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Founder  
**S. S. Shashi**

Chief Editor  
**Dharam Vir**

Volume 32, Number 4 (October-December), 2023



**Research Foundation International, New Delhi**

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Social Scientists, Authors, Journalists & Social Activists)**

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# **Journal of National Development**

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## Indigenous Knowledge System and Food Security

*Sitaram Kumbhar\* and Pawan Kharwar\*\**

*The Indian knowledge system needs to recognize the traditional knowledge system which has been one of the important part of the real issues of the indigenous people. If we focus merely on repetitive hermeneutics, the renewed focus of the present regime will be futile in reinvigoration of the former. The Indian knowledge system has the ability to solve the real issues that we face today. In fact, the traditional or indigenous knowledge system has a direct link with the everyday issues of the people and environment in particular. These time-tested practices and approaches to the real issues of humanity need a special focus and it must be reinvented if we want to do any substantive justice to the Indian knowledge system. The time-tested knowledge needs to be rediscovered, documented and transmitted to the new generation to familiarize them with these ideas, traditions and approaches which are compassionate to all components of the ecosystem. This paper*

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*has attempted to contextualize the idea of indigenous knowledge system and food security concerns in the wake of climate change.*

[**Keywords** : Indian knowledge system, Food security, Indigenous knowledge, Traditional knowledge, New education policy]

## 1. Introduction

The present approach to the study of Indian knowledge system is steeped in historicism and it's a mere repetitive hermeneutics. Though these epistemological traditions are not redundant and have key roles to play in the production of knowledge, their direct relevance in everyday lives of the countless ordinary people, and current ecological disasters deserve equal treatment. The knowledge and practices which had survived for centuries are on the verge of extinction. Many have already been lost. Reviving and rejuvenating these time-tested knowledge with direct implications in the lives of the people deserves serious epistemological intervention. The focus should be on the time-tested knowledge and practices, and their preservation which has potentials to reverse the anthropocentric development paradigm and prevent colossal damage to the ecosystem.

Most of the problems we witness in the present world are human creation. Sometimes after Europeans came the indigenous knowledge system was considered redundant. The Eurocentric understanding and evaluation of the Indian knowledge system created space for epistemic injustice of the latter. Understanding indigenous problems and challenges through European lenses was the biggest epistemic injustice committed upon the knowledge systems of the colonized societies. Colonial injustice is one of the causes of the decline of the indigenous knowledge systems. The other two important causes of the decline of indigenous knowledge are the industrial revolution and indigenous causes of looking down at traditional knowledge and social stereotypes against it which forced their rapid decline. Industrial revolution legitimized and universalized a particular paradigm of development, reducing others to be irrelevant to the needs of society. It also taught others what development is and virtually reduced the other conceptions of development as redundant. This article discusses the relevance of indigenous knowledge in the context of food security, agricultural production, and preservation of food grains, disaster prevention in an ethnographic approach. Worst forms of natural disasters are

occurring in different forms which demand a serious climate-focus intervention. The indigenous knowledge can offer a viable and most sustainable alternatives towards these endeavors.

## **2. Food and Knowledge**

The decline of drought-resistant paddy and indigenous varieties of other food grains which were grown in most parts of India alongside the skills and knowledge to ward off food shortages occurred due to the imposition of a particular world-view to be universalistic and legitimate. The de-legitimization of the centuries old knowledge and skills has created trepidation among the people. The newer varieties of seeds replaced the centuries of older seeds. It also demanded the application of chemical fertilizer which gradually has made agriculture unsustainable. The soil has lost its biotic components and its water retaining capacity. Lakhs of acres of lands in different parts are remaining uncultivated and have been abandoned. Many farmers have been abandoning agriculture as a profession due to its unsustainability. The agricultural lands in the coastal areas of India and the Gangetic valleys in particular were highly fertile but unsustainable agricultural practices have made them unsuitable for cultivation.

The climate change is the outcome of massive injustice committed by the colonization. Most of the ecological imbalance in agriculture was created by colonialism in India. There are archival materials to suggest that the commercialization of birds was the first instance of how the ecological imbalance was created. The wild birds were caught in large scale and sold in the European market for various purposes. The insects eating birds were helpful for agriculture by reducing the negative impacts of insects on agriculture. The decline of the population of such birds created crises in agriculture and agricultural productivity declined. It is the first instance of how colonialism created disruption to the ecological system in agriculture. India started using pesticides from 1948 onwards in a wider scale and also started production of some of the pesticides from 1952.

Choudhary, Chitragada (2017) has rightly said that over the decades we have lost lakhs of varieties of native rice and other seeds. While we were kids we have seen different varieties of indigenously cultivated paddy but they are no more available today. It shows how quickly the indigenous varieties of food grains have been lost during our lifetime alone due to mechanization of agriculture and introduction of the green revolution in particular. The success of Green



revolution in India encouraged the Government of India to provide food grains at a highly subsidized rate through the fair price shops across India. The government started providing food grains to the poor to mitigate hunger through so-called Public Distribution System (PDS). India had severe scarcity food grains and the acute hunger among different segments of the population of different parts of India and it decided to mitigate it. Hunger and poverty was a major challenge for the government of India and many poorest states. There were many backwards pockets across the country which was facing acute hunger. The Government of India at that time decided to mitigate it and subsequently invested huge public resources in agriculture in Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh. It was an experiment to revolutionize India's food production. India urgently needed to become self sufficient in food production which encouraged the idea of mechanization of agriculture and application of scientific instruments. It encouraged the Government of India to not only use machines in agriculture but also increased the application of chemical fertilizer and insecticides. The green revolution was a successful experiment of the Government of India that made India self-sufficient in food production. The successes of green revolution actually increased the confidence of India's political leadership. However, the success of green revolution produced many negative consequences in the longer run. It produced big negative Public Health consequences because of the excessive chemical fertilizer and insecticides both in green revolution area and beyond. This process of agriculture disturbed the ecological balance. The ecological imbalance is producing many unintended consequences and has made agriculture more unsustainable. The impact on public health is phenomenal.

However, what is more significant is the destruction of the traditional agriculture and century-tested methods of agriculture. The needs to produce more food grains encourage the adoption newer technologies in agriculture. It led to rapid decline of the centuries of tested knowledge. It all began with the arrival of the Europeans on Indian soil. The primacy of western knowledge system over the knowledge systems of the colonized became widely legitimized. It is about a particular way of production process which commands its supremacy over others. Industrial revolution had adverse impacts on alternative modes of production. Indians had preserved centuries of tested practices and knowledge in the field of agricultural practices and food grains preservation to ward off

multiple challenges during calamities. Rajeev Bhargava (2013) succinctly states that “...epistemic injustice as a form of cultural injustice that occurs when the concepts and categories by which a people understand themselves and their world is replaced or adversely affected by the concepts and categories of the colonizers. A deep problem today for the sufferers of epistemic injustice is that western categories both have an undeniable universal potential and they are fully intermingled with the specificity of western practices; worse, they bear a deep imprint of western domination and hegemony....that we can neither ignore western ideas nor fully show how they can be rescued from the pernicious effects of their own imperial imprint” (Bhargava, 2013 : 413).

