

Globalization's Impact on Citizenship Subjectivity in Nepal: An Interconnected Perspective

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This article explores the dynamic interplay between subjectivity, citizenship, and globalization in Nepal, tracing historical shifts and contemporary developments. Beginning with the inception of subjectivity post-Nepal's unification in 1825, the paper delves into the influence of power relations, fields, habitus, and global forces on individual identity construction. The evolving notion of citizenship, from Aristotle's political participation to Marshall's threefold rights, is examined in light of changing economic systems and societal integration (Aristotle, 1941; Marshall, 1950). The article critically engages with the impact of globalization on subjectivity and citizenship, emphasizing the transition from nation-state-centered perspectives to a globalized world-view. It draws on Robinson's insights into transnationalism and Wallerstein's semi-periphery concept, highlighting the profound influence of market forces on cultural transmission and individualism (Wallerstein, 1974; Robinson, 1998). The

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emergence of differentiated citizenship in response to social pluralism is discussed, echoing Kymlicka and Norman's defense of social rights (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). Examining Nepal's unique context, the paper explores the historical shaping of subjectivity through religion, monarchy, and British influence. The case studies elucidate shifts in citizenship practices, from the Rana era's loyalty to rulers to the post-Panchayat globalization era marked by a hybrid Nepalese culture. The impact on gender roles, political movements, and the weakening of the nation-state is meticulously analyzed. In conclusion, the article argues that subjectivity and citizenship are dynamic, evolving concepts influenced by historical contingencies and global forces. The case studies provide empirical evidence of the intricate relationship between individual identity, citizenship practices, and the transformative effects of globalization in Nepal. The findings contribute to the broader discourse on the complex interplay of subjectivity, citizenship, and globalization in a rapidly changing world.

[**Keywords** : Subjectivity, Reflexivity, Globalization, Citizenship, Transnationalism]

1. Introduction

This article delves into the intricate relationship between subjectivity, citizenship, and globalization in Nepal, examining historical transitions and contemporary dynamics. Commencing with the establishment of subjectivity post-Nepal's unification in 1825, the paper scrutinizes the impact of power dynamics, fields, habitus, and global influences on individual identity formation. Individuals always seek their identity, who they are, and there are several struggles demanding their subjectivity. Nation-state tries to explain and create the subjectivity of individuals. State acquired new pastoral power from the Churches of the Europe and shaped the subjectivity using various mechanism and administration. The subjectivity of individual is attached to the relationship of power, fields and habitus, and social construction of self (Foucault, 1982; Bourdieu, 1992). Further, it also links the subjectivity with globalized world (Callero, 2003). This paper has discussed the notion of subjectivity linking with notion of citizenship and globalization. It critically engages with the evolving concept of citizenship, from Aristotle's early political participation to Marshall's tripartite rights, civil, political and social right, contextualized within changing economic landscapes and societal integration (Aristotle, 1941; Marshall, 1950). The study draws from the works of influential theorists such as Foucault, Bourdieu, Callero, and Robinson to underpin its theoretical framework. It explores the nexus between

power relations, societal constructs, and globalization in shaping individual subjectivity. Additionally, it reviews the evolution of citizenship theories, spanning from Aristotle's political philosophy to contemporary debates on differentiated citizenship and global rights.

The article engages with contemporary perspectives on globalization, emphasizing the transition from nation-state-centric views to a globalized world-view. It integrates insights from Robinson's transnationalism and Wallerstein's semi-periphery concept, underscoring the transformative influence of market forces on cultural transmission and individualism. An exploration of Nepal's historical context unveils the intertwined forces of religion, monarchy, and British influence in shaping subjectivity. The case studies illuminate shifts in citizenship practices, from loyalty during the Rana era to the hybrid Nepalese culture in the post-Panchayat globalization era. The analysis extends to gender roles, political movements, and the evolving role of the nation-state in the face of globalization. The study employs a qualitative research design, employing four cases. Interviews with parents and their globalized children aim to capture unique perspectives on citizenship and subjectivity. The chosen methodology provides a localized lens to understand the broader implications of globalization on individual experiences. Examining the historical evolution of citizenship, the article traces its roots in Aristotle's political participation and Marshall's threefold rights. It explores how citizenship, initially focused on individual freedom, political power, and economic welfare, has adapted to address modern challenges, including social and cultural pluralism.

