



## Social Movement, Changing Nepali Society and fundamental confusion of Economic Development.

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### Abstract

*This article seeks to highlight concept trends of social movement and regime change in Nepal. Many resources are using with social movement. Two important aspects of Nepal's experience with social movements and the ongoing struggle for social change. Recent developments in social movement research have evidenced a greater underlying consensus in the field than one might have assumed. Efforts have been made to bridge different perspectives and merge them into a new synthesis. "In history, stories of prosperity are written not by chance, but by tough decisions taken at the right time, but Nepal has been stuck in a fundamental confusion about which path to take for seven decades." Nepal's poverty is not a geographical destiny, but rather a product of policy ambiguity, institutional corruption, and a short-sighted mindset that considers development only as 'resources' while forgetting 'people'. One, the general absence of a record of social movements in Nepal's history of political development stands in contrast to what happened in the country 2007 B.S to till now. Here discussing how the political struggles in the past did not produce the expected social and economic outcomes. The political struggle remained just that, not a part of a larger movement for social change. I am going to discuss the concept and nature of the movement in 2007 B.S and relate its international character to the challenges that lie ahead as the ongoing developments proceed towards their historic conclusion. comparative discussion of the concept of social movement' has been largely neglected so far the unique events of this year have generated some hope that Nepal and her people may indeed be ready now for the change the country needs badly.*

**Keywords:** Social Movement, Changing and changing society, Confused Economic Development

### Introduction

Changeability and the birth and maturation of innovation can be seen, heard, and felt in other areas as well, in the relationships between the young, the adult, and the old; in the villager and in the relationship between city, between students and teachers, between patients and health workers, between the king and the subjects on the one hand, and the king and the citizens on the other, between the government under the royal or one-party system and the people on the other hand. Between the government and the people under the multi-party system on the other hand, between women and men under patriarchy and between women and men under equality, between Nepal is and neighbors in situations where racism prevails; and between Nepal is and neighbors in situations where racism does not exist.

### Methodology and Objective

This article adopts qualitative historical multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach. Mainly secondary sources are using and explore main trends and causes of social movement and nature of economic development. This discussion focuses on the views engages with political historical critical materials likewise including policy literature, political regimes, Rana to panchayat period and contemporary events.

### Result and Discussion

This article presents socioeconomic development, changing social environment and changing Nepali society and social relations. The main content of the article is how the desires, aspirations, nature and character of an individual are formed, changed and reorganized. Similarly, how the nature of other levels and units such as family, relatives, neighborhood,

village, society, country and the world are formed, changed and reorganized. Also, on the one hand, the individual, and on the other hand, the group or society are interdependent. The change that occurs in one aspect is reflected in the other aspect. Similarly, neither the nature of the individual is eternal nor the nature of society is eternal. The nature of all social individuals such as husband, wife, father, son, daughter etc. is changeable and keeps on being reorganized historically. The social relationships between these aspects also keep on being reorganized.

### Confusion of Economic Development

"South Korea established itself in the energy sector by focusing on technology, Israel on innovation, and China on industrial strategy. Similarly, despite not having natural resources, Singapore built good governance, Rwanda on ICT, and Ethiopia on infrastructure, making them the foundation of prosperity. The common denominator of all these successes is 'The formula is 'clarity of priorities and firm implementation.' In contrast, while Argentina, despite having enormous potential, fell into crisis due to low popularity and policy instability, Venezuela, with the world's largest oil reserves, failed to diversify its production, and Sri Lanka, with its short-sighted debt and rash decisions, became economically bankrupt. Despite having sufficient resources, Nigeria, mired in corruption, and Zimbabwe, lagging behind due to power-centric priorities, confirm that resources alone do not make a country. A clear roadmap and Without the strong will to implement, the dream of prosperity turns out to be just a mirage. Nepal's seven-decade-long development debate is still trapped in a strange confusion and direction. Although the system and rulers have changed since the 2007 revolution to today's federal republic, the destiny of the common Nepali and the economic landscape of the country have remained the same. Ironically, the problem with us is not the lack of plans, but the extreme negligence in their implementation. The drawers of the National Planning Commission are filled with 16 periodic plans and thick stacks of vision papers. But those documents are limited to the beauty of the drawers and the beautiful dreams of paper. We have gold mines of potential such as water resources, tourism and herbs, but due to the fundamental confusion about which path to take, the definition of development has been changing from person to person and party to party. Even if a generation passes, the problem of solving it seems that society is more concerned with the election of leaders than with the face of the good, the fear of the enemy, the cultivation of votes than with the production of goods, the constant political harassment of employees, the constant political harassment of the government, even a small file, this situation is a strange result of any level of development.

Recently, a rampant epidemic of building towers and haphazard development has spread from the local level to the center in Nepal. Where it is a bitter reality that a woman is suffering from lack of basic medical supplies and a pregnant woman dies on the way to the hospital, building a view tower made of barren cement is just a vulgar joke and showy development on the needs of the people. Our education system

is in ruins, we are forced to sweat in the desert in search of jobs, and farmers have to cry for rice every year. At a time like this, a village health post, cold store, and small industries are many times more life-saving and meaningful than a tower. The irony is that the two roads, which are considered the standard of development, have increased dependence by bringing wheat and other agricultural products into the village instead of transporting village produce to the city. Without any technical study, the walls of the mountains have become more than convenient and have even dried up the water source of mountain without any reason. The development that only meets the budget and the obsession with this cut is not pushing us towards prosperity but towards a deep economic and environmental crisis. Therefore, it is time to think seriously, do we want to climb the tower of development and eliminate poverty, or do we need a basic opportunity to change people's lives?

