categories can be found in other various Kirati groups. "...this division into gotra and the myth that provides the basis for it are documented in the case of Limbu: the "ten Limbu" brothers (das Limbu) originally came from Kasi (Banaras), but while other group went further to Lasa (Tibet) and returned to Nepal only later" Levi 1985 II: 78,222; cf. also Sagant 1976b:162 cited by Gaenzle, (2000:115). Gautam and Thapa-Magar regarding gotra in Rai Kirati presents as follows:

While the Rai of the Lasagotra prefer beef, those of the Kasigotra loathe it. From this sort of difference, it can be assumed that the present day Rai emerged from the assimilation or union of the two separate ancestors and today they are split into two separate sections to retain the vestiges of the union which we assume to have occurred in antiquity (Gautam and Thapa-Magar, 1994:156)

It is clear that myths of various Kirati Rai and Limbu deal with Lasa gotra and Kasi gotra classify themselves. Gaenzle further explains "Among the Mewahang, too, I repeatedly came across the division into the Kasi gotra and Lasa gotra. Even if the mythical background is usually unclear and the use of these terms in the various localities is quite inconsistent, and if not contradictory, they

nevertheless plainly serve to classify social reality" (Gaenszle, 2000:116). Gaenszle has asserted that Yamphu are the first who called themselves Lasa gotra but did not explain even within the Yamphu we can find Kasi gotra position.

Certainly, Yamphu who belongs to Lasa gotra are frequently associated with Bhote of the farther northern border of the district and sometimes this association is used in negative sense. The association has some proof that there is saying within the Yamphu society "*Mangsuk bigrema, goruko masu chahinchha. Mathi bata Bhote bolayera Mangsuk bujhaunu lagaunu parchha*" (if the *Mangsuk* or *pitri* become angry, we should offer beef meat and call Bhote for ritual performance." This also proves that the Bhoti of northern side Honghong, Syaksula, etc are of the offspring of the Yamphu ancestors. But not all Bhote as one informant suggested to me that there are two types of Bhote-one is purely China-Tibetan (Tibetan root) who fled away from Tibet and settled there recently and the others who are indigenously residing there. He further informed that in many areas still today the Indigenous Bhotya do not marry another Bhote. One of the interesting facts is that a number of Yamphu clans, such as Mennawa and Mangbakhim are also found in Bhote of this region. This fact suggests that this was in fact the case: while returning from Tibet, some of the groups came late or stayed on the way in the present regions and some who set up a bit earlier from Tibet came down in the present areas-Hedangna, Seduwa, Num etc. Another interesting fact is that the identical clan names found in Bhote are exclusively from the Ungsaba category. This assumption is also supported by the following narratives made by Hardman:

...'brothers' for the Lohorung include all those they call Khombu living to the west of the Arun' all the Yakthumba (or Limbu), all the Yakkhaba as well s the Mech-Koche and Dhimal of the Terai. Lohorung also accept as 'brothers a clan call Lohorunge of the Tibetan-speaking Lhomi of the Upper Arun who they refer to as Syamdang 'chi' (might be Samba chi instead of Syamdang chi). ... Nevertheless, they still refer to them as a 'brother' clan (Hardman, 2000:116).

Gaenszle writes

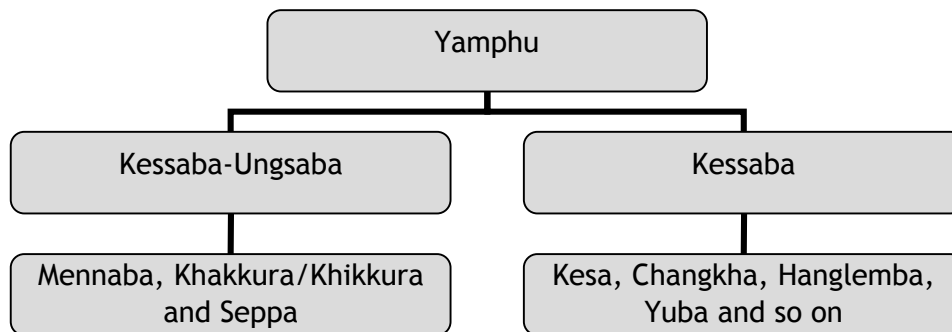
The Mewahang myths describe an exact emigrational route taken by the ancestors: according to one version they traveled along the eastern side of the Arum as far up as the region north of Hosanna, where married

with the Bhatia, and in the end moved along the western side of the valley back south to their present area of settlement.(Gaenzle, 2000:50)

In the citation of Gaenzle above, the myth of migration of Mewahang ancestors describes that in the place of Hedangna, Mewahang ancestor married with a Bhote, but today in Hedangna, we find no myths or history of Bhote settlement in that place. Instead, many Yamphu still today assume that Hedangna as one of the first place of Yamphu settlement.

There are mythical ambiguities that the myths do not tell anything about Kesaba Yamphu. The question which makes us think is that those of the Kasi gotra.

Figure No. 5.1 Yamphu Ethnic Organization



5.3.5 Samek and Chawa

Samek and Chawa provide Yamphu a key framework for understanding themselves territory and history and relate them with their ancestors. The respondents responded that *samek* is original or proto-name which identifies people, clans, and objects in their relations with the ancestors. *Chawa* is another key element that identifies and binds together a clan, and differentiate from other Yamphu clan. *Chawa* denotes the spring where the ancestors first drank and used as permanent source of water resource. As it was the source of water, the ancestors first settled and first cultivated the land around. Hence the word *Chawa* also denotes the territorial name that links Yamphu through identification with the clan to a particular area or territory. In this regard Chaw identifies Yamphu as they were in the past before any splits occurred and remind them of their locality. Therefore, to respect their ancestors, they still conduct Chawa rite in their respective localities.

We can argue that one's *samek* and *chawa* are like threads that make spiritual link with ancestors. In other word, *Chawa* and *Samek* is the lens through which one can trace his/her a line of continuity with ancestors. *Samek* and *Chawa* are the concepts through which Yamphu individual maintain spiritual adherence to one's clan group and the clan territory and these are only one medium to communicate with the ancestors. Just before some decades, *Chawa* was the main basis of claming one's territory.

On the other hand *samek* plays vital role in social interaction in Yamphu society. It is the first element to know about a strange person before they establish relationship between themselves. When Yamphu introduce themselves to another clan, they first ask their *samek* and *chawa* for each other. Then only, they know how close they are. In every ritual, the *samek* is asked and cited.

Clan	Chawa	Samek
<i>Mennawa</i>	<i>Rudang Chawa</i>	<i>Kessaba-Ungssaba/Kessab-Unssama</i>
<i>Khakura</i>	<i>Pyakkhim Chawa</i>	<i>Kessaba-Ungssaba/Kessab-Unssama</i>
<i>Pakpusa</i>	<i>Yuma Chawa</i>	<i>Yungchaba/Yugnchama</i>
<i>Tyangsa</i>	<i>Yuma Chawa</i>	<i>Yungchaba/Yugnchama</i>
<i>Kesa</i>	<i>Oktongwa Chawa</i>	<i>Kessaba/Kessama</i>

CHAPTER - VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter describes with factors related to the socio-economic characteristics of Yamphu community of Pathibhara VDC. This chapter also attempts to analyze the collected data and information for securing the objectives of the study. It drives the major findings of the socio-economic status of Yamphu community of Pathibhara VDC is presented. It also includes social characteristics, income. Employment, land ownership, etc. such type of data is analysis which show the general information about the Yamphu community in the study area.