The food and knowledge were highly embedded. The food had huge cultural significance. Our forefathers knew what they ate and how food grains were produced. We find a total disconnect with the process of food production and quality of food we eat. It is a disconnect between practical knowledge and present day education. The epistemic domination of the West is responsible for the present state of the indigenous knowledge and practices. The knowledge we acquire is totally disconnected from the reality as a result we are not able to shoulder the responsibility of what we do. Western epistemic domination subjugated the indigenous knowledge and practices and as a result the decline of the later has been much quicker than one can imagine.

The colonialism pillaged economic resources but what is more significant is the destruction of indigenous knowledge. The knowledge that we are talking about is not the learning of the languages and acquiring the ability to read and write. The knowledge we are talking about here is concerned the time-tested knowledge, practices, skills having practical implications in livelihoods, security, disaster mitigation and environmental protection. The knowledge system cannot be understood in isolation from other constituents. The Indian farmers had different varieties of seeds suitable for different climatic conditions. The different indigenous knowledge of Indian society always respected the environment and ecology. Different tribal communities had knowledge about traditional medicines and agriculture. They had also the skills to fight disasters and different diseases. The indigenous medicinal practices had identified and preserved numerous medicinal plants which is getting growing recognition at present. The demand for organic farming and organic

food grains have been rapidly increasing at present. Indian knowledge system view environment as an integral part of the development process. The ecology is seen as an integral part of human life and all sorts of economic activities. The government of India could build a consensus in G20 summit that our lifestyle is responsible for the present state of our earth. The Mission LiFE or Lifestyle for Environment draws its inspiration from India's rich historical legacy which believes that human beings have many things to do with what happens in the ecosystem or environment.

### **3. Significance of Indigenous Knowledge**

The food production has unquestionably undergone a revolution thanks to the advent of contemporary technology in the agricultural sector and the mechanization of food production, which has significantly increased output to satisfy the demands of India's expanding population. This shift has ignored the rich store of traditional wisdom that is necessary to lessen the negative effects on climate change. The industrial revolution led to a sharp rise in the demand for raw materials, which in turn caused agricultural productivity to soar. It was often at the cost of environmental preservation and time-tested knowledge and practices. The under-appreciation of the long-lasting value of indigenous knowledge systems in helping people prepare for and lessen the effects of droughts and food insecurity. These priceless techniques, refined over many generations by native populations, include the production of staple crops as well as the conservation of organic grains in balance with the natural resources of their areas. These methods have been neglected in the aftermath of modernization and mechanization, despite their efficacy. Indigenous cultures have evolved perfect ways that are both environmentally sound and supportive of long-term sustainability. To guarantee their survival and continued use in modern settings, these practices must be preserved and disseminated.

An abundance of anthropological research has painstakingly documented these sustainable and ecologically friendly farming practices. They demonstrate the distinctive strategies used by indigenous people to balance food production with environmental conservation. Their creative methods for preserving food grains are especially remarkable, as they contrast sharply with the chemical-heavy approaches that predominate in contemporary preservation

practices and frequently endanger the health of customers. Indigenous knowledge systems provide a wealth of information and methods that can support resource management and sustainable agriculture. These time-tested practices show a deep comprehension of regional ecosystems and the complex interactions that exist between people and the natural world. This kind of wisdom is a source of resilience against the changing threats that climate change poses as well as the need to protect the ecology of our world.

#### **4. Losing Food Grains is Synonymous with Losing Indigenous Knowledge**

Losing traditional food grains which were time tested are synonymous with drifting away from the one's roots or indigenous knowledge systems. It has made our lives unsustainable and human footprints on the ecology have been beyond its bearing capacity. The indigenous knowledge had overlapping and collective concerns. Indigenous communities possess a wealth of knowledge and methods pertaining to food that improve food production, safety, and quality. This has a direct bearing on the crucial concept of food security. The application of indigenous knowledge and practices in food technology, which have been shown to be effective in ensuring food security, must be given precedence over outside interventions. Foods that are adapted to the local environment are especially important because they help in food availability, accessibility, and consumption, meeting the specific needs of the local and surrounding communities. It is evident that indigenous knowledge offers a plethora of invaluable contributions and enormous untapped potential in the field of food security.

In recent years, the government has started to recognize the importance of the traditional knowledge and the preservation of the multiple varieties of food grains in particular. The government has also started awarding the persons for preserving the traditional knowledge. A woman from Maharashtra named Rahibai Popere was awarded Padma Shri in recognition of her hard efforts to preserve hundreds of landraces that is wild varieties of food grains grown locally. It is a big contribution to the preservation of indigenous knowledge (Biswas, 2021). Kamala Pujari, a tribal woman from Odisha was also awarded Padma Shri for her contribution in preserving local paddies. Preserving hundreds of indigenous varieties of paddy, promoting organic farming earned her reputation.

Many scientists also don't know about many such varieties of seeds with medicinal value. Some scientists have been amazed to have discovered medicinal values in those seeds varieties. Similarly, there are thousands of locally grown millets across India which is vulnerable to extinction. The recent push of the Central Government to promote millets and mainstreaming them into the food habits is an encouraging step towards preservation of such millets varieties suitable to cultivation in local conditions.

Indigenous culture and knowledge are fundamental to a society's progress. They consist of the combined skills, technology, and knowledge derived from the intimate ties that local communities had with their environment. Since these have a major impact on food security as a whole, they merit adequate attention. Indigenous communities have historically used indigenous knowledge, skills, and institutional frameworks that have evolved over centuries and been passed down through generations. However, these locally sourced insights and practices are not receiving the same attention within the larger landscape of food security. There is a need to involve indigenous communities as collaborators and active partners in any efforts to improve food security. The recent Global Hunger Index ranks India at 111<sup>th</sup> position out of 125 countries is a worrying matter although we might have reservations about the methodology adopted to calculate hunger indicators of India. Indigenous knowledge can rescue us from many colossal challenges that we are confronting today and provide a sustainable solution.

## **5. Conclusion**

The incorporation of time-tested indigenous knowledge into contemporary agricultural practices becomes both a practical and ethical imperative in the modern world, where mitigating climate change is of utmost importance. Embracing the sustainable practices and indigenous knowledge is a step towards preserving food security and ecological balance for future generations as we face an increasingly unpredictable climate and escalating ecological issues. The priceless traditional knowledge system that had supported indigenous populations for generations needs to be preserved. The integration of sustainable practices, namely in the preservation of food grains, presents a promising prospect for enhancing agricultural resilience and ecological responsibility. This is crucial in mitigating the problems presented by climate change and environ-

mental degradation. For the benefit of all people and the earth, it is essential that we acknowledge, preserve, and share this ancient wisdom.

