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Political Change and Women Developmental Transition, Shift from Village to Town Life and Challenge of Nepali Youth.

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Abstract

The meaning of development is related to the extent to which a society, culture, group or individual under any historical stage has or has not achieved maturity within the scope of the nature and form of that stage. Since the philosophy or theory of development is itself a product of the capitalist stage, 'development' in a narrow but correct sense is related specifically to maturity or immaturity under the capitalist stage. On the other hand, 'liberation' is a concept that does not match the nature and form of the capitalist stage. 'Liberation' is a concept of a culture and economic-political system free from exploitation. In the current world context, 'liberation' is the desire to overcome both the feudal and capitalist stages. The question arises as to whether Nepal will be complete in five years as the new constitution is drafted and implemented. Certainly, a more egalitarian Nepal will be established within five years. This Nepal will be egalitarian and will also embrace a competitive multi-party system. It seems necessary and possible to imagine a Nepal with political freedom, civil rights established, and those rights established as widely as possible. The dream of a new Nepal that can be seen for the next five-six years has been partly outlined in the interim constitution of Nepal. The interim constitution contains some such parts that we are currently imagining. Such parts should be expanded to establish the right to free education up to secondary level, quality primary health care, and access to quality food. After that, the path forward and the main mantra is employment. The issue of how to create employment is the biggest challenge. However, the Nepal of the next five years will be a Nepal that has progressed significantly, is rising, and is laying the foundation for what lies ahead, mainly in terms of education, health, access to food, and employment.

Keywords: Political Change, Women Developmental, Transition, Shift from Village to Town Life and Challenge of Nepali Youth.

Introduction

When studying and researching the village, it is seen that not only the youth, but also the elderly does not want their sons to stay in the village. It is thought that even people who are 70 years old would have liked to have their sons stay in the village when they were sick, but they have understood the fact that staying here does not lead to progress. There are some similarities and differences in the thinking of the youth and their parents. Even the 60-year-olds say that their sons should stay in the city, and the youth also think the same. They say that their sons should engage in non-agricultural professions, and their sons also want that. Most parents also think the same. There is also a difference in the thinking of youth and parents. Parents have a view. Today's youth are not as

respectful as they used to be: they have become more selfish than before. If we take it in another sense, youth are forced to become selfish. Because the youth have to build a new world, work in new places, study new things, and especially create a new source of income. After living apart from their parents in this way, their relationship is not as strong as before, this is true. Even if the elders are upset about it, they do not show any pain or disagreement about living in the city, studying, or learning skills. Apart from the concern of making ends meet, another concern of parents of children aged 15-20 is whether their children have studied or not? Do they go to school-campus or not?

We believe that Nepal's youth have five types of resources. The first and foremost resource is land. But now many new

resources are being created. The existing resources are also being expanded. Among them, the most important resource is education and skills, on the basis of which the youth can earn a living. After the new education system was implemented in Nepal in 2028 BS, schools were opened in every village. Education expanded due to the teachers' movement. In this way, among the important resources for the 'career' of the youth, the first is land and the second is education. The third is capital. Some youth have developed their careers by mobilizing capital. Even though they do not have education and land, they have shown their ability based on capital, but this level is very limited. The fourth resource is the hereditary entrepreneurship or managerial skills of some youth. And, the fifth resource is social capital. In Nepal, men have more social capital than women. Dalits have less social capital than all other genders and castes. Anyway, based on these five capitals, the youth of Nepal should be divided into different levels and levels.

These and other resources and capital are needed to build the future of the youth and earn a living. The dreams of the youth are also built on the basis of these same resources and capital. youth have more resources and capital, some have less, some have none. Especially the dreams of today's youth are focused on education and skills. Yet, about half of the youth are focused on agriculture and land. But the aspirations of many youths are shifting from agriculture and land to education and skills.

Especially the new generation is trying to move forward, but some negative things are holding them back. Now a new generation of poor people is emerging, who have something with my own strength." There is a young generation that wants to create new resources on its own, with its own strength. Such a group of young people is also growing. More and more young people are coming forward with such a dream. This does not mean that young people will not become farmers again. But far fewer young people are in the agricultural profession in villages than before. Now, in terms of imagination and dreams, young people rarely enjoy living in the village. The challenge for political leaders, social leaders, and businessmen is: How to address these young people? They should provide food and a place to work for the young people who want to work. Even the youth of the villages who do not have access to the market want to come to the city. Today's youth do not enjoy the farming done by their ancestors.