6.1 Size of Family

Family is the basic and universal social structure. It fulfills various needs of the members in addition it performs several function including continuity, integration and change in the society. The institution of family has a universal existence. It has existed in every age and in every society and is found in all parts of the world.

It is know that people in the rural areas consider more children as a blessing. A woman does not establish herself with her husband and as in-laws until she has children, especially, males, sons play important role for any society of ours because son brings strength to the family in location where factions and feuds are current. Family size of the Yamphu population in study area is given below.

Table No. 6 .1
Sizes of Families of Yamphu in the Selective Study Area

Size of Family	No of households	Population	Percentage
3	3	9	2.7
4	18	72	21.7
5	24	120	36.3
6	12	72	21.8
7	6	42	12.7
8 and above	2	16	4.8
Total	65	331	100

Source: Field survey, 2008

Table 5.1 shows that 36.3 percent populations have 5 or more persons in their family. 21.7 percent populations have less 4 persons in their family. It shows 5.5 person family member in average. Keeping in a view of relatively low agriculture income of Yamphu people, it is essential to take an effective plans programme towards Yamphu community

about family planning, because this stature of family is curse for the Yamphu people in contemporary age.

6.2 Village Economy

The mainstay of livelihood remains a mixed farming system, which concentrates on subsistence production. The main crops are paddy, maize, millet, and potato. There are two basic cropping patterns: paddy-based for irrigated land, and maize-based for dry (rainfed) land. Livestock and forestry form an integral part of the farming system. Their mode of farming is very simple. The cultivation of wet-field rice is the most significant cultivated product among the Yamphu. Livestock is the principal source of draught power for plugging croplands and for replenishment of soil nutrients.

Paddy has planted in irrigated terraces (Khet) along the mountain-slopes, mainly in the lowlands close to Arun valleys. In the month of April, prior to commencement of the monsoon rains, seed-beds are ploughed, swamped, and leveled, after which they are seeded and fertilized. Five to six weeks later, when the seedlings are about 12 inches high, they are transplanted into the paddy terraces, which have in the meanwhile prepared as were the seed-beds. During August, the fields are weeded and the paddy is ready for harvesting in November. Most cultivators grow only one paddy crop a year. There is little attempt to plant winter crops for fear of tier effects on the paddy yield.

Maize is another main crop grown in dry fields (Bari), generally situated on higher ground and mainly on plots surrounding homesteads. The fields are fertilized with a mixture of straw, dry leaves, manure and ploughed in January. In the month of February/March, the seeding takes place. In the month of April, the fields are weeded and the maize is ready for harvesting in late of August or early September.

Millet is another chief crop grown by Yamphu. Millet seed is sown in seed beds on dry land especially in Khorya (slash-burn) in July, and transplanted in the shade of the maize stalks. The crop is ready for harvesting in November.

In Yamphu rituals, the millet is of great importance. There is no offering that does not contain millet beer, Millet is cultivated for making beer which ritually necessary for performing the rituals, ancestor worship and any other kinds of *Sammang* (Puja). Besides, in Yamphu culture, we cannot find the culture of tea, instead, they take millet jand and raksi (liquor made locally from millet and Maize). Beer serves as Tiffin and breakfast of a day. It has a great role in the process of serving the guests.

In the myth relating to the origin of the Yamphu people, the first practice of agriculture is slash-burn agriculture. The Kiranti of East Nepal engaged in slash-burn agriculture until well into the middle of the last century, cultivating, among other things, mountain or dry-field rice. Like Limbu but to a limited extent, the Mewahang occasionally practice cultivation of rice not requiring irrigation on Khoriya (burnt) fields (see Gaenzle 2000:45). In the past decades, slash and burn cultivation system was used for cultivation maize, millet, paddy, vegetables for food and cotton for clothes. However, these days Slash-burn cultivation is still in practice among Yamphu for the purpose of growing rice and millet seeds later these grown seedings are planted in the fields. They prefer it because while getting seeds germinated they do not require irrigation. However, this practice is now very much limited because of the Community Forest. Besides, many private forests are covered with cardamom plantation.

6.4 Major Occupation

Nepal is an agricultural country. Most of the people are farmers. In this study also a large number of economically active population are engaged in agriculture. It is the backbone of the economy of this village. Majority of Yamphu people are engaged in agricultural occupation but they do not produce enough food around the year and have traditional agriculture. Some of their agro-based activities are seasonal also. There are many barriers for increasing the production. These are lack of irrigation, improved seeds fertilizer, insecticides, pesticides, improved tools, agricultural loan and technology. The major occupation of the Yamphu community in study area is shown in the table below.

Table: 6.2

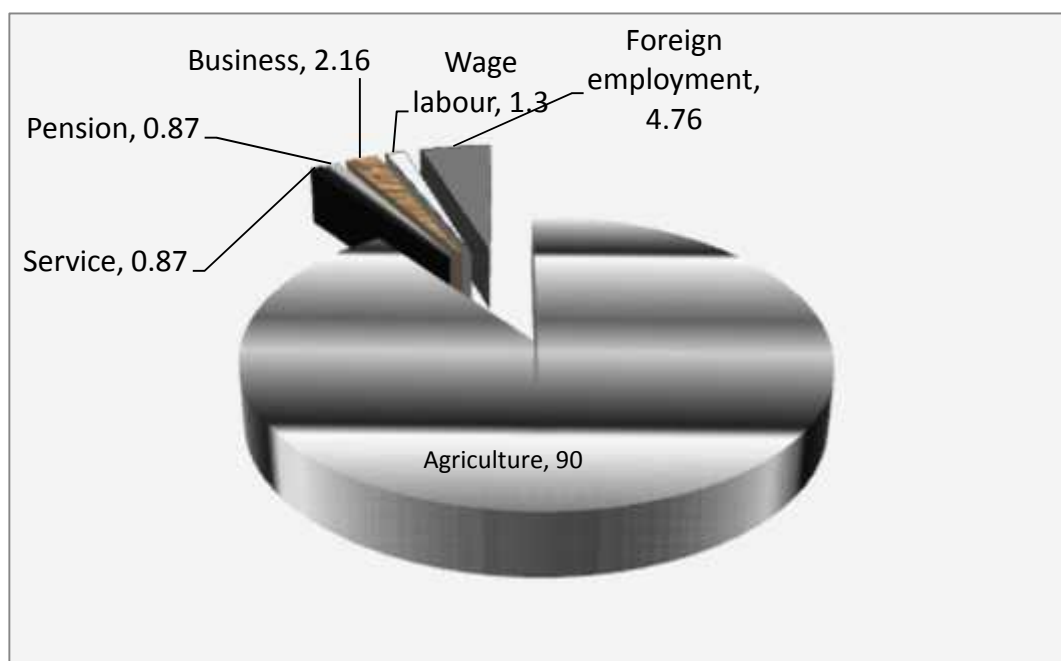
Distribution of Yamphu People by Major Occupation

Occupation	No. of population	Percentage
Agriculture	208	90
Government Service	2	0.87
Pension	2	0.87
Business	5	2.16
Wage labour	3	1.3
Foreign employment	11	4.76
Total	231	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2008.