The changes in the lifestyles of even the rural folks have drifted away from its original roots. Collective living of the village folks have globally declined and individuals lead reclusive lives. Even in the ocean of human population and bustling cities the reclusive lives of the individuals have increased to such a proportion that it has become a public health challenge. It is endangering for human civilization and we are amazed witness to the appalling devastations. The rapid decline of collectiveness and compassion for each other has been the primary cause of violence which the indigenous knowledge has the potentials to reverse.

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## **Digudyo : A Special Deity of Newar Community of Kathmandu Valley**

***Balaram Kayastha\****

*The local Newar society of Kathmandu Valley is a very devout and religious society, this society has been worshipping many gods and goddesses related to Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism since ancient times. This is confirmed by many ancient monasteries and temples established here. But apart from this, there are some such gods and goddesses in the Newar community, which are worshipped secretly in tantric ways. Only the main members of the family or clan participate in this Puja. Such deities include "Aagamdyo", "Digudyo". No one even tells anyone about it. Aagam, which is believed and worshipped only by the family or clan, is the tutelary deity of that clan or family. It is established in the "Aagamkuthi" (worship room) of one's own house or in a "Aagamchhen" (separate house). Especially this deity is considered to be Matri Shakti (female power). While Digudyo is installed in an open place away from the house and is considered to be male power. Digudyo means Kul devata (clan deity). If the Kul (clan) is good, luck will shine, work will be successful, happiness and peace will spread in the family, but if the clan is bad, everything will be destroyed. Therefore, once a year, according to the classical*

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*tradition, all Newars here worship the Digudyo (clan deity) for the good of their clan and family. This article focuses on the Digudyo.*

[**Keywords** : Akshaya Tritiya, Tahdin, Sithi Nakha, Digu Khya, Subhya, Syukaya Bhoje]

## **1. Background**

The local inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley are called Newars. But Newar itself is not a caste. It is a community of diverse castes. Who came here from different places in different period of history. Because this valley was a naturally safe place since ancient times. Besides, good livelihood opportunities such as animal husbandry, farming, and business were also available here. For this reason, whenever natural disasters, divine calamities, external attacks, etc. occurred in North Tibet and South India, the people from that side used to enter here in search of shelter (Kayastha, 2020 : 1). The social structure here seems to be formed through this process. Therefore, among these Newars, some of them appear to have Mangol facial features, while others are purely Aryan, similarly, some are black and some are white. Thus there is variety in Newars (Nepali, 1988 : 34). The Newars of each of these races have their own ethnic identity, historical background and cultural traditions. But no matter how many differences are seen among the residents about the casteism, there is a good tradition of religious, cultural and linguistic harmony among them. In fact, the only way to know the people of the Newar community is their original language, religion and culture. That is why the Newars of every caste celebrate the festival by worshipping the deities and eating buffalo meat dish and drinking alcohol on the occasion of every festival.

The native Newars of Kathmandu valley are hardworking, straight forward and self reliant. They believe in sin and virtue. So they do not lag behind to do charity, religion and virtue in every step of life. For this reason, many monasteries and temples from ancient times can be seen here till today. In honor of the deity of each of these temples and monasteries, regular pujas (worships), Aarati, Bhajan-kirtan are performed daily. And special pujas are also performed during the festivals. Similarly, Jatra (procession) is also held once a year to commemorate the construction of the temple of the deity. At that time, the deity is ascended on a "Khat" (palanquin) or a "Ratha" (chariot) and perform a Jatra (procession) around the local town with great fanfare. A religious belief that if there is no



worship, the deities inside the temple will be angry and this may cause some unimaginable sad events in the society. The main purpose behind performing the puja/Jatra is to receive the blessings of the local guardian deity for oneself, one's family and whole community forever (Anderson, 1971 : 194)). In addition, idols have no significance without worship and regular ritual worship is considered mandatory to keep the vitality of the temples alive. There are Guthis (trusts) from immemorial times to maintain these temples, the worship of deities, and for the conduct of Jstras. But apart from this, there are some such gods and goddesses in the Newar community, which are worshipped secretly in tantric ways. Formless and invisible, these gods are considered very powerful. Therefore, the worship of these deities can be performed by not just anyone, but only by "Dikshadhari" (an initiated) person. One of the main deities among these deities is Digudyo. But the worship of Digudyo is completely different from the worship of other gods and goddesses. In this Puja, meat, fish, wine, eggs (eggs of duck), as well as animal sacrifices are also given (a report of field visit, 27 March 2021). There are also many people who worship the deity by offering only "Samayabaji" instead of animal sacrifice. In fact, it is a common practice to offer syaabji (chiura, beaten rice), black soybeans, ginger, chweyla (roasted meat) along with liquor to the deity as an oblation and later eat it sitting there as prasad. "Samayabaji" is not only an offering of food but also a symbol of "Panchatatva" in tantric sense as well as a symbol of life sacrifice. It is found that there is its own kind of tantric method in which the deity can be satisfied by offering "Samayabaji" instead of the animal in the worship performed by sacrificing the animal (Juu & Shrestha, 1985 : 13) .

It is mentioned in Bhasha Vanshawali (a chronicle) that the tradition of worshipping Digudyo dates back to the time of King Suvarna Malla of Bhaktapur (Lamsal, 1966 : 53). But the fact that this tradition is even older than this, i.e. from the time of king Anshuvarma, can be known from the records of Licchavi period.

## **2. Methodology**

This article has been prepared in an analytical and descriptive format. Primary and secondary sources have been used by adopting a qualitative research method. Under this, primary sources include field studies, direct observation, study of unpublished texts, information obtained from subject experts have been collected.

Similarly, facts have been collected from research journals and published books in secondary sources. This article has been prepared by studying and analyzing these two types of sources and presenting the facts in a descriptive manner.

### **3. Digu Dyo (Clan Deity)**

In Newar language “Digu” means clan, descent and generation and “Dyo” means deity. So “Digudyo” means the deity that each clan and descent has been worshipping in a special way according to their own tradition. “Digudyo” is the main deity given special importance by the Newar community, because it is the god that protects the clan and lineage. Digu is taken as a guardian deity (Shresthacharya, 1997 : 184). This idol of Digudyo does not have a clear shape, its made of faceless stone and are found installed in open spaces, across the river outside the boundaries of the ancient city. Of course, the residence of Digudyo is found in different places. Someone’s Digudyo in an open space, someone’s around “Ashtamatrika’s Peeth”, someone’s in the forest and someone’s on the bank of a pond (Shakya, Personal communication : 5 June 2021). The place where Digudyo (clan deity) is located is generally called “Digu Khya” : which means open courtyard.