Now, with the development of information and communication, there is not much difference in the dreams of rural youth and urban youth. Some time ago, we went to the village and returned, where when we talked to the young people, we did not find much difference between their dreams and desires and the dreams and desires of urban youth. The difference that we thought would be there before, is not so much. Nowadays, the city is not as separate as it used to be, the city is entering the village. Therefore, communication from the city is happening in the village on a daily basis. There is no distance between the city and the village like before, and there is no difference in thinking either. When we

talked to schoolgirls, we found that they are more aware of the need for equality than city girls when it comes to marriage. They say that the age of the children getting married should be the same and that they should have the same education. There are two reasons for this awareness. One reason is that they are very young, and even a 2-year-old feels old to them. A 14-15-year-old girl feels old even if she is 18 years old. Another reason is that a new era has begun. They are four or five years younger than the girls studying in schools and colleges in the city. Now, when it comes to the dreams of young people, the terms far and near no longer have any meaning, nor do they mean village and city, accessible and inaccessible as before. Distance is disappearing, relationships are growing, and equality is intensifying.

Therefore, the main challenge now is to address the dreams of these five types of youth and enable them to earn a comfortable livelihood. The main challenge is to increase productivity in the process of earning a living. To make it easier for those youth who want to engage in agriculture, agriculture should be connected to the market and more work should be done for commercialization than at present. Another very large group is those engaged in education. If we count from children to young students, there are already 8 million youth in the education sector. The main challenge is to provide opportunities for them.

Education in Nepal has improved a lot in the past. Mainly, the level of education in Kathmandu has improved. If we want to address the youth outside Kathmandu, we need to develop it to the level of education in Kathmandu in the next five years. Although it is difficult to bring the remote areas to that level, a significant achievement will be achieved if we can restore that level of education in the district headquarters of all districts and restore it to the villages of all districts in the next 10 years. If the children there get the educational level of Kathmandu, it will be a significant achievement for Nepal. It will lay a truly strong foundation for building a new Nepal. If we can do that, it will have a positive impact on every sector of the country, productivity will also increase. There will be no problem with information and communication, and communication will be easy everywhere. We can actually reach another world based on thinking, knowledge, and skills.

The first task to be done to break this cycle is to intervene in the educational sector. Intervention is not in a negative sense. Positive intervention is needed to restore the level of Kathmandu in the villages. The second task is political democratization. Without democratized politics and critical conscious education, people will stop asking questions and society, politics and education will remain the same. We need not old education, but new education that will make students active. Such a new education that will make the people of Singha Durbar, the people of the district and tomorrow the people of the province accountable by asking questions. Such educational work is possible only in a state system that creates aware citizens. Oppression or imposition of autocracy government cannot provide such education, nor can it expand it.

The first condition necessary to fulfill the dreams of the youth is the democratization of education and politics. The second condition is the expansion of awareness and resources in the education sector. The third condition is the development and expansion of the economy. If that is not the case, the educated unemployed will start asking, 'What will happen if they study?' The new education system also emphasized technical education at one time. But even if people studied technical education, nothing happened, because the economy did not develop. Technical knowledge alone is not enough, only if it can be used can concrete and fruitful work be done. Therefore, the dreams of the youth can be fulfilled only if there is overall democratization of education and politics, creation of aware citizens, and development of the economy. It is natural that the aspirations of the youth, especially in urban areas, are focused on the goal of going abroad. It does not seem justified to confine it to the limited scope of nationality and dig a hole in the dreams of youth. When the colonial era ended 50 years ago, the emergence and development of nationality was at its peak. Because there was no national independence, it was necessary for the common people to be aware of the sense of nationality at that time. But now such a colonial situation does not exist, now the history of that independence is ending. The economic colonization that began to be established then still exists to some extent.

Nationality is not really an abstract nationality. Those who leave will remember the village where they played, the stones and clay, and all their friends. The love of the people here will continue to be felt by the youth who go abroad. When we say country, we may not immediately remember the map, the king, the prime minister, and the president, but the map of this country will not be forgotten. Therefore, we should also have this mentality about expanding nationalism. We should expand nationalism to the extent that the youth who go abroad serve not only Nepal and Nepalis, but also people like Nepalis in other countries.