We proudly say that Nepal is an agricultural country. But today, everything from rice to vegetables that we cook in our kitchens comes from abroad. The import of nearly 200 million rupees of food and agricultural products every year is a major failure in our development priorities. Farmers do not get timely irrigation, there is no transportation facility, and the produce they produce does not

find a market: middlemen are getting fat, while productive farmers are suffering under the burden of debt. If agriculture had been a priority, every village would have access to irrigation today, small agricultural processing centers would have opened, and farmers would have seen a future in their own soil instead of going abroad. We considered agriculture a backward profession and hesitated to invest in its modernization. Due to this, today we have reached a situation where we have to depend on others for even our basic needs. That land and empty cattle are destroying our dreams of prosperity. While a desert country like Israel teaches mechanized agriculture, we are importing food by keeping fertile land barren.

The smuggling of youth seen at the departure gate of Tribhuvan International Airport clearly shows where the future of the country is heading. We have made these youths an export commodity. The government is happy that the foreign currency has increased due to remittances, but it forgets that the country is becoming a better place with the labor and skills of those youth. The first priority for development is human resources, but we have not been able to create an environment that will keep our youth in the country. The fact that thousands of youth go abroad every day and an average of three boxes of sugar cane are being sold every day is a matter of our national pride. Employment creation and skill development should be the priority of development. The tears of villages without youth and childless old people are questioning our development model. Until an educated youth gets the opportunity to work with self-respect in the country, the roads and buildings we have built will have no value. Our colleges are producing unemployed people, while the neighboring countries are building their palaces of development on the hot blood and sweat of our fathers.

Our constitution has declared education and health as fundamental rights of citizens, but in practice, both these sectors have become the most profitable business arenas today. Hasn't the condition of government schools and hospitals, which the common people trust, been deliberately made miserable? So that the business of private educational institutions and nursing homes, which are invested by the wealthy, can flourish. Today, for an ordinary Nepali to dream of making his child a doctor or to try to save his life when he falls ill, is like risking his family farm for generations. We call big buildings and concrete structures development, but we are always confused about filling those buildings with quality services and humane feelings. The doors of foreign hospitals and expensive private schools are always open for those with power and access, but for the citizens of remote areas who are struggling without a single penny, government services

are always out of reach. The ironic sight of having to wait six months for an MRI scan at a government hospital but getting it done immediately at a nearby private hospital as soon as you pay the fee makes it clear whose priorities the state has. As long as the state continues to view education and health as profit-making objects and children in remote areas continue to die without access to basic treatment, our development model will continue to frustrate us.

We have promoted hydropower and tourism as game changers for prosperity, but here too, the priority is not clear. Dreaming of becoming rich by exporting 10,000 megawatts of electricity while our own country's industries are running without quality electricity is a bitter reality; in reality, the benefits of consuming electricity in domestic industries and creating jobs would be many times greater than sending it abroad as raw material. The situation is similar in tourism, where we made the mistake of considering development only in terms of numbers and concrete structures. The airports of Pokhara and Bhairahawa, which were built on huge loans without solid diplomatic and technical preparation, are today proving to be service elephants and becoming a burden on the economy, while real infrastructure such as quality roads, security, and preservation of original culture have been neglected. What is more serious is that in this blind race for development, we have completely forgotten the risks of climate change. Even as crises like melting mountains and glaciers reaching the point of bursting streams continue to challenge our hydroelectric projects, we are still indulging in old technologies that are destroying nature. This short-sighted thinking of turning rivers into sewage and forests into cement buildings will ultimately push us towards a catastrophe, for which future generations will have to pay a heavy price.

### Main Problems of Economic Development

The biggest enemy of any development project is corruption, and in Nepal, policy-based corruption is so deep-rooted that a large portion of the budget allocated for development ends up getting lost in the middle. Everything looks fine on paper, but in reality the quality of work is zero: bureaucratic laxity and politicians' greed for commissions stall development work. The need to visit ten government offices for a simple task and

the tendency to not share files without under-the-table transactions have increased frustration among citizens. Unless there is good governance and strict action is taken against those who break the rules, no matter how much priority is set, it is meaningless. We have made individuals more powerful than systems, which has hindered institutional development. Corruption is not just about money transactions, but also a waste of time and wrong decisions, which has been pushing the country back for decades.

Every change and development are visible everywhere in society. Change is the end of the old society and social relations and the birth or creation of the new. Its continuity and the creation of this continuity are the birth of history. All individuals, societies and social relations of all times are created historically. That is, they are all human-made. They are not created divinely and naturally, automatically or through some magic spell or through some unexplainable mystery. This is the most important knowledge of social science.