Despite the special importance of Digudyo in the society, there is no consensus on which deity it is. In most places no human form of Digudyo is found. There is only an image of the stone as its symbol. In some places, the symbolic plates of the mother goddess are placed in waves, while in some places Shaiva or Vaishnava deities are considered as digudyo forms. Followers of Hinduism and Buddhism have a tradition of performing Digupuja according to their clan or “Gotra”. Some consider the Mother Goddess as Digudya: Swaroop. Some people have the practice of worshipping Lumadhi (Bhadrakali), Vijayeshwari, Mhepi, Kangeshwari, Maiti, Sikali, Balkumari, Chhinnamasta etc. goddesses of Kathmandu as their Digudyos (clan deities) on special days. In the same way, the number of families who worship Mahadev and Narayan as Digudyo of their clan is also not less. Aadeswor, Kuleshwar and Changunarayan are the main ones among Shiva and Narayan who are considered to be the deities. In some places, Buddhists also have a tradition of considering Mahadev or Narayan as their Digudyo. Buddhist followers of Kathmandu Vishwakarma Vahal have been worshipping Vishwakarma in the form of Mahadev as Digudyo. Similarly, Shakyas of Srigha Vahal and

Asan's Qwhiti Vahal have been worshipping Kuleshwor Mahadev as their Digudyo (Vajracharya, 2011 : 18).

In Bhaktapur, "Thathu Subhya" is one of the main Digudyo spot there. "Thathu" means upper. Which is south east of Kamalvinayak. Due to the presence of Digudyos here, local people call this place "Dugure". Similarly, "Dathu Subya" is the central Dugudyo site of Bhaktapur. It is located near Hanumanghat, where there is a single storied temple on the east side of Omkar Masaan (cremation- ground). There is a crowd of people who come to perform Digu Puja. And "Kuthu Subhya" is the main Digudyos site in the lower part of Bhaktapur city. The original Digudyo temple of Bhimsenthan is called Kuthu Subhya which is located on the left side of the road, after crossing "Mu Tan" (bridge on river) after crossing the road going east from Chupinghat. From the numerical point of view, the most Digu puja is done in this Kuthu Subhya. There are many Digudyos around this temple and right and left on the road. However, this is the most worshipped temple of the area. Apart from this, there are many Digudyos scattered around Sallaghari, Ranipokhari, Siddhapokhari, Bhajupokhari in the western part of the Bhaktapur city (a report of field visit, 27 March 2021).

### **3.1 When to do Digu Puja**

Generally it is believed that every year from Baisakh Shukla Akshay Tritiya to "Sithi Nakha" (Jeshtha Shukla Khashti) every family should complete the worship of their respective deities. But in Bhaktapur and Lalitpur, it start before that. In Lalitpur it starts from Baishakh Shukla Pratipada i.e. from the day of Matsyendra Nath ascends the chariot till Sithinakha and in Bhaktapur, it starts from Subhya which is towards Visket Jatra. Digu Puja of Bhaktapur Navadurga Bhavani is performed one day before Akshaya Tritiya. Similarly, on the same day, Maneswari of Duvakot are also worshipped from Bhairavnath and Bhaktapur Taleju. Digupuja of common Newars starts from Akshaya Tritiya. The first Sunday or Thursday after Akshaya Tritiya is called "Tah Din" (great day). On this day, Digu Puja is performed by Kashyap Gotras, which are the largest in Bhaktapur. This day is especially for "Jyaapu" (local farmers). Thus, after the main days like Subhya, Akshaya Tritiya, Tah Din, every Sunday and Thursday the order of worship begins. This sequence continues until the "Sithi Nakha". Digu worship is done especially for Man Gotra, Bharadwaj Gotra etc. All those who are mourning or cannot perform the puja for other reasons should

complete this puja at the latest on the day of "Sithi Nakh" or Jeshta Shukla Khashti. From this it is seen that the first day of Digu Puja is Subhyake and the last day is Sithi Nakha. But different from this belief, there is another practice in Bhaktapur. Digu worshipers are found in Bhaktapur even after "Sithi Nakha". Malepatis of Bhaktapur Tibukchhen, Napits of Yachhen and Newars of Dhaugwara caste are among those who perform continuous Digu Puja on Bhairavanath's "Khulla Hom" or "Rahu Nakegu" day at Toumadhi (Dhoubhadel, 2021 : 30- 31).

In this puja, it is customary for all the brothers and descendants of their clan or race to go to the clan deity's place and perform special puja and celebrate a feast on the same occasion. Married girls are not allowed to participate in such Puja. But now this is not the custom. Everyone attends the clan shrine and worships and feasts and enjoys.

### **3.2 Du : Tayagu**

While performing Digu Puja, let us also mention an interesting tradition called "Du : Tayagu" (bringing in the clan). Digu Puja is a bit special if someone has got "Ihi" or Belvivaah (Newar girls marrying with Bel, a kind of fruit, which is symbol of god Narayan at early age), "Vratibandh" (Chudakarma) and "Bhin Ihipa" (Vivaah, marriage) in their house within a year. In such a situation, the girl, the boy and the new bride who has been married are specially taken to the Digudyo and "Du : Tayagu" are performed. During that time, if Ihi has been done, she offer "Saupa" (the content of Ihi), if Vratibandh has been performed "Keta Kapa" (a longoti cloth) and if they have married, a handful of betel nuts are offered to Digudyo. It means that the newly wedded bride, the vratibandh boy and Ihi girl are brought into their clan by the respective family. During the time of "Du : Tayagu", in front of Digudyo, "Nayo" (the main member of the family) touches head, shoulder and knee of the Ihi, Vratibandh and married person 3 times with Kulepathi (a vessel of certain standard) and a bunch of key. It is believed that if Digudyo is on the head, shoulder and knees, it will be a good day, but if it is sitting under the foot, it will be bad (Joshi, Personal communication : 7 August 2020). After this, during the Digu Puja, they sacrifice animal and eat "Samayabaji" as Prasad and return home after the Puja.

### **3.3 Digu Puja**

The Newars of every caste perform worship their Digudyo once a year according to their clan tradition. Its called Digu Puja. This

Digudyo is usually worshipped in the month of April and May. Thus, the main reason behind the worship of the Digudyo (clan deity) every year is that the clan deity will forgive if the rituals and cultures of the clan are broken. Also, it is believed that worshipping the Digudyo will increase wealth and social prestige. The reasons for worshipping Digudyo and its benefits are mentioned in an ancient manuscript called "Merutantra" (Munankarmi, 1997 : 66). Therefore, the Newars of Nepal valley, even if they live outside the valley, return to their clan houses to perform Digu puja during the time of Digu puja and perform Digu Puja together with their own brothers.