According to this field survey, Table 5.3 shows that agriculture is the main source of income i.e. 90 percent of the total population of Yamphu community in selective study area are engaged in farming. 0.87 percent population engaged in service. 0.87 percent population has their pension. 2.16 percent population engaged in seasonal business. 1.3 percent engaged in wage labour and 4.76 percent population engaged in foreign employment. This shows that, besides agriculture many Yamphu people work in foreign country.

Figure No.6.1
Distribution of Yamphu People by Major Occupation



6.5 Size of Land Holding

The traditional land tenure system of the Yamphu is no longer in practice today. As Pathibhara VDC has of an overwhelming agricultural based economy, the primary source of economy of the Yamphu is land. In other words, their main mode of subsistence is agriculture. Therefore, land is essential for a Yamphu household's economic security. Since, agriculture is at present basis of livelihood of Yamphu, those who posses more land, control the economy. The size of land one holds raises the status of a family. Therefore, very often, the land has been one of the major causes occurring disputes between brothers and other relatives. As discussed above, every Yamphu takes land as the property inherited by his ancestors (*tuba kham*). But, I found the Yamphu farmers having no exact knowledge of the size of their fields they cultivate. The table presented below shows the size of fields in ropani after converting one pathi seeds equals one ropani (my assumption).

Table No. 6.3

Landholding Status of the Sample Household (Land in Ropani)

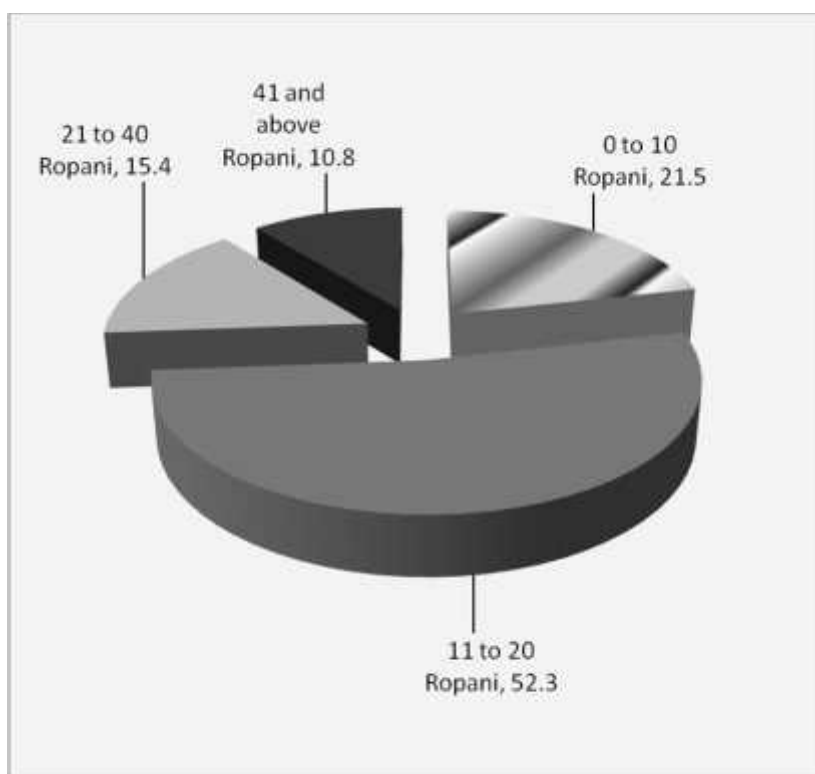
S.N.	Land Size (in Ropani)	Number of households	Percent
1	0 -10	14	21.5
2	11-20	34	52.3
3	21-40	10	15.4
4	41 and above	7	10.8
5	Total	65	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The Table shows total Yamphu have won land, that majority of Yamphu (73.8%) hold land less than 20 ropani. Only 10.8 percent respondent have enough land. It seems that being the Kipat holder or Indigenous people of this region, today they hold very little land. The Yamphu categorize their land into three kinds: *khet*, *bari* and Jangle. The *khet* are of two kinds-irrigated *khet* and *bhalpani* (depends on the rainfall). Mostly, the irrigated *khet* are in the lowlands which is also called *bansi*.

Figure No. 6.2

Categorization of Land



6.6 Type of House

It is well known that the type and size of land holding of household indicates poverty or prosperity of that household. Among the sample of Yamphu, households have stone and thatched roof houses (86.2%), followed by plank wall and thatched roof (7.69%) and stone wall and tin roof (6.15%). No household of Yamphu owns a concrete house in Pathibhara.

Table No. 6.4
Types and Ownership of Households of the Sample Households

Type of households	Number	Percent
Cemented	-	-
stone wall and Tin roof	4	6.15
stone wall and Thatched roof	56	86.2
Plank Wall and Thatched roof	5	7.69
Total	65	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008

6.7 Cash Crop

Nowadays, Yamphu people are very much attracted to cultivate cardamom (Alaichi) as a promising cash crop. For 3-25 years, cardamom has been the major sources of income for the people of Pathibhara. It has substantial contribution in the local subsistence pattern. One respondent said to me that if there were no cardamom, many people of this area, would have migrated to Terai or India in search of livelihood.

Cardamom has become one of the most promising cash crops in terms of both economy and ecology of the area. The income generated from cardamom seems a very encouraging situation. Some of the farmers responded to me that they have replaced their paddy fields with the cultivation of cardamom. Lack of enough suitable places most of the peoples of Pathibhara, they cultivated neighboring village below (Pepuwa) in community forest which is lice in Num VDC word no.1. Cardamom is generally grown in humid ravines colonized by the alder trees, which provide shade and fix nitrogen. According to the respondents, alder leaves provide excellent manure and its fast-growing wood provides fuel for drying. Therefore, alder is regarded as an indicator tree for the cultivation of cardamom. The average production of cardamom of the sample household is 120 kg per household. Based on this average production, the average income from cardamom is Rs. 16,500.00 Such an improvement in income appears

encouraging but there are immense gap among the household. The extremity in production rate ranged from 20 kg to 1000 kg in sample households. On the other hand, the poor farmers have been exploited by the local businessmen. Sometimes, they have to sell their cardamom even at 50% less price than the selling season. It has been their fate because there is no any other mechanism for management of market and control about such exploitation. So, there is an urgent need of market management so that the poor farmer will not be cheated and will get fair price of their cardamom.

6.8 Income and Expenditure

5.8.1 Income Sources

The average income of the Yamphu seems satisfactory. In another words, if we analyze the income of Yamphu household, it appears good. The table below clearly shows the sources of income of the sample households throughout a year. Maximum income (43%), Yamphu made from cash crop especially from cardamom and secondly from agriculture (25%). It is clear that cardamom is the major source of income of the Yamphu people. Other sources of income are very nominal such as 17 percent from livestock, 3 percent from wages, and 12 percent from Foreign employment.

Table No. 6.5
Income Generation from Various Sources

SN	Kinds of sources	Income per household per year in average	Income in percent
1	Agriculture	18005	25
2	Cash crops cardamom	30500	43
3	Wage/Remuneration	2100	3
4	Livestock	12000	17
5	Foreign employment	8350	12
	Total	70955	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008

(Note: Detail of income from agriculture, Rice @ Rs. 1300 per Muri, Millet @ Rs. 1500 per Muri and Maize @ Rs. 1400 per Muri. Similarly, Cardamom @ Rs. 5 to 6 thousands per 1 man (1 man = 40 kg.))