This article presents old, later and recent on the changing Nepali society and social relations. The main content of the article is how the desires, aspirations, nature and character of an individual are formed, changed and reorganized. Similarly, how the nature of other levels and units such as family, relatives, neighborhood, village, society, country and the world are formed, changed and reorganized. Also, the individual on the one hand, and the group or society on the other are interdependent. The change that occurs in one aspect is reflected in the other aspect. Similarly, neither the nature of the individual is eternal nor the nature of society is eternal. The nature of all social individuals such as husband, wife, father, son, daughter etc. is changeable and keeps on being reorganized historically. The social relationships between these aspects also keep on being reorganized.

### Social Movement and Change

This article attempts to observe the changes, developmental process and reorganizations taking place in individuals, societies, and social relations. As indicated above, the most common truth about society and social relations is their changeability. Other truths about society and social relations can also be stated. But the most comprehensive truth about society and social relations is their changeability. If this is the case, then there is no reason to consider it difficult to accept the fact that change is eternal in Nepal as well, some facts and evidence from thousands of years can be gathered in this regard. But in addition, the general direction, immediate direction, speed or rate, dimension, and density of change may vary in different historical periods. If we take these into account, what can we say is that we are now at the end of the most dynamic and intensive five decades in Nepal in the last two and a half centuries, and the rate and density of change in the last two decades has been much higher than in the previous three decades. In the coming decades, economic, political, and cultural changes will become even more dynamic and intensive. However, there is also some possibility that such changes may occur.

For a while, the direction of change may even reverse, and this direction may even go in the opposite direction of progressivity associated with democratization, capitalism, and inclusion. That is, this direction may even move from authoritarianism and progressivity to a more fluid, fragmented, dependent, and marginalized dualism and another version of racism.

### Dimensions of Change and Development

The levels and dimensions of social change are linked by causal relationships. Changes in one direction cause changes in another. The ripple effect of changes in individuals ripples through families, communities, etc., into the country and the world, resulting in economic recovery. Similarly, changes in the country and the world/The imprint falls on the individual through various levels and the individual is reorganized. It is not that society is reorganized but the individual is not. Similarly, it is not that the individual is reorganized but its imprint does not fall on society, on various levels of society. Because the individual and society are interdependent. There is society within the individual; there is no individual without society. Similarly, causality also applies to the relationship between different dimensions of society. It is customary to classify dimensions of society into different dimensions. In some classifications, many dimensions are envisaged. For example, economic, political, cultural, educational, industrial, communication-related dimensions, etc. Such classification can add sophistication to the analysis, but the synthesis of many dimensions can also be complex. We are going to discuss about Marxist tradition has always divided society into three dimensions: economic, political, and cultural. In the 1960s, some even divided it into economic, political, and ideological. Regardless of how one divides it into more or less dimensions, the fact that is being mentioned here is that these dimensions are interdependent. There is a causal relationship between these dimensions. Changes in the economy reshape politics and culture. Similarly, changes in politics and culture affect the economy and lead it in specific directions.

Although society is divided into three dimensions, Marxists, who are a bit subtler, point out another synthetic dimension and say that this dimension is the main factor; all others are effects. This synthetic dimension is the production system. There are two separate aspects within the concept of the production system - the first aspect is the physical and natural aspect of production and the social structure and relations necessary for production. Within the latter aspect, the nature or character of social relations based on resources-property-capital on the one hand and labor-power on the other hand is prominent.

After this brief discussion of the conceptual framework on which the articles are based, let us now turn to the substantive analysis and critique of Nepal presented in these articles. As mentioned above, the changes that have taken place in Nepal over the past five decades. It has been dynamic and intensive for two decades. This change has deep roots and its historical history is long. This change has basically become possible due

to the reorganization of the production system or, in more simple words, the livelihood system.

### The five pillars of Change and Development

The first step was the expansion of cultivable land and migration within the country. Before 1950, the main way to expand livelihoods was to expand cultivable land. In their own fields, in the poor and uncultivable land of the village, in the forest and from the hills to the Terai or Madhesh. The Madhesi or Terai hill people did not have the possibility of entering the hills to expand their livelihoods, but there was a great possibility of expanding their land within the Terai, in their own pastures or public forests, in the Bagar or other open spaces. However, this possibility was not available to all people, especially non miserable groups. The expansion of livelihoods based on the expansion of agricultural land provided relief to many generations and an increasing number of families and populations. This gave enough or ample impetus to the 'independent subsistence farming' system, which gradually transformed into 'subsistence farming' under capitalism. This led to the decline of the marginal feudal system that had been developing in the Terai from 1885 to 1950. The government policy of settling the sparsely populated hilly areas and especially the Terai region under dependent labor, including independent farmers or a combination of the two, has been in place for a long time. Under this system, dependent labor was also provided with some independent subsistence farming. Under this government policy, a large number of farmers and agricultural labor families from the bordering states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, as well as some other states of India, also migrated to the Terai. New and old settlers cleared forests to create agricultural and livestock-friendly land and environments. The expansion of agriculture and animal husbandry in such sparsely populated areas became the main policy of livelihood expansion for a long time. Such expansion of agriculture and animal husbandry became the basis for the livelihood of millions of additional individuals and families. Such expansion also helped to diversify the economy.

Secondly many people have entered the migration like 'Lahur' region over the past two hundred years and have expanded their livelihoods through it. And what is significant about this is that it was a non-agricultural, non-animal husbandry and non-rural region of livelihood expansion.