Among the various communities of Nepal, the Newar community is the Only community that is considered rich in its customs, culture and heritage. It is also a community that is proud of its ancestors and of noble family. They believe that only if their clan is good then their future generation will be good. One's identity can be maintained only if one can preserve the ancestral clan traditions. Therefore, it is understood that Digu Puja is performed to keep alive the tradition, culture and heritage. In the Newars, not all are of the same clan, race and caste. So their clan gods are also not the same. According to caste, different gods and goddesses are worshipped as Digudyo. As mentioned above that being a tantric deity, the idol of Digudyo, made in stone, is not clearly shaped. There are two such deities installed in one line, in some places three and in some places up to five deities. On the day of Digu Puja, it is possible to keep the "Kinkupa" (Mukut or Crown) brought from home on the same established stone.

From the religious point of view the Newar community is divided into Hindus and Buddhists, both sects worship Digudyo, every year according to their traditions. Digudyos of both sects are in different places. This worship performed by Tantrayana is performed by Hindu Newars with Achaju (Karmacharya) priest, while Buddhist Newars perform it with Guvaju (Bajracharya) priest.

As this puja is performed in tantric method, it includes animal (pure black goat) sacrifice as well as meat, fish, duck's eggs, wine, alcohol, black soyabeans, Wo (bread made from flour of black lentil), Chataamari (bread made from flour of rice), Syaabaji (a special type of beaten rice), hyaaun bala (a piece of red cloth), Mohani tika (black mark placed on the forehead), Dhanya swaan - Mu swaan (a special type of flowers) and Samyabaji (a symbol of Panchatatva) etc. are offered to the Digudyo.

When going to perform Digu Puja, the main person of the house takes the main puja, the priest holds the Kalanli (a special vessel for keeping the worship material), Sukunda (Newari traditional oil lamp with handle) performs the puja, and other members of the family take the puja materials and go in order to perform the Digu Puja. The children of the house hold ducks and goats and go to worship Digudyo. On that day, all the members of the family are purified by bathing and washing. The house is also cleaned and sanctified.

This Digu Puja is conducted grandly by the Pujari (priest) from the Tantrayana, sitting as the thakali Jajaman (main host) of the family. During the puja, the smoke of the fire is collected in the earthen bowl and called it "Mohani", which is offered to the deity. In this puja, they perform Digudyo Sadhana on a stone with a triangular hole established as two deities and offer puja. One deity worships Sri Bhairava with violence and the other with non-violence offering only "Panchamrit" and while offering violence, they cover the non-violence deity so that the blood of the sacrifice does not fall. Although the worship method is the same for all, the worship is conducted according to caste-karma. In this puja, some castes do not perform the puja until the crow has touched the offered material after the puja has been performed. They believe that crows will not touch the objects offered to the deity if they are impure and interfere with the worship. Therefore, in this Digu Puja, they purify their bodies and clean their houses by covering them with cow dung. In this puja, they do not use garlic, onion, pork and buffalo meat. In the same way, there are some castes that do not perform worship until the material offered to the deity is picked from the jackal. But nowadays, due to the construction of countries and cities in the jungle mountains, the jackal has become extinct, so to fulfill the tradition, they make a stone jackal and perform the puja by touching the material that the idol has been offering (Karmacharya, personal communication : 3 July 2020). Thus, in Newar society, Digu Puja is conducted according to their caste-karma. However, at the end of the puja, everyone of the family members stand together and offer "Akshata" (rice offered in worship) to the deity in the name of the own relatives who have died in their clan (Shrestha, 2009 : 48).

After the ritualistic completion of the puja, the priest gives vermilion, Mohani Teeka is applied on the forehead of everyone, red tul cloth offered to the deity is put around everyone's neck and flower, fruit offerings are distributed. After that, everyone sits there

and eats Samayabaji, Wo-Chatamari along with Chhwelaa (roasted meat) of the sacrificed goat as Prasad. After the puja is completed, everyone returns their home. In the evening, all the family members sit together and have a feast with various dishes including the meat of the sacrificed goat. This feast is called “Syukaya Bhoje”, in which important parts of the head of the goat sacrificed to the deity are given to the family members as omens based on their seniority (Munankarmi, 1997 : 67).

“Kalan Wayegu” is done after the meal. In this, “Nakin” (the head woman of the family) takes the leftovers of the feast eaten by the “Nayo” (main person of the family) to throw it to the god called “Chhwasa Azima”, which is outside the house on the side of the road. “Chhwasa Azima” is a round shaped stone placed in the center of each tol settlement. Its special name is “Khasthikadevi”. Its corruption has become a “Chhwasa”. At every “Syukaya Bhoje” (feast), it is a custom to offer all the leftover feast to this goddess who protects the village as the guardian of the settlement. Which is called “Kalan Wayegu”. Kalan wayegu work is a fundamental practice of Newar society. Kalan wayegu should be done at the main main feast, and Shraddadi work feast (Dhoubhadel, 2021 : 34). Everyone eats the water brought by washing the brass pot taken to throw away the leftover feast to the Chhwasa Azima. Eating this water is believed to cure stomach ailments.

### **3-4 History of Digu Puja**

When the tradition of Digu puja started here, if we study its history, it can be traced back to the Licchavi period. King Anshuvarma has mentioned them as “Shrikuldevasya and Shasthidevakulasya” in the records of Hadigaon. For the worship of that deity, 3 Puranas and 1 Pana (a unit of currency at that time) were observed from the palace (Vajracharya, 1996 : 302). From that, it can be understood that there was a tradition of worshipping Digudyo (Kuladevata) during the Licchavi period. In the same way, it seems that there is a practice of performing ‘Deghuri Puja’ in the form of Digudyo in the medieval period. ‘Deguri’ (Deguri) was specially worshipped on the occasion of the marriage of King Jayasthiti Malla’s son Dharma Malladeva (Vajracharya & Malla, 1985 : folio 29 & 61). It is said that Deghuri is the form of Digudyo. Deghuri, Deguri, Degudi, Digudi, Digudyo, Digipuja, etc. are corrupt synonyms derived from Devkulika (Sharma, 1997 : 109). From this it is known

that there was a tradition of worshipping Digudyo Puja Deghuri as a deity in the medieval period.

It is mentioned in history that king Suvarna Malla of Bhaktapur offered Digu puja to shree Maneswari Devi located in Handigaon, Kathmandu. This tradition continues till today, according to which, every year on the fifth day of Baishakh Shukla, 2 black goats along with the necessary Puja materials are sent from Taleju place inside Bhaktapur palace (Munankarmi, 1997 : 66).

Whether it was when the reformist ruler of the Nepal Valley, King Jayasthiti Malla, married his son Dharma Malla in 1382, or when the last Malla king of Kantipur, Jayaprakash Malla, got married in 1732, they performed special Deghuri Puja on that occasion. It is known to be the old form of Deghuri deity Digudyo. Which is also mentioned in the appendix below.