Those who want to move forward by saving can also move forward based on capital mobilization. They can also fulfill their dreams based on capital. On the other hand, the situation is becoming somewhat more relaxed than in the past, especially for young people with negative social capital. In this sense, the dreams of today's youth are also becoming concentrated around capitalism. The problem in this is that parents have capital. The aspirations of today's youth are expensive, and their dreams are also expensive. Therefore, parents lack the capital to fulfill those demands. Due to the lack of capital, conflicts also appear in some families. In reality, there is a gap between their reality and aspirations. The youth of the family think, 'Since father invested a little, we will earn a lot.' But the parents think, 'Will this work or not? If they do not eat, all their assets will sink.' In this way, when their aspirations are not fulfilled, some youth fall into addictions, engage in criminal activities, and engage in bad deeds. Parents should try to manage this properly. In the modern era, competition has become more intense. Young people have to run a lot. While running like that, some break their legs; some get injured; some fall and get injured.

Therefore, the responsibility to protect them has increased. It is certainly difficult to bear the responsibility of fulfilling the growing aspirations and burning desires of the youth. And, the youth who want to earn a living must be given a way to earn a living. For that, only if the government and the private sector work together can the dreams of the youth be fulfilled.

New Nepal and New Nepali:

The main issue that the Nepali people have been fighting for for more than 70/75 years is: self-governance. It is now almost certain that they should be able to govern themselves. Instead of clan-based, lineage-based socio-political leadership, people-based politics is now being established. The main part of it is also included in the interim constitution, which says: The age of monarchy is over. The monarchy could not resolve the political contradictions that have been going on for a long time. Therefore, like many other countries in the world, the monarchy in Nepal has also reached the point of collapse. The end of the monarchy means a system and a system where the people rule themselves. This is the responsibility of establishing a democratic republic. The first responsibility is to establish a system where people can rule themselves. The next responsibility is to create a system of governance for the people; to create a new constitution. That responsibility is being fulfilled with the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. It may take a very long time to fulfill this obligation, but it is a matter of hope and must be done: This work must be completed within 2 years. It must be built as quickly as possible. For this, pressure is also being exerted from all sides, from the people. If we look at the example of 046 BS, the constitution was drafted within a year.

What kind of new Nepal:

The question arises as to whether Nepal will be complete in five years as the new constitution is drafted and implemented. Certainly, a more egalitarian Nepal will be established within five years. This Nepal will be egalitarian and will also embrace a competitive multi-party system. It seems necessary and possible to imagine a Nepal with political freedom, civil rights established, and those rights established as widely as possible. The dream of a new Nepal that can be seen for the next five-six years has been partly outlined in the interim constitution of Nepal. The interim constitution contains some such parts that we are currently imagining. Such parts should be expanded to establish the right to free education up to secondary level, quality primary health care, and access to quality food. After that, the path forward and the main mantra is employment. The issue of how to create employment is the biggest challenge. However, the Nepal of the next five years will be a Nepal that has progressed significantly, is rising, and is laying the foundation for what lies ahead, mainly in terms of education, health, access to food, and employment.

The second major challenge is to create a system that allows for multi-party competition with political freedom and achieve socio-economic benefits from it. We are envisioning a democracy with economic and social rights along with political rights. It is also necessary to create a situation and

structure with economic and social rights. If such structures are not created, if such policies cannot be adopted, there is a risk of losing political freedom and multi-party's again. Political freedom and multi-party democracy are important and necessary. Along with that, economic and social rights, structures and policies. If it does not meet the expectations of the people, there is a high possibility of losing that political right. Therefore, along with political rights, these rights should also be established. I believe that these two aspects are two sides of the same coin. If we fail to bring these two aspects forward in balance, contradictions will intensify. If these two structures go hand in hand, contradictions will decrease, but if they do not, contradictions will start again. In one way or another, it will start taking the path of chaos.