The Table below shows the percent of livestock of the sample households in the study area. Majority Yamphu keep Chicken (95.4%), Oxen for plow the fields (90.9%) and pig (87.9%). According to respondents, they keep chicken and pigs for ritual purposes rather than for economic purposes. The rituals Yamphu perform throughout the year require

sacrifice of chicken and pigs. However, it is found that the livestock they keep has been one of the sources of household income.

Table No. 6.6
Livestock ownership of Sample Households

Animals	Number of HHs	Number of Cattle	% of HHs
Cows/oxen	60	120	90.9
Goats	21	67	31.5
Chicken	63	315	95.4
Pigs	58	60	87.9

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Despite a substantial production deficit, all households' budgets regularly include expenditures on a number of consumer goods. Kerosene, cooking oil, tobacco and cigarette, spices, soap, salt and meat are normally purchased from the local market-Gadi bazaar and Khandbari.

Table No. 6.7
Annual Expenditure Pattern of Sample Households

S.N.	Sampling Households	Items	Total Expenses per year	Expense per household per year	Expense in percent
1	35	Food item	Rs. 556500	Rs. 13250.0	24.5
2	36	Health	Rs. 188298	Rs. 5230.5	8.3
3	42	Rituals/Marriage and festivals	Rs. 518712	Rs. 12350.3	22.9
4	42	Clothing	Rs. 356517	Rs. 8488.5	15.6
5	19	Hiring Labor	Rs. 218000	Rs. 11473.6	9.6
7	8	Fertilizer	Rs. 15000	Rs. 1875.0	0.7
8	35	Education	Rs. 397600	Rs. 11360.0	17.5
		Total	Rs. 2270727		100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008

For those with children at school (some of the Yamphu households have their children in district center-Khandbari and Kathmandu) there are school expenses to meet. The above table shows that sample of 65 households spend 24.5 percent income on the education of their children, which appears very positive. 22.9% percent in Rituals/Marriage and festivals. Likewise, budgets allow substantial expenditure (17.5%) on food item; 15% on clothing (each member of the household expects to be provided

with a new set of clothing at least once a year) and so on. The very least portion of the income (0.7%) is spent on purchasing fertilizer. Major sectors of expenditure of the Yamphu are education and food item. From above data of income sources and areas of expenditure, it has been clear that there is a slightly imbalance between income and expenditure.

6.9 Food Sufficiency

The Table below shows that among the 65 sample households, the heads of 42 households (64.63%) said that they suffer from food deficiency. The Table shows that 21 households of Yamphu (35.4%) only can sustain for four to six months on their production. During the survey, it was found that 9.23 percent of the Yamphu households produced food grains sufficient for less than 4 months; 23.1 percent for (4-6) months; 32.3 percent for (7-10) months and 35.4 percent for the whole year. There was no household to produce for surplus food grains. It seems mostly Yamphu are subsistence farmers who are heavily dependent on income from cardamom. The shortage of food is fulfilled by buying extra food from the local market. From the money, they make from cardamom; they buy extra foods and other necessary things.

Table No. 6.8
Food sufficiency of the Sample Households

S.N.	Sufficient to feed	Number of HH	Percent	Remark
1	1-3 Months	6	9.23	Deficit
2	4-6 Months	15	23.1	Deficit
3	7-10 Months	21	32.3	Deficit
4	Whole year	23	35.4	Subsistence
	Total	65	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Overall cardamom production has been the back-bone of the Yamphu economy. Surplus made from the cardamom not only supports them in their own day-to-day life, as well as for commodities like clothes, salt, kerosene, spices, utensils, and so on but also for some Yamphu household have become able to send their children to the towns like Khandbari and Kathmandu for better education. It has contributed to improve the living standard of Yamphu peoples.

6.10 History of Land Tenure

The land ownership system in Num was purely customary. People settled and cultivated in the area based on their respective *Chawa*. Barren lands were held by the village commonly. As soon as new lands came under cultivation, they were owned by the cultivators. But the new cultivators had to be Yamphu. Since then, land has been divided, bought and sold, but designations referring to original owners have been retained. When kipat system was introduced in 1774, Yamphu people understood kipat like this as Forbes rightly noted that:

By virtue of being "first settler", Yamphu cleared the land and brought it under cultivation by their own hoe. Once the Yamphu's ancestral land, known as kipat land, was not alienable by sale or permanent transfer. Kipatiya in Hedangna had the right to claim as much lands as they could physically clear and farm. "Making" the land (clearing it, and building terraces) was important to its definition as kipat (Forbes 1999:134). According to Yamphu perception, kipat was land that was "made" by the ancestors, land no one could take, that no one else could "touch". Kiranti distinguish kipat from raikar (government land-since the cadastral survey all land in Hedangna is raikar), land that may also have "made", but by non-kipatiya. Once made, government land is surveyed and registered as raikar. Though it may be owned by individuals, if the individuals default on taxes or have no offspring, raikar land reverts to government control. When kipatiya default on their taxes or die heirless, the kipat land reverts to the jimmawal (another kipatiya) rather than to the central government. Thus kipat is considered one's own (aphno) and raikar is not ((Regmi 1976, 1978a cited in Forbes, 1999)

It can be argued that the Kipat was the basis of cultural autonomy of Yamphu. Kipat seemed as a symbol of ethnic and political identity among the Yamphu. Kipat was first introduced in 1774 and the government has tried to withdraw these rights by forcing the *kipatiya* to abide by national policies and regulations that undermine the autonomy granted in the kipat system (Caplan, 1970, cited by Forbes, 1999). But the emergence of kipat system is not clear. In this regard, Gaenzle writes, "While the origin of the kipat system is not entirely clear, it already existed under the Sen Kings in Kirat, as only those plots of land that were held in kipat at the time were recognized by the Gorkhalis" (Regmi, 1978: 537, cited by Gaenzle, 2000).

The main characteristic of the kipat system is the inalienability of the land. The kipat land was tied to the social group and in the course of time, it had become as the socio-

political address of the Yamphu community. Besides, the Yamphu of Num responded, "the land is our ancestor gifts and hence it is our life." The lands and the territories are the foundation of our existence as distinct people." This shows that the land for Yamphu is not only of economic resource, but they also have concept of the spiritual relationship, Forbes writes:

Though the villagers (Yamphu) use kiptat or refer to the specific plots of land they farm, the term means much more than that. Everyone I know on Hedangna talks about kiptat with pride possessiveness. Middle aged man say that kiptat means land their ancestors cleared and maede, land that they did not have to buy. Kiptat means old thing; It counts them to past that is more glorious than that of other ethnic groups in Nepal. Only those Yamphu Rai who are the descendants, direct or adopted, of the original ancestors who first settled in the village can hold kiptat rights to the lands in Hedangna. Kiptat connects them with more than the past grandeur of their Kiranti ancestors. They are unlike others, other as well as Brahamans, Chhetris, Sherpas, and Gurungs, who have moved into Hedangna. Kiptat this draws a conceptual boundary between those who are footed in the land and history of Hedangna and those who are not (Forbes 1999:119).