The article argues that subjectivity and citizenship are dynamic, evolving concepts influenced by historical contingencies and global forces. The four case studies offer empirical evidence of the intricate relationship between individual identity, citizenship practices, and the transformative effects of globalization in Nepal. The findings contribute to a broader understanding of the complex interplay of subjectivity, citizenship, and globalization in a rapidly changing world. The globalization has changed the notion of subjectivity and citizenship. Nepalese individuals are affected by the globalization and their subjectivity is linked with globalized world. The British had demarcated the border of Nepal and given the name of the state and its national language (Burghart, 1984). This paper has discussed the notion of Nepalese subjectivity and tried to link the case studies of

four families of Nepalese society with the concept of globalization, citizenship and subjectivity.

2. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research design, utilizing four case studies to explore the nuanced experiences of subjectivity and citizenship in the context of globalization. The research focuses on Godawari Municipality, specifically ward no. 5, Lele, Lalitpur, situated in the southern part of the Kathmandu Valley. Four individuals, parents with children in the age of globalization, were selected as participants for in-depth interviews. The interviews aimed to capture their unique perspectives on citizenship and subjectivity in the evolving socio-cultural landscape. The study contributes to understanding the impact of globalization on the perceptions of citizenship and subjectivity within a specific local context.

3. Notion of Citizenship

The concept of citizenship and subjectivity is closely related, especially as individuals explore their identity. Citizenship emerged, particularly in the eighteenth century, as nations sought to recognize their people as citizens, and individuals began to identify themselves as such. Citizenship evolved in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, becoming a mechanism for both enjoying rights and assuming the duties of membership in a political community.

Aristotle, one of the earliest thinkers on citizenship, associated citizenship with the ability to participate in a state's decision-making or judicial administration (Aristotle, 1941). He emphasized that citizens were not defined solely by living in a specific place, and their status varied depending on the type of state they belonged to, such as democracy or oligarchy. Aristotle also excluded certain groups, like artisans who were often slaves or foreigners, from citizenship, considering them as serving the community rather than participating in it. Aristotle viewed the state as a partnership of citizens, with the constitution and government organizing the inhabitants. He distinguished between the virtues of rulers, citizens, and good men, highlighting that the virtue of a citizen was relative to their state's constitution. Good citizenship was essential for a well-functioning state.

Marshall (1950) linked citizenship to economic welfare and security, identifying three components: civil, political, and social

rights. Civil rights focused on individual freedom, political rights involved participating in political power, and social rights encompassed economic welfare and societal participation. These rights expanded in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, reflecting changes in economic systems and societal integration. The reduction of economic inequality through progressive taxation and social services contributed to the rise of social rights. Marshall emphasized that citizenship aimed to remove inequalities created by competitive economics. Citizenship was not about income equality but rather equalizing status and rights.

Historically, citizenship has been exclusionary, defining who is included and who is excluded. Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (2002) connected the concept of citizenship to postmodernism and globalization, acknowledging that various identity-based claims for inclusion and belonging have emerged in Western nation-states. Citizenship has adapted to address these claims in economic, social, and political contexts, leading to the exploration of new forms of citizenship like sexual citizenship, ecological citizenship, multi-cultural citizenship, cosmopolitan citizenship, and Aboriginal citizenship. Modern political theories on citizenship align with three types of states: liberal theories emphasize individual rights, communitarian theories focus on community cohesion, and republican theories consider both individual and group rights. However, citizenship theory is complex, encompassing both legal status and desirable activity, emphasizing responsibilities and virtues in addition to rights.

Kymlicka and Norman (1994) criticized the New Right's attack on social rights, defending the principle that full citizenship includes social rights despite the challenges posed by such critiques. In response to the growing social and cultural pluralism of modern societies, there is a need to revise the current definition of citizenship. Differentiated citizenship, as discussed by Kymlicka and Norman, becomes particularly relevant in the context of the globalized world, and this concept will be explored further in the following section of the article.