Another region was the deforestation of northeastern India; the cultivation of coffee, tea and other crops linked to cities, industries and capital. Some Nepal's who had gone there to earn cash, especially agricultural workers from eastern Nepal, also settled there. Those who lived there independently returned to cereal farming and animal husbandry.

The third is the expansion of the livelihoods of the community moving from the western hills to the east and south as priests, astrologers, teachers, etc. This is a relatively small group. Among these, there must have been a significant proportion of those within the Brahmin caste who took up these non-agricultural professions or were willing and able to take them up.

The fourth category, Dalits (especially hill Dalits). Dalits and priests are very close. In an agricultural society, these are non-farmers. An agricultural society can only support a small number of non-farmers. However, the position of lower level people like Dalits, culturally and politically, and especially after urban industrial goods replaced the goods and services produced by a section of Dalits, could not be compared with that of priests. In this situation, the livelihood of most indigenous Dalits was further reduced, while the economic position of Dalits, who could integrate into new means and relations of production by joining labor and migration, improved somewhat. This also raised the political-cultural level.

Fifth category the livelihood and economic development after 1950: The waves of livelihood expansion after 1950 were more diversified. The potential for agricultural expansion in the hilly areas was almost eliminated. The first wave after 1950 was of labor and laborers oriented to the Terai. Especially after 1960, there was a large-scale migration of labor from the hills to the Terai. This process was also, to some extent, directly state-directed. The second wave was the increase in productivity in some areas and villages of the hills and Terai through the use of irrigation and other agricultural inputs and the expansion of livelihoods for all farmers, tenants and agricultural laborers. The third wave was the result of the land reform programs of the 1950s and 1960s. There was a lot of negative feedback about the land reform of 1964. The second is emigration from the country. This type of emigration originally occurred in India. In our country, discussions about this often come up in connection with the 'going to Lahour' issue and emotions have come out. Some of these emotions are correct. But the strongest aspect of this reform was the system related to tenant shares. Due to the lack of central and local political will, the oppression of the landlords over their economic, political and cultural clout, competitive political power and multi-party political system, this system was implemented gradually in specific geographical areas, while in some areas it was implemented only in a very thin manner. But where it was implemented, independent peasantry grew in that area, the political and cultural power of the tenant farmers increased, and their livelihoods diversified and their standards rose. Where it was not implemented, there was anger. It did not find an immediate outlet, but it did not stop looking for an outlet. In both situations, the voice of the poor and the poor became louder than the voice of the rich.

The fourth wave has been born since 1970. In political terms and in many other ways, this wave is the most important and influential wave of the current transition. This wave is related to the program called the New National Education System Plan initiated by Kings Mahendra and Birendra. This program gave national coverage to literacy and education that had been confined to very limited areas, classes and groups. This program has now ended. But on the basis of this program, schools have been opened all over the country and in the last 15 years, more than 90 percent of children have been able to walk to school in less than half an hour. Despite some

shortcomings, this program, its successor programs and the private education system have made more than 50 percent of adults and almost 85 percent of children in the 6 to 14 age group literate and educated.

## Educational Development

Education can be linked to the status for a long time, school education in Nepal and around the world has been linked to the status support and reaction. Religious and priestly education are examples of this event. But education can also come in conjunction with new information, information from other societies and times, new analysis and synthesis, new skills and thinking, in essence, new knowledge and behavior. Education can also grow in conjunction with the economic and cultural thinking and behavior of new politics. Although the methods and content of education in the past 60 years have been status support and reactionary in some aspects, in other aspects and to a greater extent, they have remained progressive. Moreover, during this period, schools have also been the center of progressive politics. The embryo of political organizations and leadership has remained the school college. During the period of the Panchayat political system, where the king was the sole leader, schools and colleges developed as the main venues for political activity (dhakal 2075).

In essence, this livelihood system was non-agricultural, non-rural, non-household, non-subsistence oriented. It was equipped with new information, knowledge and skills and was in a position to operate new productive forces on the basis of these production skills. It was also in search of new production relations. This system could not fit into the low-productivity rural agricultural production of its ancestors. This new skill, thinking and knowledge system came into conflict with the old means and relations of production.

The solution sought was primarily related to livelihood. A solution was also sought regarding the means of production and the organization of production relations. Because the blueprint for livelihood is derived from these and, a solution was sought for the entire economy, politics, and culture. Because the birth of new means of production and relations will occur from the synthesis and reorganization of these three dimensions. In the reorganization of livelihood, cities and villages have been connected with a greater degree of diversification at a relative level; urbanization has increased significantly; especially in the services and construction sectors, an increasing share of labor has been consumed; villages have become significantly devoid of youth; the proportion of students who are old in the upper grades of schools has gradually increased significantly, etc. We have statistics before us. However, due to incorrect definitions, the urban population is only 14 percent. We have statistics that more than one-fifth of the country's total male youth are engaged in labor abroad. Young women are also increasingly joining foreign employment. It is known that 48 percent of the total male workers, or less than half, are engaged in agriculture. It is surprising that this is not recognized as a historical milestone in the livelihood system.

This transition in the educational-political livelihood system has a very important and far-reaching political dimension. This transition in the educational-political and, in turn, livelihood production system has given rise to the other transitions seen in 2036, 2046 2062-2063 and the current one. It is not known whether it is just a speculation or true that Chandra shamsher cried when Trichandra College was opened in 1975.