The above citation implies the passion the Yamphu feel about their land has to do with more than securing a livelihood. Holding on to inherited land is a way of carrying on a father's legacy, a way of remembering ancestor's labor on the land, a way of upholding their place in the family lineage. Land rights express the web of social relations in time and space, and the land itself expresses the character of the household members through the quality and care with which they farm. It is the agency and autonomy that terracing flaunted before the king's representative. It is their agency and autonomy that the Yamphu express in the concept of Kiptat. Forbes concludes:

Yamphu identity appears to be inextricably attached to the land. The land of Hedangna is integral to conceptions of an individual and collective identity because of the way villagers use and conceive of the land in the present, not because of some inherent relationship between identity and land (Forbes 199:130).

In sum, Yamphu people have deep spiritual special relationship with their land as basic to their existence and to all their beliefs, customs, traditions, rituals and culture. In this regard, the land is not merely a possession and a means of production. Their land is not a commodity which can be acquired, but a material element to be enjoyed by the community freely.

6.11 Present Situation

The traditional land tenure system of the Yamphu is no longer in practice today. As Pathibhara VDC has of an overwhelming agricultural based economy, the primary source of economy of the Yamphu is land. In other words, their main mode of subsistence is agriculture. Therefore, land is essential for a Yamphu household's economic security. Since, agriculture is at present basis of livelihood of Yamphu, those who posses more land, control the economy. The size of land one holds raises the status of a family. Therefore, very often, the land has been one of the major causes occurring disputes between brothers and other relatives. As discussed above, every Yamphu takes land as the property inherited by his ancestors (pitiri prasad). But, I found the Yamphu farmers having no exact knowledge of the size of their fields they cultivate. When asked about the size of fields, they responded in terms of the amount of seeds sowed in the field.

6.12 Educational Status of the Study Area

We know that education is one of the important factors, which help to develop every aspect of society and individual. Education plays vital role in the socio-economic status of the community. So, I was include it in my study. In fact, it also affects on various socio-economic status of community and individual as well. Therefore, it is important to know that educational status of people of the study area. Only the information about education covers for the people whose age is above 6 years. The scenario about education of the study population is as follows:

Table No. 6.9
Education of the Study area by level

Level	Male %	Female %
Illiterate	45.5	50.3
Informal	12.8	15.4
Primary	25.58	21.7
Lower Secondary	12.5	11.7
SLC or Above	3.62	0.9

Source: Field Survey, 2008

From the above table there are only 4.52% have passed SLC (3.62% male and 0.9% female) out of 331, similarly 12.5% male and 11.7% female are attend lower secondary. Among the total population there are 45.5% male and 50.3% female are illiterate in the study area.

6.13 Causes of Low Socio-Economic Status of Yamphu in the Study Area

In this study area people from many ethnic groups live here whose socio-economic status seems to be lower. Yamphu is one of them. There are many reasons for their low socio-economic status. The causes of low socio-economic status of Yamphu in study area are given below.

Table No. 6.10

Distribution of Sampled Causes of their Low Socio-Economic Status

Causes	No. of respondents	Percentage
Education	49	75.38
Health	3	4.61
Culture	6	9.23
Government policy	5	7.69
Others	2	3.08
Total	65	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2008.

Above table shows that, the higher percentage i.e. 75.38 percent respondents answered that the main reason of low socio-economic status of Yamphu is the education, 4.6 percent respondents replied that health is the cause of their low socio-economic status, 9.23 percent of respondents answered that culture, 7.69 percent respondents answered that government policy and 3.03 percent of respondents answered that other reason is the causes of low socio-economic status of Yamphu community.

6.14 Suggestion to Improve the Socio-Economic Status of Yamphu community

Table: 6.11

Distribution of Sampled Respondents by Suggest to Improve Their Status

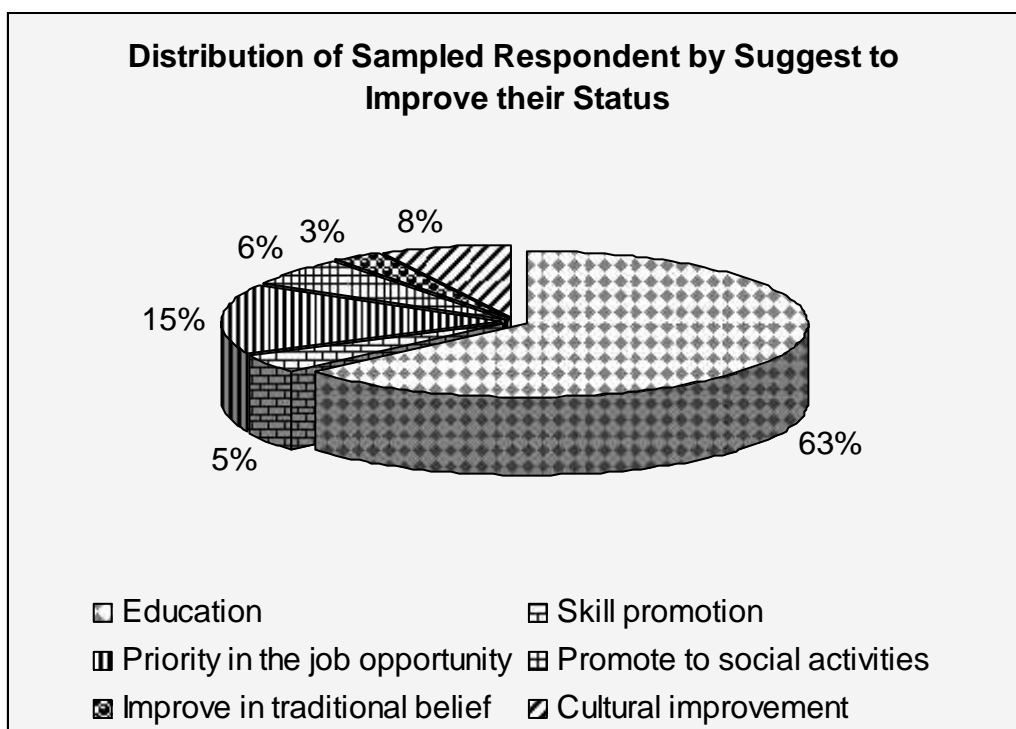
Suggestions	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Education	41	63.1
Skill promotion	3	4.62
Priority in the job opportunity	10	15.4
Promote to social activities	4	6.15
Improve in traditional belief	2	3.08
Cultural improvement	5	7.69
Total	65	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2008.

Above table shows that, most of the respondents suggested to promote the education, which covers 63.1 percent of respondents. 4.62 percent respondents answered that skill promotion, 15.4 percent respondents suggested that priority in the job opportunity, 6.15 percent respondents suggested that promote to social activities, 3.08 percent respondents suggested that improve in traditional belief and 7.69 percent respondents suggested that cultural improvement can improve socio-economic status of Yamphu community.

Figure: 6.3

Distribution of Sampled Respondent by Suggest to Improve Their Status



CHAPTER - VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1 Summary

The study based on socio-economic status of Yamphu of Pathibhara VDC. This study attempts to highlight on age and sex structure, demographic characteristic, social aspects and economic aspects. According to CBS, 2001, census Yamphu population stands 1722 total population. Most of the Yamphu people populate the northeastern region of Nepal.