4. Notion of Subjectivity

Individuals constantly seek their identity, which is shaped by factors like social constructs, power dynamics, fields, habitus, state, and globalization. Subjectivity refers to an individual's perspective,

experiences, feelings, beliefs, and desires. Michel Foucault explores how power relations shape individual subjectivity (Foucault, 1982). He argues that individuals placed within production relations are also placed within complex power dynamics. Three modes of objectification transform humans into subjects: as speaking subjects in linguistics, as productive subjects in economic sectors, and as living subjects in natural history or biology. Power relations are exemplified in domains like sexuality, where individuals recognize themselves as subjects of sexuality.

Foucault (1982) highlights the role of power relations in objectifying human subjects, with the state legitimizing these power. The history of resistance and struggle has altered power dynamics, as individuals strive to protect their individuality. Power attempts to constrain individuality by categorizing, marking, and imposing a law of truth on individuals. According to Foucault, struggles come in three forms: against domination (ethnic, social, religious), against exploitation that separates individuals from their production, and against subjection, which ties individuals to themselves and others. These struggles can be isolated or mixed. The history of social struggles to protect individuality is long. The modern state, developed in the eighteenth century, exercised power with a focus on the collective, often neglecting individuals. Philosophers like Kant, Hegel, and Nietzsche have explored questions of individual identity. The struggle against various forms of power imposition on individuality continues. Foucault's conclusion emphasizes the need to liberate individuals not only from the state but also from the type of individuality imposed by the state.

Power relationships involve three types : objective capacity based on power mechanisms, communication transmitting power relations, and power exercised over free subjects through face-to-face confrontations (Bourdieu, 1992). Power relations are deeply rooted in social networks and depend on differentiation, objectives, and means of establishing power relations, institutionalization, and rationalization. These relations inform strategies for struggle and domination. Pierre Bourdieu connects power relations to the field and discusses habitus as a socialized subjectivity. Habitus represents the lifestyle, values, and dispositions of social groups acquired through every day experiences. It is the product of structural objectification.

Objective relations exist between habitus and the field. Fields, such as the artistic, religious, economic, cultural, and political, have

their own rules, boundaries, and dynamics. Agents in the field accumulate different forms of capital and compete with each other. Fields are historically made, interrelated, and influenced by the state, which wields statist capital. The state acts as a Meta-Field, but globalization has made its boundaries porous. Moreover, Peter L. Callero (2003) introduces power, reflexivity, and social constructionism as organizing concepts for defining the self. He criticizes Foucault for neglecting the role of the agent and society in self-construction. Callero emphasizes that the self is both a social product and a social force, shaped by society.

Benedict Anderson (1992) describes the nation as an imagined political community, limited and sovereign. Nation-states homogenize people through national symbols and citizenship. Nationalism and sacrifices have shaped world history. In summary, individual subjectivity is influenced by complex factors, including power dynamics, social constructs, and globalization, with struggles for individuality and identity playing a significant role throughout history.

5. Recent Trend of Globalization, Citizenship and Subjectivity

Globalization has reshaped notions of subjectivity and citizenship significantly. Robinson (1998) argues that analyzing globalization necessitates moving away from a nation-state-centered perspective. Transnationalism has affected civil society, political processes, and international systems. The nation-state is no longer the sole unit of analysis; the global system is now more appropriate. Transnational organizations and communication technologies are key drivers of globalization, leading to internationalized social structures. The production process has become globalized, making individuals increasingly connected to the world. Self-sufficiency is no longer sufficient as individuals rely on the world for consumption and needs. Globalization has introduced a new international division of labor, where individuals function as both consumers and laborers. Labor often migrates from peripheries to centers, resulting in diffuse and decentralized circuits of production. Capital gains global mobility, enhancing its structural power over nation-states. Robinson notes the erosion of the link between territoriality, production, classes, and state power due to globalization's diverse dynamics.

Market forces play a central role in globalization, altering individual subjectivity in the globalized world. Universal cultural transmission fosters consumerism and individualism as cultural norms. Societies condense into a new “global field”, marked by “globalized tastes”, “consumption preferences”, “lifestyle choices”, and “consumer sovereignty”. Nation-states, while not disappearing, are gradually fading in importance, shifting from formulating national policies to administering policies dictated by transnational elites.