Political change:

The current political change is viewed in a narrow perspective. That perspective assumes that the current change was only possible through the collaboration of the seven political parties and the Maoists. It is the responsibility of intellectuals to analyze why and how the current change was achieved through the collaboration of the seven parties and the Maoists, and to investigate the social foundations on which the seven parties and the Maoists were built. Such movements did not occur 50-60 years ago and even 25 years ago. What social changes have occurred now that have created these parties and political forces; created a situation in which these two types of political forces can rise up against the monarchy? It is necessary to explore the basis for this. Currently, in most households in Nepal, the number of young people who use the land that their ancestors have been sharing and make a living from it is very small. This means that many young people are breaking the restrictions of the house, they are even forced to break those restrictions. Especially due to various social, economic and physical reasons, the possibility of making a living in the traditional way is becoming less and less. To solve this, they are trying to come out of the house.

Another factor that motivates them to do so is the rapid urbanization process. Similarly, the opening of some employment opportunities in non-agricultural sectors both inside and outside the country is another reason. Today's youth are not only limited to traditional social. They have started to become independent from the structure. That is, they have started to free themselves from the dominant network of kings and chiefs to their fathers. They have started to orient themselves towards non-agricultural professions and non-rural professions rather than the traditional structure. Although not all youth have orientated towards this trend, the general trend is becoming like this. This is why a new society is being sought and created, a new Nepali is being created. Due to the interdependence of individuals and society, when new politics and a new society are created, naturally new Nepalese are also being created. This is inevitable when one historical period ends and another era begins. Today's youth are the first or second generation, who are becoming literate and educated. These young people are not only literate and educated, but they are also moving forward by abandoning

traditional things and embracing new values. This process is being supported by mass media such as radio, television, newspapers and online media. The basis of current discussions is not what their ancestors said, but the topics that have come to the mass media. This is overturning the culture and understanding of yesterday. In some areas, the current learning process has been reversed, with the younger ones learning modern things from the older ones. Now there has also been a change in consciousness. The bearer of consciousness has also changed. The bearer of consciousness is the new generation. This new generation is eager and compelled to create a new world based on non-agriculture and non-rural, breaking old social relations and traditional professions and relationships with society, elders and family. This is also a fundamental basis of the current political movement. These things were responsible for creating the seven parties and the Maoists.

Negative tendencies of youth:

While there are bright sides to the youth trend that has emerged as a social phenomenon, there are also some dark sides. That side is the possibility of creating chaos or disorder danger. We saw that danger in the Ritwik Roshan incident in Nepal, the riots in Iraq in 2008 against the killing of Nepalese, and the struggle against the increase in petrol prices in Magh 2007. If the political leadership is not strong and alert, many such situations can arise. This happens when there is a change in traditional cultural relations and control, and the old is destroyed and the new is built. Two parties are responsible for controlling such a situation: First, the social environment of personality formation. Second, the social mechanism of control. Human behavior is formed in two ways. One, behavior that is done intentionally, that is, based on what is taught. Second, when a person starts to become unruly, the control that the family, society, and the state apparatus exert on him. Therefore, both socialization and social control are important. This is when the legitimacy of the old types of socialization and social control has been lost. That legitimacy must now come from somewhere else. It must come from education, employment, and a new type of people-responsive constitution and government, and from the guarantee of economic and social rights. Only then can anarchy be controlled, otherwise the situation may be worse than the Kritvik Roshan scandal, the Iraq massacre, and the petroleum rebellion.

Now, there is no longer a situation where people can earn a living by plowing a small plot of land like in the past, and the younger generation is not eager for that. There is no subjective and objective basis for that. Now people will concentrate in small markets, district headquarters and big cities. For this reason, there will be a drastic change in the demographics of cities and settlements. This process had already started with the change in 046 BS, which will now increase even more. When young people who have left their villages and are looking for a new world and want change see the world they want as too far away, when they are disappointed when their hopes are dashed and they don't get it, when they wait and don't get it, when they get it but

someone else gets it more than they deserve, they explode. That possibility is abundant in Nepali society.

The path to be followed and the challenge:

To prevent such a dire situation, the social and economic structure must be changed. Its blueprint is the 'social democratic system' (democratic socialist system). It essentially advocates 'bourgeois democracy' (capitalist democracy). In the context of a state like Nepal, bourgeois democracy itself is a revolutionary state system. Its essence is a system that values labor and capital equally along with basic aspects such as the development of capital. But this is not a pure capitalist system, but a labor-based system. It is not a system that belittles capital as nothing. It is a system that balances and coordinates between labor and capital. I believe that we should lay the foundation for such a system in the next five years. I think that the path that the country will take in the long term or for two to four generations is the path of 'social democracy'. It seems to me that it establishes economic and social rights including political freedom, increases employment and generates abundant resources. The state should distribute the resources obtained from it to the people in a proportional manner.