The study was concluded in the Pathibhara VDC of Sankhuwasabha district to find out the socio-economic status of Yamphu community of that village. Among 9 wards 3 wards (5, 6 and 8) are taken for sample. These wards have 161 households, among them 40 percent household i.e. 65 households are sampled. The objective of the study is to clarify the socio-economic status, education attainment and causes of backwardness of Yamphu community.

This study is mainly based on primary data. To collect the data, researcher designed the questionnaire and visited the sample household then ask the questionnaires to the main members of the households. For the analysis of data, all the raw data were tabulated as necessary and simple statistical tools like percentage and ratio is used. Similarly, secondary data is also collected from different sources.

Agriculture is the main occupation of Yamphu people. They have fragmented land. Out of the total selective households only 7 households have more than 41 Ropani farming land. However, as this area lies on the northeastern Hilly region. Which is best known for paddy production of upper Arun valley, the harvest from this area seems is not enough for the people of this region. Therefore, about 36.4 percent of the Yamphu people in the selective study area enjoy sufficiency i.e. the production from their field are enough for them for a year. Moreover, the median age of Yamphu people is 18.75 years of age which shows that they are becoming young, 65.48 percent population between 15 to 59 years old which is most important for economical activities, 15.77 percent of Yamphu people are seems above 60 years old which is age of dependency. As a whole sex ratio of Yamphu population of the study area is 48.8 percent male and 51.2 percent females. It shows that the female people exceeds over male people in Yamphu community.

Agriculture is the main sources of income of Yamphu community in study area. It covers 87.4 percent income. Foreign employment is another source of income. Most of Yamphu youths are working in Golf countries as unskilled labour. Housing pattern of Yamphu community is traditional type. Most of the Yamphu people use stone wall and Thatched roof, Plank Wall and Thatched roof. Yamphu people are backward from the economical and educational perspective. There are several causes of backwardness. These factors are less income source, lack of productive land, land fragmentation, traditional farming and social religious rigidity. They use their financial contribution for social and ritual gathering. For social prestige, they spent on such unproductive activities. Now a days new generations seems to change their tradition. Yamphu's traditional dress marriage system and food habits have been gradually changed. They are very back in education but child education is gradually increasing day to day. Out of 65 sample there is only 3.62% male and 0.9% female have SLC or above level in selective study area.

Yamphu are the indigenous ethnic group of Nepal. They have varieties of own rituals and tradition, usually old generation wear traditional dress but some younger don't like this type of dress, they wear modern dress. Although, there is no enough facilities of infrastructures i.e. roads, facilities of electricity, communication, clean drinking water and water irrigation, in this area people don't have any alternatives for income generation.

All over the study, Yamphu community of Pathibhara VDC has been modernizing day by day. Their culture has been rapidly changing. Young generation should be serious to maintain their traditional culture.

7.2 Conclusion

Nepal is one of the richest members of the world cultural community. It is a homeland of several caste/ethnic groups of people. The difference in life style of these people, in aggregate, reflects varieties in culture. The culture, festivals, clothing and language of people differ from place to place. While studying the social, economical, educational attainment aspects of a particular community, it is essential to know well about the socio-economic indicators of Yamphu

Almost all Yamphu are found to be dependent on agriculture as their chief occupation. Though, the agriculture is the main income source of study area. Present farming is still the means of earning livelihood. But, the Yamphu farmers are still continuing the traditional technology and method and the income generation is constant and steady, while in the study area, the average family member is 5.5, which is higher than the rate of Sankhuwasabha district.

Moreover, for majority of Yamphu less portion of cultivable land is available. So, Yamphus in the study area are socio-economically backward. The main cause of this is lack of education. Lack of education the older Yamphu generation the young generations are showing more interest in education.

Yamphus have got their own social and cultural rites and rituals. Their socio-economic backwardness is also the outcome of some of their religious and cultural practices. Yamphus are generally spendthrift in their cultural social activities. They do spend most in unproductive sectors like marriage and death rites. They consume huge amount of their crops for making home made wine. It brings shortage in their food. In many occasions of Yamphu, cultural and religion, wine is a must. It is their compulsion.

But nowadays, many Yamphus are leaving such spendthrift religious practices and have been improving according it the changed contexts of time. It is a good sign for their development. Their expensive marriage system is also getting improved. New generations of Yamphus have become conscious. It has shown a sign of further upliftment of Yamphus socio-economic status. Now, we find a rapid growth of social identity, language and cultural consciousness in Yamphu community.

7.3 Recommendation

This study can form a good reference for future. Any project, workshop, seminars, public awareness program shall find this dissertation as an authentic source of information. Hence it can be asserted from this dissertation will be considerable.

The following recommendations have been for the concerned on the basis of the field study.

-) In this area, Yamphus' main occupation is agriculture and all of them depend on agriculture. However, the agriculture production is very low. Modernization is required to grow enough amounts of foodstuffs so that socio-economic status of Yamphu can be uplifted.
-) To modernize the agricultural status of this area, the government should provide proper irrigation facilities, agricultural loan, market and modern fertilizer and seeds.
-) Yamphu in this area cultivate more home consumed than cash crops. If they are encouraged to cultivate cash crops, that can strengthen their economic status.
-) Government should be managed market for cardamom, which is major production of cash crops for Yamphu community.
-) Average family member of Yamphu society in this area is greater than average family number of the district. But, a few Yamphu have well cultivable lands, which is the reason of backwardness of Yamphu society. So, the awareness programs like family planning must be carried out to limit the growing population of Yamphu in this area.
-) Small and cottage industries can be established to reduce the rate of unemployment in this area. The government should special programs to attend this issue and the rate of dependent or unemployed people can be reduced.
-) Yamphu have only 0.87 percent employment in government service. The main reason of this is lack of education. Therefore, education awareness programs should be carried out in Yamphu community.
-) Most spending festivals and customs of Yamphu should be continued with improvement preserving its artistic and original quality intact. They should be reformed in a less-expensive way.

) Most Yamphu use their food crops for making (*Jad and Raksi*) wine. In this way they use most of their income for home made wine. This system weakens them physically, socially, economically and mentally. Such practices of Yamphu society should be stoop to uplift their socio-economic status.