But it is not difficult to guess that he had predicted both the rise and fall of the Rana dynasty from Trichandra College and from Patna, Calcutta, and Allahabad Universities. The information and practice that there is another world besides what is seen, experienced, and thought about, and there are other ways of earning a living, producing, and conducting politics, strongly shakes the status quo. It can be said that Mahendra and Birendra must have thought about both the rise and fall of the Panchayat when they were planning the new national education system. Whether they thought about it or not, although many immediate reasons for the current political, economic, and cultural transition can be shown, from a historical structural perspective, the root cause of the above-mentioned political transitions goes back to the education program created by Mahendra and Birendra and to which the imperialist America provided significant financial support. The purpose here is not to belittle the 'seven parties' and the Maoists in the current political, economic, and cultural transition. But those who understand the world in terms of immediacy and subjectivity and insist that this is the only truth cannot find historical and structural reasons, and even when they see them, they turn a blind eye. Subjectivity alone does not create the present, and the sky cannot be held up by the hustle and bustle. The past, present, and future, including individuals and society, emerge from the interplay and conflict between subjectivity, history, and structure. A correct understanding of these three dimensions makes sustainable and progressive politics possible. When we build the present and chart the future by understanding the interplay and conflict within the laws and structures of history, we do not become fatalists, but rather unhistorical mystics and romantics.

### What Nepali History shows?

The path to progress cannot be saved by the search for miracles that defy historical laws. Historical laws are highways. Without this highway, the journey forward would be difficult. But how wide or narrow this highway is made depends on the doer. How far to the left or right of the highway one will walk is also decided by the doer? The doer is free to say how far we shall travel on the auxiliary road of the highway and then reach a little further and cross the highway again and move forward again. But the doer is not free to say that we will not walk on the historical highway or that we will walk on the opposite side of that highway. In what sense is this? By doing this, a chain of accidents is likely to be waiting in the wings. In essence, the historical highway widens. It gives freedom. This is the freedom that the doer can enjoy and use. The historical highway does not give unlimited freedom. Unlimited freedom can be nothing but chaos.

To put it more concretely, the advocacy of a leap from social

democratic capitalism to socialism respects the regularity of history: it rejects mysticism, romanticism, 'excessive flexibility', anarchy and leaps; it accepts the rule, rejects destiny; it rejects extremism and spiritualism; it considers the failure to distinguish between rule and destiny as unhistorical, un-Marxist rhetoric. Understanding the rule opens up a vision of the future. History, theory, program and structure become one. The path becomes relatively much easier.

### Caste and Power Exercise

The fourth pillar of the aforementioned expansion and diversification of livelihoods is: casteist politics and mass movements in the hills and the Terai. The casteism practiced by the 'upper clan' within the old 'upper caste' had paved the way for the privilege of expanding livelihoods for that caste and clan. Scripture, education, religion, etc. became the basis for this. Similarly, the false claim of closeness to divine power made by the upper caste became another basis.

Although the current second version of casteism, like the first casteism, is being constructed in the name of imaginary 'identities' such as 'tribes', 'tribals', 'natives' and 'locals', its essence is also to try to gain exclusive rights over the sources of production and production relations and through them the expansion of livelihood. And, if such a favorable situation arises, only some of these clans, families, individuals, those who are politically, economically and culturally close to the state power or those who are capable of remaining close to it can gain a monopoly. Identity is only an immediate cultural aspect, the content is economic and to some extent political power. Which clan, family, group among 'tribes', 'tribals', 'sons of the land', 'locals', etc., has the capacity to acquire such power? Those who belong to the upper castes and clans, on the basis of new knowledge, skills, and thinking, can slightly or completely distance themselves from the resources and relationships acquired by their ancestors, adopt new ways of earning a living and they want to live by diversifying and they are the ones who have the power to gain power. Most of these are the 'offspring' of the above-mentioned 'new education' program or its new generation. That is, the two generations of Janajati and Madhesi youth of the past 40 years, based on extensive knowledge, skills and thinking from schools, media and other sources, want to operate or participate in non-rural, non-agricultural and other sectors of production that have relatively high productivity and income. That is, they want to 'enter' new and expanded sectors of livelihood by establishing new social relations of production. But since the first version of casteism defined, measured and maintained the qualifications or competence required to enter such sectors to a significant extent in a casteist manner, they are also eager to 'solve' those issues in a casteist manner. 'Quotas' in education, employment etc. are also a suitable solution for groups and individuals who are literate, educated, well-informed but culturally and otherwise discriminated against. But along with this, slogans like 'priority', 'caste state' etc. are neither democratic nor just. They neither develop the material basis of production, nor improve the relations of production. Only when the economic sectors, labor and capital, including the castes and inhabitants of geographical areas within a country,

can be easily and intensively integrated, will the production system expand and develop. And, through this, livelihoods will expand and diversify.

Let us briefly discuss the diversification and sustainability of the organization of production and the size, diversification and sustainability of the organization of livelihood associated with it.