#### **4. Conclusion**

From the above illustrations it is clear that the native Newars of Kathmandu Valley are cultured people who have been celebrating their religious traditions and original cultural heritage in their own environment since time immemorial. In such traditions, it seems that everyone gives a prominent place to their tradition of worshipping the Digudyo (clan deity) once a year. In fact, the custom of considering one's own clan deity is not absent in other places as well. However, the custom of worshipping the clan deity and celebrating the festival with pomp, as in the Newar society, is hardly found in other societies of the world. If clan is damaged, there will be obstacles in dynasty, loss of wealth, loss of dignity and the way in which we can advance our personality in terms of family and society, keep hindering those things. If the clan deity is displeased, there will be problems in the family, will be quarrels in the house, will be obstacles in progress, bad dreams, various kinds of accidents, etc. are likely to happen. Therefore it is said that Digu or Kul (clan) is the master of lineage. Our fortune would be shine, when we believe it. If we want to continue our future generation in the right way, we should always remember and respect the clan deity of our house. That is why Digu puja is celebrated here once a year with great fanfare. Although Digupuja is a collective tradition celebrated once a year, individuals or families also have a tradition of worshipping separately on various festivals and ritual occasions. Digudyo is also worshipped on the occasion of birthday, marriage, bratavandha, pasni, shraddha,



festival etc. These deities are guardians, protectors of clans and dynasties and provide family happiness and prosperity.

## **Appendix**

### **A Photos of Digudyos**







- B.** In 1382 Deghuri (Deguri) was specially worshipped on the occasion of the marriage of Dharma Malladeva, the son of King Jayasithimalla. It is said that Deghuri is the form of Digudyo. Which is mentioned in the Gopalraj Vansahavali (genealogy) in this way-

“सं.५०३ फाल्गुण शुदि तृतीया बृहस्पति बार चा श्री श्री धर्मदेव ठाकुरस विवाह दिन थ्वन लियो आदीत वारन देधुरि सके पूजा बिज्याडा मेसहमं खुज वलुं मदग्व।” - Gopalraj Vanshavali, folio-29 & 61.

- C.** In 1732 that Jayaprakash Malla, the last king of Kantipur, got married and brought the bride to Deguli, as mentioned in the Thyasafu (Local diary, a type of historical document) -

“सं ८५३ फाल्गुण कृष्ण द्वितीया कुन्हु जयप्रकाशया परत यिहियात के यात पिथिपूजा...थनलि मुकचुकस अग्नि स्थापना यात....पेन्हु कुन्हु होमबेला सोमयं अलिडय यिनाय लिते।।- Purnima, yr. 3, Vol. 4 pp. 38-39.

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## Report

A report of field visit on 27 March 2021.

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## **Exploring the Effects of Labour Migration on Class Relation in a Rural Village of Western Hill of Nepal**

***Guman Singh Khattri\****

*This study examines the profound effects of labour migration on the social structure of a rural community in western Nepal, with a particular emphasis on changes in land ownership and labour relations. Based on the fieldwork carried out in two phases in 2011 and 2022, this study delves into the multifaceted changes taken place in the study area as a consequence of international labour migration. The results reveal the rural households use migration as a strategy to diversify their livelihoods and enhance economic conditions and social status in the village through the financial gains (remittance) from working abroad. The effects of remittances on land ownership system is apparent, as they enable transfers from former landowners to migrant households. The research also identifies changes in traditional labour organization and sharecropping, which are ascribed to the*

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*fragmentation of land ownership and the increasing inclination of young individuals towards off-farm employment. The successful migrant households utilize remittances to attain economic and political influence, which ultimately contributes to challenge traditional social hierarchies and rural power structure. This results in changes to social classes and initiates interrelated changes in community credit system, labour organizations, land use practices, and political power structures. This study concludes by highlighting the multifaceted nature of social transformations in the rural village, positioning labour migration as an important factor contributing to bring about those changes.*

[**Keywords** : Labour migration, Remittance, Village, Land ownership, Labour relation]

## **1. Introduction**

In Nepal, foreign labour migration has grown tremendously over the last three decades and is one of the key contributors to the country's GDP. The contribution of remittance to the GDP of 2022 was 22%. The labour migration of Nepali citizens has been driven by multiple factors like poverty, lack of employment opportunities at home, conflict and other social, environmental and political factors, and the demand for skilled and low-skilled migrant workers coupled with the offer of higher wages in the countries of destination. Tracing the age-long history of migration in Nepal, Sinjapati and Limbu (2017) find a fragmented migration sector in Nepal where government agencies were not seen as leaders in the field but instead perceived to be heavily influenced by the private sector during the policy-making process, bringing their regulatory role into question.<sup>1</sup> According to the preliminary findings of the 2021 Census, there are more than 2.1 million Nepali citizens living outside the country, a figure that represents 7.4 per cent of the national population (CBS 2022)<sup>2</sup>.

The Labour Migration for Employment: Status Report 2008-2022 shows shreds of evidence that between 2008/09 and 2021/22, more than 4.7 million new labour approvals were issued to Nepali migrants wanting to work abroad. These numbers increased consistently, reaching a peak in 2013/14 when more than half a million new approvals were issued. The years thereafter saw a decline in the number of workers seeking new approvals. Overall, though, the number of workers who received labor approvals remained more or less comparable at the 500,000- 600,000 range per year.<sup>3</sup> Nepal Labor Migration Report 2022 posts a very concise picture of migration trends :

Graph-1 : New Labour Approval Issued by Year



Source : Nepal Labour Migration Report 2022.

The labour approval reached the lowest level since 2008 in 2019/20 and 2020/21 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. As the virus spread across the globe, countries implemented lockdowns, cancelled or halted flights, and restricted the entry of foreign citizens, resulting in an almost complete halt in mobility. In the year 2021/22, we again see that the increment of the labour approval significantly where the proportion of women has been close to 10 per cent. Nearly all migrant workers from Nepal are young adults and from the economically most productive age group of 18 to 44 with half between the ages of 25 and 34 years in the three reference years. The median age of migrant workers was just 28.<sup>4</sup>

Nepalese have been migrating to several countries for employment. The Government of Nepal has approved 111 countries for labour migration through recruitment agencies albeit with temporary restrictions applicable in the case of Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. The six Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries-Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)-and Malaysia host the vast majority of Nepali migrant workers. These seven countries have consistently been employing more than 80 per cent of Nepali migrant workers since 2013/14, and are also the countries from where Nepali workers receive the highest demand (for detailed information see Nepal Labour Migration Reports 2020, 2022). The data on labour approvals disaggregated by province and district for the years 2019/20-2021/22 shows that the highest number of migrant workers hailed from Province 1 and Madhesh, with each accounting for more than one-fifth of the total. The number of labour approvals issued for migrant workers from

Karnali and Sudurpaschim is quite low. Madhesh province, above 98 per cent for all three years. This proportion is particularly lower for Bagmati and Gandaki with these two provinces showing higher diversity in terms of countries of destination. Dhanusha, Jhapa, Siraha, Morang and Mahottari are the top five districts from where Nepali migrant workers originated in 2019/20 and 2020/21 with Sarlahi replacing Morang in 2021/22.