Reference

- Bista, Dor Bahadur (1967). *People of Nepal* Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, Nepal
- Bhattraï, Hari (2007) "*Making an Inclusive Constitution in a Plural State: Issues of Identity and Representation*". In Bhattraï, Hari and Subedi, Jhalak (eds) *Democratic Constitution Making: Experiences from Nepal Kenya, South Africa, Sri Lanka* Nepal South Asia Center (NESAC).
- Burghart, Richard (1984). *The Formation of the Concept of Nation-State in Nepal*, The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.44, No. 1
- Central Bureau of Statistic (2004) "*Women in Nepal Some Statistical Facts*": Central Bureau of Statistics, Thapathali, Kathmandu, Nepal
- Central Bureau of Statistic (2004) "*The Population Census of Nepal, 2001*" Central Bureau of Statistics, Thapathali, Kathmandu, Nepal
- Central Bureau of Statistics (2004) "*Nepal Living Standards Survey 2003/04*" Statistical Volume One", CBS National Planning Commission Secretariate HMG of Nepal
- Dahal, Dilli Ram (1985). "*An Ethnographic Study of Social Change Among the Athapariya Rais of Dhankuta*" Centre for Nepal and Asia Studies (CNAS) Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu
- Dahal, Dilli Ram 2003. "*Chapter3: Social Composition of Population: Caste/ethnicity and Religion in Nepal*", in Population Monograph of Nepal, CBS, Vol. 1 pp 87-135
- Fetterman, David, M.(1989). "*Ethnography Step by Step*", Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 17. SAGE Publication
- National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) *Fiscal Year (2062/2063) Report (2007)*. National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), Sanepa, Lalitpur
- Forbes, Armbrecht Ann. (1999). "*Mapping Power: Claims to Kipat Land in Northeast Nepal*". American Ethnologist, Vol. 26, No. 1. (Feb., 1999), pp. 114-138
- Frick Tom (...). *Himalayan Households: Tamang Demography and Household Processes*.
- Gaenzle, Martin, (2000). "*Origins and Migrations: Kinship, Mythology and Ethnic Identity among the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal*," Mandela Book Point, the Mountain Institute
- Gaenzle, Martin, (2002). "*Ancestral Voices: Oral Ritual Texts and their Social Contexts among the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal*" Mandal Book Point, Kathmandu and The Mountain Institute Asia Regional Office, Kathmandu
- Gaenzle, Martin (1997). "*Changing Concepts of Ethnic Identity among the Mewahang Rai*" In Gallner, D. N, Pfaff-Czarnecka, and J. Whelpton (eds.) *Nationalism and*

- Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*, London: Harwood Academic Publication
- Gallner, D. N (1997). "Introduction". In Gallner, D. N, Pfaff-Czarnecka, and J. Whelpton (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*, London: Harwood Academic Publication
- Gautam, Rajesh and Thapa-Magar, Ashoke K. (1994) "*Tribal Ethnography of Nepal*" Volume-II, Book Faith India
- George, ven Dreim (1990). *The Fall and Rise of the Phoneme /r/ in Eastern Kirati: Sound Change in Tibetio-Burman*, Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol.53, No.1 Page 83-86.
- Gurung Harka, Gurung Yogendar, and Chidi Lal Chhabi (2006). "*Nepal Atlas of Ethnic and Caste Groups*" National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), Sanepa, Lalitpur
- Gerald D. Berreman(1963). *Peoples and Culture of the Himalayas*, Asian Survey, Vol. 3. No.6 page 289-304.
- Ghai Yash (2000). "*Ethnicity and Autonomy: A Framework for Analysis*". In Gahi Yash (eds.) "*Autonomy and Ethnicity: Negotiating Competing Claims in Multi-ethnic States*" Cambridge Universtiy, Press
- Gubaju, Beena (1999) "*The Fluidity of Ethnicity: The Case of Nepali and Newar Identity in the United States*". Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 26, No. 1 Jauary, 135-149.
- Gurung, Harka, 2004. "*Social Demography of Nepal*", Himal Books, Patan Dhoka
- Gurung, Harka, 2006. "*From Exclusion to Inclusion: Socio-Political Agenda for Nepal, Social Inclusion Research Fund*", Bakhundole, Lalitpur
- Haan de, Arjen,(2000). "*Social Exclusion: Enriching the Understanding of Deprivation*"
- Hardman, E. Charlotte (2000). *Other Worlds: Notions of Self and Emotion among the Lohorung Rai*, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Holmberg H. Devid (1996). *Order in Paradox: Myths, Ritual, and Exchange Among Nepal's Tamang*, Motial Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi
- Jacovson, David, (1991). "*Reading Ethnography*", State University of New York
- Lawati, Mahendra, 2005. "*Towards a Democratic Nepal: Inclusive Political Institutions for a Multicultural Society*", Sage Publications New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London

- Lionel Caplan (1967). *Some Political Consequences of state Land Policy in East Nepal*, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Man, New Series, Vol.2, No.1
- Lionel Caplan (...). "*Land and Social Change in East Nepal: A Study of Hindu-Tribal Relation*"
- ILO (2003), ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, 1989 (No. 169): A Manual. Available from <http://www.ilo.org/public/English/standards/norm/egalite/itpp/convention/index.htm>.
- N. J. Allen (1997). "*Hindunization: The Experience of the Thulung Rai*". In Gallner, D. N, Pfaff-Czarnecka, and J. Whelpton (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*, London: Harwood Academic Publication
- Nancy E. Levine (1987). *Caste, State, and Ethnic Boundaries in Nepal*, The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.46, No.1 page 71-88
- National Foundation For Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) "*An Introduction (2003) The Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal*", NFDIN, Sanchaal, Sanepa, Lalitpur
- Neupane, Govinda. 2000. "*Nepalko Jatiya Prashna: Samajik Banaot ra Sajhedariko Sanbhawana*" (Nepal's National Question: Social Composition and Possibilities of Accommodation)
- Yayokkha, Kirat Rai (2007). "Nipsung" Vol. 14, No. 26, Kathmandu
- Onta, Pratyau (2007). "*Assessment of Policy and Instrumental Framework for addressing Discrimination against Adivasi Janajati (Indigenous Nationalities) in Nepal and a Review of Public Discourse and Action of the Adivasi Janajati Social Movement*" Chapte 9
- Ortner Sherry B. (1977). "*Sherpas Through Their Rituals*" Cambridge University Press Cambridge
- Rai, Laxmi, and Yamhpu, Hom Prasad. 2006. "*Indigenous Peoples' Human Rights Report*", submitted to AIPP and prepared by NGO- FONIN
- Ram Pandey Tulsi et. al (2006). "*Forms and Patterns of Social Discrimination in Nepal: A Report*" UNESCO Kathmandu Series of Monographs and Working Papers: No 8
- Resilience Amidst Conflict: "*An Assessment of Poverty in Nepal, 1995-96 and 2003-04 (2006)*" The World Bank, DFID, Central Bureau of Statistics National Planning Commission Secretariat, Government of Nepal and ADB.

- Rex L. Jones (1976). "*Sanskritization in the Eastern Nepal*", Ethnology, Vol.15, No.1 State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- Russel, Andrew (1990). *The Yakha: Culture, Environment and Development in East Nepal*, Wolfson College, Oxford.
- Russel Andrew (1997). "*Identity Management and Cultural Change: The Yakkha of East Nepal*" In Gallner, D. N, Pfaff-Czarnecka, and J. Whelpton (eds.) Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal, London: Harwood Academic Publication
- Rutger, Roland (1998). "*Yamphu Grammar, Texts and Lexicon*", a Ph. D dissertation. Research School CNWS, Leiden University, the Netherlands
- Serchan, Sanjaya (2001). "*Democracy, Pluralism and Change: An Inquiry in the Nepalese Context*" Nepal Lithographing, Kathmandu, Nepal
- Seymour-Smith, Charlotte (1986). "*Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*" The Macmillan Press Ltd. London and Basingstoke
- Shrestha, T. B (1989). "*Development Ecology of the Arun River Basin in Nepal*" International Centre For Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), Kathmandu, Nepal
- Subba, Chaitanya et al (2002). "*Adivasis/Janajatis in National Development: Major Issues, Constraints and Oppertunities*" (Plan of Acion Proposed for the Tenth Plan, 2003-2007), Kathmandu:IIDS
- The Constitution of the Kingdomb of Nepal 1990
- The Eight Plan (1992-1997), His Majesty's Government National Planning Commission, Nepal
- The Ninth Plan (1997-2002), His Majesty's Government National Planning Commission, Nepal
- The Tenth Plan (2002-2007), His Majesty's Government National Planning Commission, Nepal
- Thapa, Narbikram, 2005. "*Societal Analysis: Politics of Poverty, Injustice and Inequity*", Jana Utthan Pratisthan
- The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990
- Frick, Tom (1986). "*Himalayan Household: Tamang Demography and Domestic Process*"
- United Nations (1996), "*Working paper on the concept of "indigenous people"* of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, E/CN. 4/Sub. 2/AC. 4/1996/2. Available from <http://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G96/129/80/pdf/G9612980.pdf?OpenElemen>.