If such bourgeois economic foundations are established, it will also generate abundant resources. The state has control over those resources. With those resources, it is possible to secure the political, social and human rights mentioned above. Young people who are making their debut in the new world are trying to ensure their economic and social rights. Without ensuring those rights, bourgeois democracy will not develop either. Skills, education, and healthy manpower are needed to work. Therefore, capital and labor complement each other.

There is a kind of radical socialist opinion that whether there is economic growth or not, things will be decided. But it is not possible to do so by stopping the development of capital. In the current situation of being the dominant player in the international capital market, special care must be taken in this matter, otherwise capital will flee. Therefore, currently facing great challenges and opportunities. Therefore, Nepal must move forward on a social democratic path, and to some extent, it is already moving in that direction.

In this context, we can learn and benefit from neighboring countries like India and China, which are making leaps in economic development. If we try to follow a path different from the one they have adopted, the contradictions that have arisen will only increase and new contradictions will be created. Therefore, I believe that we are compelled to adopt the path of bourgeois democracy with political, social and economic rights, which I call social democracy. This is not only our geopolitical obligation, but also an opportunity. In China, no matter how much they talked about eliminating poverty during the period from 1950 to 1978, it did not disappear. Rather, it has decreased since 1978. However, it is true that it has widened the gap between the haves and have-nots and increased inequality. Similarly, in India, poverty did not decrease from 1947 to 1990, but has decreased significantly since 1990. Therefore, we should see

capitalism as a revolutionary progressive path. In this context, China and India have not yet taken the path of pure capitalism, they are not very far from the path of social democracy. I think that by learning from these two countries and connecting with them, we should follow the path of social democracy for the next few generations.

But there is a problem with that, the ideology of the parties. Here, the ideology of the individual is not dominant, the ideology of the political parties that have the capacity and status to implement it and the responsibility to develop the system is dominant. In the question of that ideology, the Nepali Congress is right-wing, the UML is in the middle, but it is undefined. The Maoists who are emerging now have many kinds of ideas. Some of those ideas are also abstract and some are contradictory. Abstraction is good in politics, but contradiction is disadvantageous. For example, the Maoists on the one hand say democracy, but do not reveal what is inside it. They talk about a new Nepal, new ideas and new leadership. What is the hidden thing inside it, is still unclear? It does not. The Maoists also call it bourgeois democracy. By adding the adjective word to it, they have also called it people-oriented bourgeois democracy. Maoist Chairman Prachanda, while giving a speech in India, had called it socialist democracy. All of these are contradictory to each other.

In some contexts, the UML and the Maoists have also called for a socialist-oriented democracy. That is to say that the current system will not last forever. But what is the politics that will be carried out in the long term? Is it bourgeois democracy or socialist democracy? Or is it a social democratic bourgeois democracy that mixes everything? This matter needs to be decided. What is the immediate policy that the Maoist Party, which has been ideologically trained to fight for a new democracy for a long time, will adopt? The biggest challenge is to convince the leaders of the Maoist Party and the cadres about it. It will not be surprising if it takes the next four to five years. The longer it takes, the more the Maoist Party and the entire country will suffer.

If the path itself remains undefined and confusion persists, there is a possibility of increasing chaos. This will not lead to the Maoists taking the path of regression and counter-revolution, but it will create great confusion about the path forward. If that happens, a large number of people who are initiated in one way may become disappointed. Solving that is a big challenge.

Risk of leaking:

If the country's path is unclear and the aspirations of the youth are not addressed fairly, the entire system and the country will be in danger of falling apart. This is a danger if it cannot be balanced through economic development. There are currently about 8 million students in school. Most of them seek work in non-agricultural sectors and choose non-rural areas. This is the class that is driving the current movement. The aspirations of a large group of youth to adopt non-agricultural professions and seek assurance of political, economic and social rights, linked to the employment and

income that come with economic growth. If the economic growth sector does not expand to ensure non-rural, urban-oriented employment that increases the capacity of the people, the employment sector will shrink and only a few people will get work. If employment does not increase, income will not increase either. If that happens, a big explosion can occur.