The labour migration has become a significant factor in influencing socio-economic structures, particularly in areas typified by traditional agricultural economies, in the present global landscape. The migration of young individuals from rural areas, motivated by economic inequalities, demographic pressures, and the forces of globalization, has profoundly transformed the social fabric. Although migrants fulfill the role of economic contributors by providing financial support to their family in their countries of origin, there is a scarcity of scholarly research examining the effects of this migration on the socio-economic structures of rural communities. In this context, this paper aims to elucidate the complex consequences of labour migration, with a specific focus on its influence on class dynamics within a rural community of western hill of Nepal. It illuminates the changing patterns of class relations, with a particular focus on the transformations in land ownership and labour dynamics that have arisen as a consequence of the influx of foreign labour migration.

## **2. Research Method and Study Area**

This study utilizes a qualitative research approach to examine the intricate dynamics of labour migration and its influence on class relations in Narethanti of western Nepal. The Narethanti village, located inside the Galkot Municipality of Baglung, presents an important case study for analyzing the diverse consequences of international labour migration. The economic viability of the village is heavily dependent on the inflow of remittances from migrant workers, who primarily seek employment in Gulf countries, Japan, Korea, Australia, Portugal, and several other European nations.

The process of data gathering encompasses various methods, including in-depth interviews, participant observations, and key informant interviews employed during the course of a two-stage fieldwork, conducted in 2011 and 2022. Ethical considerations, such as the preservation of anonymity, obtaining informed permission,



and obtaining approval from an institutional review board, are fundamental elements of the research process. The following sections will provide a comprehensive examination of empirical data in order to shed light on the intricate impacts of labour migration on the structure of landownership and labour relations in the village.

### **3. Findings and Discussion**

In the past, the ownership and utilization of land used to play a central role in shaping social status and livelihood opportunities of the households in Narethanti. However, this scenario has been changed because of the ever increasing trend of migration of people to foreign countries in search of employment opportunities. The economic well-being of the majority of households depends now on the income generated from remittances acquired from abroad. This circumstance adds intricacies to the process of determining the social position of households within the broader societal framework. It is crucial to reevaluate the prevailing belief that the Nepalese economy is mostly agrarian. It appears that remittances have replaced agricultural operations in rural communities as the primary source of income. In light of this transition, the current study investigates the dynamics of class interactions in Narethanti. In particular, it looks at a lot of things that affect relationships between classes, such as how much access or control households have over resources they need to survive, how people participate in the social organization of work, and how politically active and helpful households are to their communities. When we look at how international labour migration changes the dynamics of class, we have to look at how community families' access to, control over, and influence over economic, social, and political domains changes.

Within the historical framework of Narethanti village, predating the 1980s, there was a noticeable difference in the distribution of land ownership among households, with a special emphasis on the older population of the current era. It is important to note that a small number of households controlled sizable land holdings during this time period, which was characterized by a monopolistic concentration of political power. Consequently, people who were impoverished were required to participate in labour activities. In contrast, a significant proportion of households engage in cultivating small plots of land primarily for subsistence purposes in the realm of agricultural production. Even within this particular

category, there were variances observed in the length of sustenance, with some individuals able to sustain themselves for a period of nine months, while others were only capable of sustaining themselves for six or three months. Certain households were devoid of any land, save for the structures in which they resided. The dominant political structure, known as the Panchayati system, allocated local political power predominantly to individuals with significant land ownership. The aforementioned phenomenon enabled a favored minority to exert greater authority over land resources while also marginalizing other individuals. A respondent, now 80 years old, looks back on his youthful days and reflects upon his experiences :

Most of the households used to hold 15 to 30 ropani of land, which was sufficient for their subsistence. Some Dalit, Gharti, and Khatri households were landless, and some Kunwar, Magar, Vandari, and Karki households were big landowners there. Meanwhile, the government provided political power to these landowners at the local level. As a consequence, these households owned a chunk of land by using their authority. These households registered the ownership of their own land resources. The majority of dry and forest land was registered by the Mukhiya, and the irrigated land was registered by the Jimwals for their ownership.

The allocation of political power to influential landowners led to the perpetuation of disparities in land ownership across families. Individuals who have strong familial connections to governmental authorities were able to increase the size of their property holdings. Respondents said that powerful people registered large amounts of land in the names of family members or allies, taking advantage of the government's powers to partially register this land. As a result, numerous individuals were denied the chance to increase their holdings of land. According to Bom Magar...

During the implementation of the Panchayati system, individuals with large land rights, such as Mukhiya, Talukdar, Jimwal, and Pardhan, were entitled to partial rights to land registration; they registered a large amount of Khet, Bari, Pakha, and forest land for their relatives too. But the household, having no relationship with the political leadership, could not do so. Rather, some people lost their ownership in the process of the dispute with the power holders.

The disparity in the distribution of land and the resulting power dynamics had significant socio-political and economic consequences. This development led to the formation of distinct labour arrangements, characterized by negotiated agreements between landowners and persons lacking property or possessing minor landholdings. The last group, which needed extra food from farming, either worked on the owners' properties, borrowed land, or delivered an agreed-upon crop yield. In contrast, landowners, faced with the challenge of effectively overseeing their extensive properties, resorted to either hiring landless individuals or labourers or entering into mortgage agreements. This laid the groundwork for diverse labour relationships. Paul Khatri says :

Households with a large amount of land used to keep Hali plow land. But there was no limitation to the work. Ploughman had to provide service for a whole year. The landowners used to keep Hali as contract labour, but if the lords needed extra labour, the family from the contractual labour had to work there. Sometimes, contractual labour is used to achieve small land for harvesting. Contractual labour is used to pay certain amounts for crops on an annual basis. In sharecropping, the sharecropper had to provide 50% of the crops to the landowner.

Historically, specifically during the implementation of the Panchayati system, there was a lack of motivation for community members to actively participate in the decision-making process. Despite their participation in public meetings or village councils, individuals refrained from expressing their concerns toward landlords due to limitations in time availability and a lack of political acumen. Individuals frequently participated in meetings, primarily as observers of their landlords. The aforementioned circumstance resulted in the perpetuation of an inequitable social dynamic between individuals who owned land or held positions of authority within the Panchayati system and the marginalized members of society. With a single political structure, Jabbar KC said that the landowners and Panchayati leadership effectively controlled the political situation in the village, which led to an authoritarian style of government. The villagers encountered difficulties in expressing their dissent towards decisions put forth and implemented by their leaders, despite sporadic gatherings for this purpose. Jabbar KC recalls the past :

The politics in the village were directly controlled by the landowners and Panchayati leadership in the village. As the

panchayat was a single-party political system, it did not encourage people to participate in decision-making. The Panchyati leaders were all-powerful in the village. Sometimes, villagers used to call in meetings, but they could not raise any voice against the proposals given and decisions made by leaders. Only a few educated people could oppose the Panches, the political leaders, indirectly. And the contractual labourers and mortgagers used to support their lords.