Wallerstein (1974) introduces the concept of the semi-periphery, playing a structural role between the periphery and the center in the world-economy. He rejects the idea of stages and emphasizes the existence of world systems. Capitalism has evolved from agricultural to industrial forms, with changing centers of hegemony. The world system has profoundly influenced individual subjectivity, as individuals now rely on the global system for their needs. Globalization has also impacted self-construction. Local cultures have been disrupted, leading to identity confusion and bicultural identities. Hybrid identities emerge, blending local and global meanings. Resistance to globalization has resulted in the construction of oppositional identities. New communication technologies and media communities play a role in self-construction.

The concept of citizenship is evolving due to globalization’s effects on nation-states, societies, and individuals. Differentiated citizenship, as advocated by Kymlicka and Norman (1994), recognizes the need to integrate marginalized groups into the political community through group membership, challenging the traditional notion of individual citizenship. Engene F. Isin and Bryan Turner explore the evolving concept of citizenship in the context of global society. They consider the idea of a “citizen of the world” and the emergence of cosmopolitan or global citizenship with global rights. Globalization has led to complex relationships between homeland and host societies, challenging traditional notions of national citizenship. In the era of postmodernism and globalization, social issues are increasingly framed in terms of rights and obligations, and thus citizenship. Citizenship has been a crucial component of social movements aimed at expanding social rights. While human rights are universal, citizenship rights still pertain to specific nation-states, even in a globalized world. Despite the persistence of nationalism, it has taken on a less virulent form in the face of globalization.

6. Nepalese Notion of Subjectivity, Citizenship and Globalization

Nepal's subjectivity, citizenship, and globalization have undergone significant transformations. The influence of Foucault's power dynamics can be observed in how Nepalese rulers and Hindu religion shaped subjectivity. British involvement led to the demarcation of Nepal's borders and the adoption of the name "Nepal" and "Nepali" language. This change instilled a sense of pride in being Nepali among the population.

Nepalese rulers leveraged the concept of the nation-state to consolidate their power, often intertwining it with religious faith. The Gorkha rulers considered their territory as "Muluk", meaning the possessions of the King of Gorkha (Burghat, 1984). They administered land based on tenurial categories, guided by customary law rooted in Brahmanical codes.

Nepalese subjectivity has been shaped by caste divisions and historical regions like Khas des, Bhot des, Nepal Des, Khwombu and Limbu, Kirat, Bamgala des, and Mithila des. The Muluki Ain of 1854 further divided people into categories based on caste and touchability. Following 1857, Nepalese subjectivity evolved into that of a Martial Race. Nepalese Gurungs and Magars gained recognition as loyal and trustworthy recruits for the Indian and British armies. British control over Nepal persisted until the Second World War after the Anglo-Nepal war.

The Panchayat System replaced the parliamentary system in 1962, altering the subjectivity of Nepalese. King Mahendra implemented measures for homogenization, emphasizing loyalty to the king and the country. The concept of citizenship was introduced, aligning with Western notions of subjectivity. In 1990, the people's movement ended the Panchayat system, leading to globalization of Nepalese subjectivity (Lal, 2012). The emergence of a new middle class in suburban areas contributed to a sub-urban culture. Nepalese citizens sought foreign opportunities for employment, education, language, and fashion. The flow of money from remittances, aid, and tourism boosted Nepal's economy.

The 2006 people's movement marked Nepal's transition to a republic and secular country, where sovereignty was vested in the people. Despite this, globalization has led many Nepalese to pursue

foreign citizenship, often seeking green cards or permanent residence in Western countries. The Nepalese culture has become hybrid, and the nation-state faces challenges from transnational entities, markets, and developed nations, echoing Robinson's insights.

7. Analysis of Four Case Studies and Theoretical Linkage

The four case studies shed light on significant developments in the notions of subjectivity, citizenship, and globalization in Nepal. Prior to the Rana regime, loyalty was primarily directed towards the king and the country. Taxes were paid to the king, and people were willing to participate in wars for the unification of the nation. During the Rana period, loyalty shifted towards the Ranas, who held significant power. As described by Khadga Bahadur Karki in the first case study, the Ranas had the authority to reward or punish individuals as they saw fit. They were also loyal to the British and sent Nepalese to fight in various wars on their behalf. This loyalty to foreign powers, as well as the sacrifices made by the Nepalese people, is reminiscent of Foucault, Bourdieu, Callero, and Robinson's arguments. Nepalese nationalism often used these sacrifices to strengthen the sense of national identity, as suggested by Benedict Anderson.