We do not think that the threat from the right has been completely eliminated. The current elections have been won by the leftists in large part. If the current and future governments of the leftist and centrist reformist forces cannot give vent to the aspirations of the youth forces moving towards the left and cannot provide the right leadership, that force may choose another path. Such youth can be led by right-wing forces. On the one hand, the landlord class, especially in the Terai, can provide such leadership. On the other hand, it can also be led by religious forces and the army. In such a situation, the extreme left can also provide leadership to that chaotic crowd of youth power. In both cases, this can be a big challenge for Nepal and for Nepali leaders.

History, Women and Development:

As far as is known today, primitive humans mostly lived in groups of ten to five people, gathered food and other materials from nature, and made a living by hunting. The land used by one group for gathering materials and hunting was generally not used by another group. The system of land ownership was not established in those days. Because settlements were not permanent except for the twelve-month and long-term fishing on the seashore. There was no state system in those days, nor was there any caste system. Apart from permanent settlements, there was no division of classes or classes based on wealth or other factors. Division of work according to gender and age was prevalent in some places, but in others to a lesser extent.

According to the current study, in other primitive groups, except in the Southeast Pacific region, the relationship between men and women was mostly equal. (There is no evidence of the existence of female-dominated societies/groups yet.) There was no trade, although there was a practice of sharing and exchanging materials within and outside the group. There was no practice of storing food or other goods for long periods of time outside of permanent settlements; it was not wise to carry heavy loads in a nomadic lifestyle. The historical phase that began 10,000 to 5,000 years ago with the emergence of agriculture through plant and animal husbandry was a radical transformation. The emergence of agriculture; permanent settlement; private ownership of land and other natural community resources.

The birth of ownership, small specialized industrial enterprises, the birth of the state, caste, and clan systems; and the emergence of economic-political discrimination based on resources and wealth marked the beginning of a new era and a new human race. Although the volume of trade remained small, the Baniyas began to travel far and wide to buy and sell goods. It became possible to accumulate wealth using privately owned resources. It had a high historical

significance because it was possible to accumulate and manage a lot of labor through many children, a large family, and a clan. Most of these societies, cultures, and economic and political systems were patriarchal. Therefore, in order to accumulate a lot of labor, have many children, and keep the family and clan large, it was useful to have many wives, concubines, and maidservants, and if the resources under private ownership were not sufficient to mobilize them, it was customary to have servants, servants, and laborers, and if the supply of labor was very low, it was customary to have slaves, maidservants, and bonded laborers.

Thus, labor, workers, and even reproduction came to be within the scope of purchase and sale. However, since the market system and scope were limited, it was not possible and necessary to produce in large quantities, intensify the process of reinvestment, and acquire a lot of movable property. The style of acquiring sufficient immovable property, collecting wives, concubines, children, relatives, servants, and slaves, and living a life with honor, wealth, honor, and pleasure through them, either dominated such communities or was invented at this historical stage and became a matter of human aspiration.

From around 1500, another epoch-making historical process began, the capitalist stage. This process, which began in Europe, is still ongoing. However, feudal remnants are still alive in many societies and cultures, in some areas of life. Basically, there were six revolutionary features of this process. First, production based on sale. In earlier times, the producer produced for immediate consumption in the main room of his family, relatives, friends, and employer. After that, the main goal of production remained sale and profit.

Second, the emergence of wage labor and the distinction between home and workplace. Whereas previously the home had been the center of both family production and consumption, now the home was limited to the realm of consumption. Agriculture, run as an industry, and factories located in cities became centers of production.

Third, the centralization of the means of production in the hands of capitalists and the deprivation of workers from ownership of the means of production.

Fourth, the global economy of capitalism. A global open market system was essential for the flourishing of this system based on the cycle of capital, investment, and profit.

Fifth, the global trade market system and the centralization of global capital. This has made it possible to divide developed and underdeveloped countries, societies, cultures, communities, races, as well as classes on a global scale.