Among the characteristics and limitations of pre-capitalist production systems, the organization of production and the organization of livelihood are small and narrow, family-based and local. In the hilly regions, locality remains even more narrow. The mountains, rivers, etc. do not allow even a slightly expanded locality to emerge or be sustainable. This is a historical experience all over the world. Language, culture, politics, economy and all social relations grow within this locality. There, a small state is born: a grassroots and taxed 'subsistence economy' dominates. Groups with many different languages, customs, values and beliefs live separately, distantly and even in opposition. Later, after the introduction of a more expanded and centralized economic and political system, some of these

They are known as separate castes. Thus, internally very equal but externally very limited and fragmented economic, political and cultural societies or states with low subsistence level of production systems, are underdeveloped. Livelihoods remain low level; unexpanded and undiversified. Although these are independent of each other and in the context of the current debate on state restructuring, they are also 'entitled to self-determination' and 'sovereign'.

The historical political, economic and cultural experience of Nepal is of this nature. The reason behind the existence of about one hundred languages and castes is mainly this limited, unexpanded and unintegrated, undiversified economy and the politics and culture associated with it. Again, the definition and number of castes are very unstable and are constructed historically and politically. The movement, closed trade and social relations, goods, services, labor, capital transactions are the ones that unite the scattered economies, families, villages, cities to create a developed production system and an expanded and diversified livelihood system.

In this sense, while the old casteism has been hindering economic expansion and diversification for at least 3-400 years, the new casteism, especially through the insistence of the caste state, is trying to greatly thwart the expansion and diversification of the economy and livelihood. In addition, it is advocating a strange 'classlessness' that is destroying class bias and is supporting an extreme right-wing economy, politics, and culture that puts caste, clan, etc., at the forefront, not labor and workers. On the other hand, the new casteism is raising its head from the same historical moment from which the old casteism is dying. It is worth remembering that five years ago, some of the most ardent exponents of the new casteism had put forward the argument that 10 percent of the national legislators would be chosen by the king, not for the abolition of the monarchy, but for the stability and strength of the monarchy. (Malla K. Sundar, Dr. Keshavman Shakya and Arjun Limbu,

2005. Restructuring the State: A Perspective from the Indigenous Peoples. Nepal Indigenous Peoples Federation, Indigenous Peoples Empowerment Project, Working Paper presented at the National Conference of Nepal, 28-29 August.) According to their argument, 40 percent of the casteist institutions belonged to 40 percent of political parties and 10 percent to 'regions'.

At that high point of the transition, the fact that monarchy and racism were neck and neck was exposed. It was clear that the racists, under the guise of the king and the security forces operating under the king at that time, including 60 percent of the legislators, were drawing up a blueprint for running the state by sidelining political parties.

### Caste Contemporary and Traditional Point of view

There is more similarity than difference among the members of the old and new casteist clans, except for the leadership. This similarity is based on 'eating the poor'. There is both a desire and a compulsion to move away from the non-rural, non-agricultural etc. physical basis of production, out of the family and local social relations of production, and to build a new physical basis of production and social relations. While staying with their parents in the old place, they grow new relatively high-productivity market-friendly crops or trade in crops; spend some or all of their time in non-traditional agriculture; and the youth group that is reaching the city market or using mass media to gain information about new ways of earning a living is large and is getting larger. The village is becoming urban. The youth who migrate for seasonal, temporary or permanent labor and migration are basically engaged in cities and non-agricultural work. These are on the verge of a major change or have already made great progress towards this.

Thus, on the one hand, the physical basis of traditional production, social relations, and livelihood systems are being dismantled. On the other hand, although limited, a new physical basis for a new production system is being built. If we consider even Nepalis who have gone to work abroad, the scope of this new system is unlimited. Such a system is non-family, non-rural, non-agricultural, non-pre-capitalist, non-dependent in nature. Similarly, rights of a capitalist nature are established in this system. In fact, the development and expansion of the livelihood system based on labor relations within the new capitalist circle mentioned above is the reason for the end of the monarchy. The history of monarchy in the world is intertwined with land ownership. The status of being able to give and take away land is paramount in an agricultural society. The king's seal was also mandatory for maintaining ownership or operating other sources of production. In this way, the monarchy could both open and close the knot of production and livelihood. When education, skills, etc. began to become the main parts of production,

The practice of keeping the king in check or giving him awards or ornaments to control those who have higher education or higher ranks by keeping them close to them is common in monarchies. The belief that being a government employee

means being 'put in place by the king' is also universal and ancient. The practice of depending on the upper level of the bureaucracy, which should be established on the basis of knowledge of the subject, to be dependent on the selection of the king has also been practiced under monarchies. It could be considered natural that such 'care-selection' would be more widespread in security mechanisms. On the other hand, for a long time, kings either engaged in trade themselves or maintained their influence in the association of merchants or did both. The formulation of laws, including trade, was based on their speeches. The king would take and give caste and ethnicity. In this way, in some states, the king would take and give clan and surname, and still does so. There was a close relationship between the king and religion. In some cases, the king was the chief religious authority.

Some form of all these has been seen, heard, and read about in Nepal's monarchy for the past 60 years. However, in relative terms, Nepal's monarchy is not very powerful among non-European 'modern monarchies'. In fact, while the land that was initially owned by the state was actually transferred to private ownership, the aspirations and behavior of the 'landlord' became extremely narrow after the nationalization of forests, the abolition of birta, and the abolition of kipta in the 1950s and 1960s. However, from time to time, the kings did not fail to give government land to specific types of 'servants' under their 'care'.