In all four case studies, Hindu religion played a central role. Just as European rulers used religion to consolidate their power, Prithvi Narayan Shah declared Nepal to be a true Hindustan. The Ranas were staunch Hindus and promoted the religion extensively. Hinduism deeply influenced every aspect of Nepalese culture. King Mahendra officially declared Nepal as a Hindu nation and encouraged people to adhere to the faith. Nepalese subjectivity has been profoundly influenced by Hinduism, often excluding other religious groups from state institutions. The sovereignty of Nepal was vested in the king, fostering a strong sense of pride in both the king and the country. Among the four cases, two individuals still hold the king and the Panchayat system in high regard.

The notion of citizenship was introduced in Nepal after the end of the Rana era and became more widespread during the Panchayat system, as evidenced in the four case studies. It represented a Western concept of subjectivity that brought individuals under state control. During the early years, finding a job was relatively easy, and citizenship was not a prerequisite. These individuals secured

employment through recommendations from acquaintances, given the small population and tight-knit communities. Citizenship was obtained after employment, and the father's citizenship was not required initially. Citizenship became mandatory in various fields as the population grew, although many people remain unaware of their citizenship rights.

Case Study 1 : Khadga Bahadur Karki, a 91-year-old retired policeman from Lele, Lalitpur, with roots in the eastern region, has a diverse family history. His grandfather, Balman Karki, focused on animal husbandry, while his father, Jeet Bahadur Karki, served in the Rana army during the Rana regime. Khadga Bahadur enlisted in the British army at seventeen, participating in the Second World War in Chattgaun, Bangladesh, against the Japanese. Joining the army then was less bureaucratic; he expressed his desire to a priest in Baneshwor, leading to his recruitment. Citizenship formalities were minimal during that period.

Post-war, Khadga Bahadur transitioned to the police force, specifically the Ram Dal, managing traffic in a less formal manner. He later settled in Lele, engaged in clearing forests, and despite efforts, formal land registration eluded him until 2021 B.S. Unsuccessful in registering the land in his name, he currently resides with a relative's son, sustaining himself with a pension and farming. Active in local politics, he served as a Ward-Chairman and chaired forest consumer groups. A devout member of the World Hindu Federation, he expresses discontent with Nepal's shift to a republic and secular state. He attributes challenges to an increasingly educated population and job scarcity. Technology-wise, he notes the surge in mobile phone usage compared to when only the police had telephones. The growing traffic volume necessitated a dedicated traffic police force, making present-day work more challenging.

In all four cases, Khandga, Hari, Jhalak, and Mohan obtained jobs easily through recommendations from known individuals. However, as the population increased and education became more

prevalent, job opportunities became scarcer. In recent years, there has been a growing interest in working abroad due to limited employment prospects in Nepal. None of the respondents in the four cases were in favor of young people leaving the country for work.

Case Study 2 : Hari Bahadur Karmacharya, a 70-year-old retired water project overseer in Chautara, Nepal, now resides in Patan, Lalitpur. His family history involves limited information about his grandfather, Krishna Bahadur, and the smooth land transfer from his father, Chandra Bahadur, in 2021 B.S. Hari Bahadur obtained his citizenship in 2016 to join the Irrigation Department, benefiting from a more straightforward process compared to today. Initially, citizenship cards lacked photos but required academic certificates and officer acquaintances. Post-2050 B.S., photo-inclusive cards became available. Despite initial reluctance, Hari Bahadur succeeded in adding his photo to his card.