Sixth, multinational capitalism. Although each country appeared to be internally sovereign, it essentially remained part of the global capitalist system. The main purpose of briefly describing the currents of world history here is to show that although there has been no significant change in the human race in biological terms over the past five hundred thousand years, each world historical stage has seen epoch-making and epoch-making societies and the creation of the

human race at the economic, political and cultural levels. In each stage, there have been tumultuous changes in the mutual relations between humans and nature, women and men, and human groups: new dimensions of relations have been invented; old dimensions of relations have been radically transformed.

What other similarities do people have, other than biological ones, between people who gather food and other materials produced in nature and people who earn a living or do not get work? Hunting is still practiced, but it is no longer a way of life. Nowadays, hunting has become a game to relieve the fatigue of living. In the hunting era, both men and women of a certain group used to gather the necessary materials for their survival. And, in most such groups, the relationship between men and women was almost equal. In the feudal era, pure women remained within the family circle only for beauty, enjoyment, and childbearing. The 'self' of women was destroyed. They remained mere objects of transaction. Are those who live under the economy-politics and culture of collecting daily food for themselves and their families, the economy-politics and culture of accumulating real estate, and the economy-politics and culture based on capital investment and profit all the same kind of people? Are the people of a society in which they have to work for others and the people of a society in which they work for themselves the same? Can their psychology and mutual relations remain the same? Are the producers in a predatory society where private means of production have not emerged, the producers in a feudal society with more or less private means of production, and the workers in a capitalist production system that is separated from the means of production the same people in what respect, except in their biological form?

No, these are reinvented actors and characters from a different era. The change of era is a personal, psychological, community-cultural, political, economic era. And, in the course of every era and the beginning of an era, human relationships and human psychology change and are defined. The big world, the aristocratic family, the large family are the aspirations and realities of the feudal stage. Now is the era of the 'small family', because 'dependents' have been born in the families of workers without means of production.

Love marriage is a symbol of capitalist culture. Because here two workers come together: not two clans, two families, and two kinship groups. Modern schools are a symbol of capitalism. Because parents do not have time to educate their children: instead, they earn their living by working in schools. The domestic servant is a symbol of feudalism. Because the householder usually sees to it that the servant eats or not; if he is sick, he gives him some medicine. The road-building worker is a symbol of capitalism. Because the relationship between the contractor and him is limited to daily work and daily wages / the indentured servant and the indentured servant are symbols of feudalism. And, the wage-earner is a symbol of capitalism. means that the wage earner and the wage system are completely new inventions of the new human being of the capitalist historical stage. The distinction between home and office is an invention of the new human

being. Class distinction is an invention of the new human being. The multi-caste state system is an invention of the new human being. 'Munamadan' and other love stories are mostly an invention of the new human being. The child who only cares for his father who goes to work every day and his mother who is away from the family is an invention of the new human being. All these are also inventions of new culture and new economic and political systems.

Development, Transition and Nepal:

Every era, every historical system is developmental. That is, they are born with the potential for development. Every system has its own form and limit of development. Before this limit is reached, the reproductive system is destroyed and with it the emergence of another historical stage. Therefore, it is said that any evolutionary historical stage is born by conceiving its own destruction. Another thing to say is that a transitional period is a moment when the previous stage is irreparably destroyed, but a new stage is not yet in the process of emerging. The duration of such a transitional 'historical moment' can be very long. It is also difficult to analyze which stage of history a transitional society is in and which stage it is entering. To confirm both of these points, the example of the state of Nepal and the various communities, ethnic groups and gender relations within it can be taken.

Nepal and its social groups and relations are basically capitalist, but glimpses of feudalism are abundant here. Not only this, glimpses of the predatory era are also found here. No feudal emperors were born in these groups (especially in the hilly areas), nor were any big capitalists born. Therefore, the historical era and human evolution remained slow here. Overall, the change here was not a cataclysmic experience. The developmental historical stages were also not clearly revealed here, nor could these stages achieve maturity. This province remained in a slow transitional period for centuries. Overall, here Historical divergence, the invention of new gender and other social relations, and the emergence of developmental historical stages remained minimal and slow.