United Nations (1983), "*Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations*" (Martinez Cobo Study), E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7. Available from: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/spdaip.html>.

Yadava and Turin (2005) "*Indigenous Languages of Nepal: A Critical Analysis of the Linguistic Situation and Contemporary Issues*". In Yadava Prasad Yogendra and Bajaracharya L Pradeep (eds) *The Indigenous Languages of Nepal (ILN): Situation, Policy Planning and Coordination*, National Foundation For Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), Sanchal, Sanepa, Lalitpur

Yamphu Kirat Society (2064). "*Report on Determination of Yamphu Language Transcription*"

Annexes

Questionnaires for Socio-economic status of Yamphu Community

Name: ----- Age:
Sex: ----- Date:
Address: ----- VDC:
Tole: ----- Ward No:

A. Information about the family

1. Name of the head:
2. Total number of family member :
 (Male) (Female)
3. Religion:
4. If not your religion : Time started to adopt Reasons to adopt
.....
5. Caste/ Sub-caste:
6. Period of settlement of the family : Years/ Generations
7. If migrated from other place : Place of origin Year of arrival
.....
8. Language :
9. Indicate the type of customs which being practice in your family during birth, marriage and death ceremonies?
10. Status of land-ownership. Tick either box.
 Owner-cultivator Tenant-cultivator
 Share croppers Landless
 Other (specify)
11. Members who go to work at the field:
 Elderly female Female Women Youth/Children All
12. Members who look after the livestock:
 Elderly female Female Women Youth/Children All
13. Members involved in household work:
 Elderly female Female Women Youth/Children All
14. Members who make decisions: Head Male Head Female
15. Members participate in rituals, religious functions, social activities, wedding ceremonies, demonstrations, other activities:
 Head Male Head Female All
16. Property ownership: Head Male Head Female Both
17. Access to resources: Head Male Head Female Both

Social Participation

1	How many persons of your family are the members of such NGOs?	1. Men..... 2. Women.....				
2	In what level are they involved?		Yes	No	Don't know	
		1. Leadership and decision making level				
		2. Program Operation Level				
		3. Local Level Implementation				
		4. Beneficiary and Local Groups				
	5. Other (Specify)....					
3	Are any of the members of your family involved in Local Level Committees?	1. Yes 2. No				
4	In which such committees are they involved? Please provide number of men and women.	Committees			Male	Female
		1. School Management				
		2. Water Consumer				
		3. Forest Consumer				
		4. Road Consumer				
		5. Tol Reform Development				
		6. Cultural Committee				
		7. Youth Club				
		8. Women Club				
		9. Peasant Group				
		10. Resource Management				
11. Other (Specify)...						

18. Details of the Family Members

S.N	Age Group	Sex		Marital Status					Education			Occupation/ job
		M	F	Married	Unmarried	Separated	Divorced	Widow/ widower	Primary	Secondary	Higher Edu.	
	0-4											
	5-9											
	10-14											
	15-60											

60 above							
-------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Economic condition

1. What is the main occupation of your family?

- (a) Agriculture
- (b) Service
- (c) Labouring
- (d) Foreign Employment
- (e) Others

2. Types of House:

- (a) Cemented
- b) Brick/stone wall and Thatched roof
- (c) Brick/stone wall and Tin roof
- (d) Plank Wall and Thatched roof
- (d) Others

4. Size of Land Holding of the Household:

<u>Type of Land</u>	<u>Ropani</u>
Own land
Land rented in
Land rented out

5. Sources of income (Per annum):

- i. Agriculture - Rs.
- ii. Live stock - Rs.
- iii. Services - Rs.
- iv. Wage labour - Rs.
- v. Pension/Remittances - Rs.
- vi. Business (Shops) - Rs.
- vii. Rent - Rs.
- viii. Others sources - Rs.

Total Income in a year - Rs.

19. Annual expenditure:

Expenditure in Rs.	Food grain own land	Food grain purchased	Jand and Raksi	Fest festivals	Clothing	Educatio n	Smoking	Species	Kerosene oil	Other
< 1000										
1000 - 5000										
5000-10000										
10000-15000										
15000-20000										
20000-25000										
25000-30000										
35000 above										

20. Does your family's total income is enough to fulfill your family's general necessities?

a. Yes b. No

a) If 'Yes' any saving, - Rs.

b) If 'No' how do you meet your deficit?

I. Bank loan

II. Neighbor

III. Other sources

21. If your family's, total income couldn't fulfill your family's necessities, what are the causes among below?

(a) Working age family members do not work intentionally _____

(b) Lack of employment _____

(c) Lower productivity of agricultural products _____

(d) lack of off-season alternative job in agricultural sector _____

(e) Other causes if any _____

22. What types of help should be provided for that?

(a) Loan in low rate of interest.

(b) Income generating programs holding by government.

(c) By mobilizing concerned NGOs/INGOs and local organization.

(d) Other

24. Do you have your won food habit?

25. Have you any other cultural and tradition in your community?

26. Health Status

1	What are the general practices of healing ailments/disease in your family?	1. Visit to doctor/medical person 2. Visit a dhami/Pujari 3. Other specify.....				
2	Is any suffering from chronic illness in your family?	1. Yes 2. No				
3	Was anyone sick in your family during last year?	1. Yes 2. No				
4	What did you do first when the person was detected with sickness?	1. Look for a health worker/doctor 2. Look for a faith healer 3. Offerings at temple or places (deural/nadi) 4. Worship and offering at home itself 5. Other specify.....				
5	Generally, whom do you visit first for treatment?	1. Doctor 2. Health Assistance/Nurse/CMA 3. Ayurvedic Kabiraj/Vaidya 4. Witch doctor/Dhami/Pujari/Jhakri 5. Others.....				
6	Did anyone die in your family last 12 months?	1. Yes 2. No				
7	What was the reason for death?	Reason	Male		Female	
			Reason	Age	Reason	Age
			1. Communicable disease			
			2. Non-communicable disease			
			3. Accident			
			4. Natural calamity			
			5. Animal bite			
			6. Suicide			
			7. Others			
			8. Don't know			

27. Status of Language

- What is your Mother Tongue? Tick either box.
Yamphu Nepali English Other
- What language do you use at home? Tick either box.
Yamphu Nepali English Other

28. Finally what types of programmes do you wish government should implement for the upliftment of your community?

Educational program	
Skill promotion program	
Priority in the job opportunity	
Promote to social activities	
Improve in traditional belief	
Cultural improvement	