His son, Binod Bahadur Karmacharya, now working in London with a green card, experienced strained relations with Hari Bahadur due to an inter-caste marriage. Hari Bahadur and his wife live in Patan, with their two daughters married. Binod sporadically visits, with intervals of two to three years. Post-retirement, Hari Bahadur delved into politics, witnessing societal changes driven by globalization and technological advancements. He dislikes corrupt leaders, aligns with Nepalese nationalism, and dreams of a better Nepal. While concerned about cultural erosion, he acknowledges the positive aspects of globalization, such as enhanced education and skills for international competition. He notes the widespread use of mobile phones and the challenges of congested traffic on unchanged roads. Overall, Hari Bahadur appreciates Nepal's transition to a republic and secular state.

Historically, women had limited roles in Nepalese society, primarily confined to household duties. It was believed that women did not need citizenship, and they were excluded from government

Case Study 3: Jhalak Bahadur Silwal, a 67-year-old retired teacher in Lele, Lalitpur, commenced his teaching career in a school supported by American aid in 2024 B.S. In those times, citizenship cards were not a requirement, and job opportunities were abundant. With Nepal's population at around eighty-two lakhs, jobs were categorized as temporary and permanent, requiring specific courses for permanency. In 2025 B.S., Jhalak obtained his citizenship card from the Central District Office, Lalitpur, in a straightforward process that only required recognition by an individual from the district office who knew the applicant. Unlike today, there was no need for a Village Panchayat recommendation, and the Assistant Chief District Officer issued citizenship cards directly. Birth, marriage, and death registrations began after 2036.

Jhalak's father, Udaya Bahadur Silwal, acquired his citizenship card in 2028 B.S. Citizenship became mandatory after 2025 B.S., coinciding with the enactment of the New Civil Code in 2020 B.S. During the New Land Reform Program of 2021 B.S., a single bill served as proof of land ownership, contrasting with today's requirements for multiple certificates. Significant developments occurred in Lele, with road connectivity in 2015 and the advent of bus services, contrasting with the challenging access to education and newspapers in the past. The rise in education has led to mass unemployment, prompting many villagers to seek work abroad—a trend Jhalak disapproves of. Dissatisfied with the country's secularism and the republic, he prefers the Panchayat system, believing current leaders are more corrupt, contributing to Nepal's economic decline. Citizen security is a concern, and despite freedom of expression, meeting basic needs remains a challenge.

jobs, the army, and the police force. This exclusion mirrored the Western world's treatment of women as non-citizens. In the four cases, the wives of the respondents only acquired citizenship after 2040 B.S. However, after the 1990s, women began to participate more actively in the police, army, and government jobs. In 2003, they gained property rights and increased participation in various aspects of

society and the state to a significant extent. Nepalese society has become highly politicized since the 1950s, marked by various political

Case Study 4 : Mohan Bahadur Nagarkoti, a 55-year-old resident of Lele, Lalitpur, takes pride in his Nepalese identity and is engaged in vegetable farming. With limited information about his grandfather, Santa Lal Nagarkoti, and his father, Bhakta Bahadur Nagarkoti, who lacked a citizenship card, Mohan reflects on the changing landscape. Joining the Nepalese army in 2038 B.S., Mohan secured his job through recommendations, bypassing the need for a citizenship card at enlistment. Obtaining his citizenship while in the army required only a recommendation from his commander, and Village Panchayat Committee endorsements were unnecessary. In 2035 B.S., citizenship cards were non- mandatory for various registrations, but today they are required in almost every aspect of life, including voter registration. His mother obtained her citizenship in 2044 B.S., facilitating the transfer of land ownership. Mohan's wife acquired her citizenship in 2045 B.S., a period when it was believed women didn't need citizenship cards before 2040 B.S.

Mohan's two sons and one daughter obtained their citizenship cards after completing secondary school, emphasizing the cards' ubiquitous requirement in contemporary life. His elder son, Rabin Kumar Nagarkoti, works in Qatar as a bulldozer operator, facilitated by Mohan obtaining a passport. Initially, citizenship cards were paper documents without photos, causing problems and potential misuse. Today, they are computerized, mandating either the father's or mother's citizenship for obtaining a new one. Infrastructure development has improved communication with family members abroad, and lifestyle changes, including eating habits and housing types, are appreciated by Mohan. Supportive of Nepal's recent political changes, he expresses concerns about population growth and the ease of non-Nepali individuals acquiring citizenship, citing the example of Raghunath Agrawal, an Indian who obtained Nepalese citizenship.