Since the mineral-related industry in the country is not significant, the monarchy has remained aloof from it. The king and the royal family have been involved in trade and trade associations for the past four decades. But most of the business transactions of the king and the royal family have not flourished. Instead, news of the royal family being lured into trade commissions has been appearing in the newspapers. The high political status of the king and the royal family has had a significant impact on trade associations. The trade associations supported the monarchy until the 2046 and 2062/063 movements reached their peak.

### **Social and Political Movement from 2007 to till now**

Meanwhile, the new and non-rural non-agricultural, urban, skilled labor, and labor migrants have begun to increase in numbers; the entire lower-capitalist class, including school and college education and teachers, has never received the support of the poor class, which is not born and not established, in the last 60 years. To some extent, even the faith of a part of this class, including government employees, has remained persistently against the monarchy. However, even the middle-level employees of the security apparatus were seen to be basically in favor of the monarchy. The monarchy could not take root in the newly formed, flourishing and progressive class. There was a huge contradiction between these two classes, the poor and the born. The lower bourgeois class or those who tried to join this class became the main enemies of the monarchy. This became the main reason for the end of the monarchy.

Hinduism was made the state religion by the monarchy in

1962. That is, there is no long history of Hinduism being raised as the state religion. There are two more reasons behind Hinduism's failure to provide strong support to the monarchy. First, unlike Christianity and Islam, Hinduism is an 'unorganized' religion. After the demise of the Guthi system, it remained even less organized. Compared to mosques and churches, the political status of Hindu temples has remained very low, since ancient times. Hinduism did not even have an organization comparable to the Buddhist Sangha. In Hinduism, the position of religious leaders mostly did not exist or even officials like the current Shankaracharya remained away from socio-political life. In India, political parties such as the BJP and ShivSena are walking around carrying 'Hindutva'.

Secondly, the center of Hinduism or Hinduism is the plains of the Ganges region. Hinduism in the hilly region remained a 'miscellaneous religion'. It was natural for Hinduism or any other cultural organ, aspect or institution under the economic-political splendor of the Ganges region and the cities to remain extremely stunted, underdeveloped, diseased or in other forms in the hilly regions of India or Nepal. The wall between the castes in the hilly regions is a lower wall. Compared to the flat areas. In the hills, the Vaishya, that is, one of the four castes, did not develop. Because the amount of tradeable products remained very small. The roads remained inaccessible, politics, economics, production and trade policies, culture, etc. all remained fragmented and fragmented. In the hilly regions, animal husbandry was more important than agriculture.

The Brahmins became carnivores. Since there was little racial conflict, Hinduism had long and intensive interaction with other religions, especially nature-worshipping religions, including Buddhism, so the gods and goddesses who were vegetarians in the plains became carnivores. More than a hundred years ago, sociologist Emile Durkheim had declared that religion and gods did not create man, but rather that man invented religions and gods that suited his production system and lifestyle.

Thus, the monarchy lost its dominance in land and other economic sectors, as well as the privilege of giving honor and respect. After that, even the religious support it tried to build to become strong could not support it. The last two generations, which were less dependent on religion, customs, and traditions, were freed from the yoke of this support.

There is a cultural dimension to the reorganization that has taken place and is taking place in this livelihood system. This cultural dimension is intertwined with both private and public life. In addition, this cultural dimension is intertwined with every part, aspect or dimension of society. The decline in relationships with ancestors, parents, etc. is a major aspect of this reorganization. As mentioned above, a significant portion of the new generation is building new physical bases and social relations for production and livelihood. The old bases and relations are in the process of weakening and collapsing. The generational transition that has occurred in the field of production systems, in the field of consumption, in the field of

habitation, and especially in the field of mutual social relations is becoming widespread and deep. In all these fields, 'individualization' and 'individualism' are advancing rapidly. Individualism has become a negative and abusive term. But individualism is an integral dimension of the privatization or 'individualization' of resources, capabilities, skills, and livelihood. As production systems and livelihoods are established in specific places or positions based on personal qualities, education, skills, and acceptance, not on the basis of caste, class, family, and location, it becomes natural for caste, clan, family, and locational relationships to weaken.

In the above order, urban over rural; subsistence over industrial, service and other non-subsistence agriculture; clock time over sunrise and sunset; man-made light and the length of the day extending into the night. The importance of these will increase and the culture associated with them will expand. The culture of work will be promoted rather than the 'independent newspaper', certificate of the tea age. The culture of giving birth to fewer children, of sending children to long school education before they are able to work in production until they are old enough, and of leaving them free for marriage, livelihood, etc. will be promoted more.

By participating in new and more productive production systems, the status of youth increases within the household, in the world of work and labor, and in public life as a whole. Even for groups and classes that are marginalized or excluded from the old production and livelihood systems, the new production and livelihood system can be much more open. For example, for all such groups, urban markets, their industries and factories and employment providers, schools, information centers, health centers, means of transportation, etc. remain more open than in rural and local settings. Babasaheb Ambedkar, opposing the simplicity and acceptability of Mahatma Gandhi's rural life, has considered village and its life as sacrilegious and urban life as many times inferior from the perspective of Dalits. Those who hold a kind of romantic perspective have still considered rural life as 'simple, pure, honest and natural' and urban life as artificial, full of contradictions, unequal and individualistic, etc. In fact, there is a difference between the city and the village, between the city dweller and the villager. But the village is more likely to be simple and unsophisticated. It may be covered with the thickets of caste discrimination. The discrimination of women may be very great. These and other such qualities are certainly not natural. Urban life is artificial and rural life is not natural. Both are historical and man-made. Every person, every life and every society are historical constructions.