But even within this slowness, many changes have taken place and are taking place. Especially in the phase of the global capitalist revolution, such changes were not possible. Although world capitalism began 500 years ago, it took root in most parts of Nepal only about 150 years ago. In the Kathmandu Valley and the Himalayan region, the history of the capitalist stage remained somewhat longer through the Indo-Tibetan trade. Most of the settlements in the Terrain and the greenery of the rice fields there are the effects of the capitalist market system. The Lahures who go abroad, the girlfriends or wives who wait for the Lahore, and the parents and children are the products of this. The company garland hanging around the neck of the Lahureni and the glass bangles on the wrists are the pride of entering this historical phase, and are also a symbol of the uncertainty of the Lahures' own working life and the relationship between the Lahures and the Lahureni. The women of the kothis of Kathmandu, Banaras, and Bombay, their brokers and customers, and the totality and success of their family lives are symbols of this. The cart

drivers, customers, airport goldsmiths and employees of the Tarai and Kathmandu are symbols of this. Banks, hospitals, schools, prisons, orphanages, mental institutions, roads, and vehicles are basically symbols and reflections of this. All of these were also arenas of masculinity.

The capitalist historical stage, especially in marginal and underdeveloped societies like Nepali society, did not help to bring women out of the home. Capitalism pushed the sphere of production out of the home and to a large extent out of the village; it brought about a massive contraction in the cultural and economic sphere of the family. It expanded the non-family, non-clan, non-caste, non-ethnic sphere. But it imprisoned most women in the home. Thus, although there was a huge epochal difference between the feudal and capitalist historical forms, in both stages, female self and female power remained defeated. Like the feudal era, the capitalist era was also male-dominated. Masculinity became a reality in capitalist development. Capitalist development also created a new masculinity.

The fact that women's power remained imprisoned in the home means that if women's power were free outside the home, if they were able to occupy a larger area in the world of production and the market, women would be free. The stage of history, in what form, such liberation would be possible. But what can be said with certainty is that such liberation is impossible under the capitalist world system. If liberation were possible, self-realization would be achieved, a humane society would be built, and a socially appropriate human being would be created, if men occupying a large space in these areas would be able to become individually liberated, independent, and worry-free, and collectively they would have built a large human-welfare society. This was not possible because the nature and form of capitalism are not liberating. Exploitation is its foundation. To say that female power remained imprisoned in the home means that the changes that could have occurred under the nature and form of capitalism did not become a reality, and therefore remained an obstacle to the creation of a woman in line with the times.

Women, development and liberation of Nepal:

The meaning of development is related to the extent to which a society, culture, group or individual under any historical stage has or has not achieved maturity within the scope of the nature and form of that stage. Since the philosophy or theory of development is itself a product of the capitalist stage, 'development' in a narrow but correct sense is related specifically to maturity or immaturity under the capitalist stage. On the other hand, 'liberation' is a concept that does not match the nature and form of the capitalist stage. 'Liberation' is a concept of a culture and economic-political system free from exploitation. In the current world context, 'liberation' is the desire to overcome both the feudal and capitalist stages. Liberation is the desire to invent a new femininity. So far, the philosophy and principles of liberation have not been well-organized and structured. But there is a great aspiration for liberation at the global level. The objective facts that the

capitalist system, which is currently seen as an obstacle on the path to liberation, is rapidly advancing towards the limits of maturity and destruction have been found to be sufficient.

Transitional times are full of contradictions and diverse possibilities. Nepalese women have fought against the feudal system and asserted their rights to family property and there is still work to be done for the development of society. And, there is still work to be done to fight and develop the capitalist system by claiming the right to equal opportunities in education, work and wages. It is natural that these claims should be focused against feudal and capitalist culture, economics and politics and masculinity. These actions for development and maturity within the scope of the immediate historical stage are essential, but they are not sufficient. It is essential that the voices and actions of claims and rebellion be targeted against the feudal and capitalist system itself. Liberation is not possible without the development that can be achieved under the feudal and capitalist stages, but development that does not make liberation possible cannot be the ultimate goal in itself.

Conclusion

Development is related to the extent to which a society, culture, group or individual under any historical stage has or has not achieved maturity within the scope of the nature and form of that stage. Since the philosophy or theory of development is itself a product of the capitalist stage, 'development' in a narrow but correct sense is related specifically to maturity or immaturity under the capitalist stage. The stage of history, in what form, such liberation would be possible. But what can be said with certainty is that such liberation is impossible under the capitalist world system.

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