activities and changes in governance. The Rana regime was toppled through the armed struggle of the Nepali Congress. King Mahendra declared the failure of the multiparty system and established the Panchayat system. Despite the ban on political parties and activities during the Panchayat era, they continued underground. People were divided into pro and anti-Panchayat factions, leading to significant political tensions. This system was ultimately dismantled by the 1990 mass movement, which reinstated democratic multiparty governance. The king's powers were curtailed, and elected governments gained authority in the executive branch. During this period, the Maoists initiated an armed struggle in 1996, resulting in around 13,000 casualties over ten years. A combined mass movement of political parties and the Maoists concluded the decade-long armed conflict and established a republic, ending the monarchy in Nepal. The country was declared secular, granting equal rights to all religions. The subjectivity of Nepalese people became highly politicized, and they were divided into pro- and anti-political movement camps. In the four case studies, two respondents favored the former political system, while two embraced the changes in the country. People are politically aware and actively discuss the nation's political situation.

Globalization has significantly altered notions of subjectivity and citizenship in Nepalese society. As discussed by Robinson, the arrival of new communication and transportation technologies has influenced Nepalese thinking. Mobile phones have enabled people to communicate with relatives and others easily. Khandga, Hari, Jhalak, and Mohan are all amazed by the recent developments brought about by globalization. Traffic congestion has increased since the 1950s, leading to the establishment of specialized traffic police. There is now greater competition for jobs due to an increase in the number of educated individuals. Mohan's son works in Qatar, and Hari's son resides in London, reflecting the impact of globalization on overseas employment. As many youths seek work abroad, Nepal has been affected by the forces of globalization, resulting in a hybrid culture. Nepalese youths now celebrate Valentine's Day, Christmas, and other international festivals, embracing aspects of Western culture. However, they are concerned about the trend of globalization weakening the nation-state.

8. Conclusion

Subjectivity and citizenship are not static concepts but rather dynamic, evolving over time. The way individuals perceive

themselves and their relationship with the state has changed throughout history. Michel Foucault explored how power dynamics shape an individual's subjectivity. Initially, pastoral power influenced people's non-worldly relationships, but as religion's influence waned, nation-states adopted similar strategies to shape their citizens. Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community highlights how people are willing to make sacrifices in the name of nationalism, akin to religious salvation or kinship bonds (Anderson, 1991). Countless wars have been fought in the name of nationalism, emphasizing the profound impact of this notion. The concept of citizenship, introduced in the eighteenth century in Europe, has evolved over time and expanded to encompass civic, political, and social rights. However, contemporary dissatisfaction with prevalent citizenship notions has led to discussions on multicultural, cosmopolitan, and differentiated citizenship, as proposed by scholars like Isin and Turner, Kymlicka, and Norman. Globalization has further influenced the subjectivity and citizenship of individuals, diminishing the role of the nation-state as an administrative unit.

In Nepal, subjectivity has been historically shaped by religion and kingship. The concept of citizenship in Nepal emerged from Europe, particularly after the 1950s. British influence played a crucial role in demarcating Nepal's borders, naming the country Nepal, and designating Nepali as the national language. During the British colonial era, Nepal was considered a martial race and supported the Rana rulers for the British Empire's benefit. Following the 1960s, the Panchayat System introduced a national anthem and initiated a homogenization process. Citizenship was framed as an individual's right and became mandatory to bring all residents under state control, aligning with Western practices. After the 1990s and the end of the Panchayat system, Nepal embarked on a path of globalization, connecting its people with the globalized world. This led to the creation of a hybrid Nepalese culture, with a growing middle class residing in suburban areas, diluting the traditional urban population's dominance. This new suburban subjectivity transcends caste divisions and is defined more by class. The collective efforts of seven political parties and the Maoists culminated in the 2006 people's movement, ushering in a new era of a republic and secularism in Nepal. As a result, the Nepalese nation-state has grown weaker, and many individuals are willing to renounce Nepalese citizenship in pursuit of permanent residency cards in Western countries. The four

case studies in Nepal empirically illustrate the dynamic nature of subjectivity and citizenship up to the present globalized world.

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