These kinds of cultural changes can be seen in Nepal to a greater or lesser extent. Some of these changes can be seen more in cities and less in villages. But some changes are becoming very intense in rural life. The physical, economic, political and cultural separation of young people from their parents, friends, community, etc. is more in the hilly villages and less in the Terai. It can be seen and felt in rural areas everywhere.

It can be done. Again, the youth are more isolated in families

and communities where their sustainable livelihood solutions are few. Young people from families with sufficient farming are perhaps less isolated from their parents, friends, and community. But it is certain that the current production, material, infrastructure, and social relations do not keep them with their parents. Or their children with them. Perhaps, commercial industrial agriculture is one way to maintain such social relations. Staying in the village and earning a half-time non-agricultural livelihood is another way or an additional way. If the rural economy can be revived, or if it is completely devoted to non-agricultural occupations that are emerging, it is still another way. If this does not happen, either livelihood becomes more and more difficult, or labor or migration is not involved. Labor or migration is certainly not the sure way to make livelihood easier. The stories of the miserable lives of migrant workers who have not found work in foreign lands are widely heard and read. The stories of workers who have returned from abroad without finding work are also heard infrequently. However, when one is able to participate in a relatively advanced production system, the future of oneself, one's children, and even close friends becomes brighter, more promising, and happier.

The current Constituent Assembly, Legislature-Parliament, political parties, other political forces, ordinary citizens and civil society organizations have a very important role in making the changes that are happening or about to happen in the economic, political and cultural dimensions more comprehensive, rapid and sustainable or not. There can be no doubt about this. But now (in Magh 2066), most knowledgeable people and organizations in Nepal and the world are in a dilemma of hope and despair regarding the future of Nepal. If the analysis made in this role is basically correct, then the country's politics and constitution should be able to provide the following solution.

First, to make the emerging poor youth, a group devoid of physical means of production but full of labor, literate, educated, relatively well-informed, and far from tradition, resourceful or employable. The fact worth emphasizing here is that these youths are or will be capable of operating new means of production and establishing new social relations of production. That is, without being able to maintain social relations in accordance with the developed production system.

It is not that the exit is closed, nor is it because there are no workers with the right qualities to produce. The reason for the exit being closed is the extreme limitation of the physical means of production, as well as the undiversified nature and inappropriate distribution.

In this way, the current situation of Nepal is similar to that of China before 1978 and much of India in 1990. Despite some limitations, the Deng Xiaoping generation and Narasimha Rao-Rajiv Gandhi gave an outlet to the youth and other productive labor force of their respective countries. This outlet was basically achieved by giving 'freedom' and promotion to private enterprise and capital. But this development was possible due to government investment in infrastructure and some other sectors, creation of appropriate

policies and regulations, government agility, respect for the law, etc. After that, not only did prosperity increase in both China and India, poverty decreased significantly to a large extent. Such a thing did not happen during the 'socialist' period. This does not mean that communism and socialism are to be abandoned, and we should not be afraid to do so. But what it does mean is that we can only move forward by relying not on imagination, but on the living present and its historical specificity. The feet that are placed on imagination float in the air. One cannot rise above the scent of perfume. The historical specificity of the living present is the state of having the minimum capacity to transition to a developed and self-sufficient capitalist system. Only by successfully completing this transition can one begin the journey towards socialism.

Based on the capabilities of Nepal's youth, a more developed and self-reliant capitalist chariot can be driven than the current one. Over time, through structural and capacity changes, this chariot becomes outdated. Then it will have to be abandoned and another chariot will have to be driven. **Conclusion:** After all, contradictions, transitions and changes are the laws of the history of society. In order to sustainably enhance the limited capacity currently available, to expand and deepen both democratic freedom and justice in society, to prevent the inequities inherent in the capitalist system from increasing, and to maintain peace, the state must also promote economic expansion, diversification, and growth, as well as the area of redistribution. The strong must be regular. The laws, policies and programs related to redistribution must be not only strong, but also sufficient. It must be possible to intervene redistributive where necessary and to transfer redistribution from unnecessary places. Such social democratic capitalism over time will bring the development of the capitalist system to a standstill. And the contradictions and class struggle of that system will reach a standstill. And then the end and, possibly, the beginning of another socialist system.

If political parties are honest, and the government is responsible and agile, it seems that the foundation of this kind of social democratic capitalism can be laid within the next 10 years. The synthesis of the party's election documents and the interim constitution means that the political essence is social democratic capitalism. The solutions to the ethnic, gender, regional, local, occupational, etc., collective conflicts and movements that have arisen in the country should also be sought within this system. At last "In history, stories of prosperity are written not by chance, but by tough decisions taken at the right time, but Nepal has been stuck in a fundamental confusion about which path to take for seven decades."

\* Nepal's poverty is not a geographical destiny, but rather a product of policy ambiguity, institutional corruption, and a short-sighted mindset that considers development only as 'resources' while forgetting 'people'."

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