The existence of a class hierarchy was a direct result of the significant disparities in political power, land resources, and labour relationships. The rich class in this context consisted of landowners and Panchyati leaders, who held a position of dominance, while individuals with limited or no land ownership were relegated to a subordinate status. Because of this difference in power and property distribution, big landowners rose to the top of society, while people who did not own land or only owned small amounts of land fell to the bottom. The landowners in question can be understood, within the framework of Marxist theory, as occupying a position akin to that of the middle class. This particular social group had significant political influence and enjoyed a high level of social prestige. It is worth noting that those belonging to the lower caste were seldom in possession of land. Nevertheless, the elderly participants provided accounts of notable transformations in the allocation of economic resources, political influence, and the structure of labour organizations during their lifetimes. There are many reasons for these changes, such as the fact that there are more educational opportunities across the country, improvements in mass communication and information technology, people moving from rural to urban areas and abroad, and political upheavals in the past. Even though these factors are important for studying how classes work, this study only looks at the effects of international labour migration because of its specific limitations.

### **3.1 Change in Distribution of Ownership of Land Resources**

The Narethanti village has historical significance in terms of migration, as it experienced the commencement of this phenomenon during World War I. This occurred when British army agents, referred to as 'Galla', arrived in the village with the purpose of recruiting exceptional young individuals to contribute to the war effort. One participant, Ganja Bahadur Magar, who had served in

both World War I and World War II, decided to withdraw from the battlefield during the former conflict. However, he was subsequently recruited from Nautuana in India, fulfilled his military duties, and has since retired. A total of six individuals hailing from Narethanti enlisted in the British Army. Furthermore, a considerable number of young individuals have chosen to enlist in the Indian Army, a prevailing pattern.

Nevertheless, a significant proportion of migrant labourers originated from houses of lower-middle-class status within the rural community. The individuals in question chose enlistment in the military over seeking employment as temporary or salaried workers, primarily due to the unproductive nature of the village's land, out of a desire to improve their social standing and ensure long-term viability. According to Susta Bahadur Basnet, it was observed that the lahures (armies) enjoyed a significant level of reputation, hence rendering military employment an appealing choice. Individuals hailing from economically disadvantaged backgrounds effectively handled their trip expenditures by resorting to borrowing funds at exorbitant interest rates from landowners, giving rise to potential complications in the event of being denied enlistment in the military. His statement follows:

The migrant workers used to earn a lot of money. They wore beautiful clothes and brought jewels, tape recorders, and many other strange things, which were the means of attraction for those living in the village. Moreover, their soldierly bodies would attract young girls and junior boys. When bachelor youths (Lahures) came home on leave, the parents of many girls would be in line to marry their daughters. The local youths were inspired either to join the army or work in any sector in India.

This exemplifies the intention of young individuals to migrate in order to bring about a transformation in the lifestyle of their community through the financial gains obtained from outside employment. The analysis of the life trajectories of migrant households highlights the significant contribution of money from abroad to support the economic well-being of their rural communities. In addition to the allocation of funds towards consumer items, financial resources were also designated for child education, debt payments, and remittances. This allocation had a

notable effect on the transfer of property ownership, specifically from landowners to migrant households. According to Paul Khatri, it was seen that migrant households employed their earnings to acquire land from landowners in the village, resulting in an increase in their social status and a corresponding decrease in the status of the landlords. The following table shows more about this:

**Table-1 : Land Purchased with Remittance**

Type of land	Number of HH	Total %
Irrigated and Dry Land only in the village	4	22.22
Housing Land in only Local Market Areas	2	11.11
Land only in the Tarai Region	5	27.78
Land only in the Urban Areas	3	16.67
Land in the village and Urban or Tarai	4	22.22
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source :** Field Survey, 2011.

This table shows that out of the 30 migrant households, 18 of them, accounting for 60 percent, have utilized their earnings from abroad to get land, regardless of whether it is located in the village, urban region, or the Tarai region. In contrast, the remaining 12 households, comprising 40 percent of the total, have refrained from utilizing their revenue from abroad for the acquisition of land resources. Out of the 18 households that engaged in land investment, 4 (equivalent to 22.22 percent) obtained land within the village, while 2 (11.11 percent) exclusively acquired land in local market districts, and 5 (27.78 percent) entirely invested in metropolitan regions. Furthermore, it is worth noting that out of the total number of households surveyed, 3 houses, accounting for 16.67 percent, made land purchases specifically in urban areas. In addition, 4 households, representing 22.2 percent, acquired land in both village and urban or plain areas. It is worth mentioning that the remaining twelve households made the decision to abstain from acquiring land yet effectively managed to overcome sustenance and previous debt difficulties.

### **3.2 New Land Owners**

The ownership of land has experienced a gradual transition from prior proprietors to migrant households, which has been influenced by a range of factors associated with the migrants

themselves, including the countries they choose as their destination, their age, and their sources of income. It is worth mentioning that individuals who migrate to India demonstrate a greater inclination towards acquiring land in comparison to migrants relocating to other nations. Furthermore, it has been observed that elderly migrants have a higher inclination towards investing in properties located in rural villages, whilst their younger counterparts tend to display a preference for settling in the Tarai region or urban areas. Workers in developed countries such as Japan, Korea, Australia, America, and Europe, who make a monthly income exceeding one lakh Nepalese rupees, tend to primarily allocate their investments in metropolitan regions. The prioritization of debt repayment is observed among recent migrants in these nations.

Within the sample of 30 families that were examined, it was observed that there exists a lack of uniformity in terms of the sorts of nations to which they have access. There are a total of five homes that possess the privilege of accessing nations such as Japan, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Singapore, where the monthly income surpasses one lakh Nepalese rupees. Two households, comprising individuals employed in Japan and the British army, have acquired real estate in the regions of Chitwan and Baglung. Within a span of five years after their move, a household consisting of three individuals who were employed in Japan and Singapore successfully obtained land in Kathmandu. Nevertheless, despite being employed for a duration of three years, two households comprising two individuals each, who are working in Japan and Australia, respectively, have not made any investments in real estate.

In the examination of land acquisition patterns, it has been seen that a total of 18 households have made investments in land. These investments are distributed as follows: 22.22 percent in the village, 11.11 percent in local market regions, and 27.78 percent in metropolitan areas. In addition, a proportion of 16.67% of individuals acquired land solely in urban regions, while 22.2% of respondents purchased land in both rural and urban or suburban areas. The remaining twelve households have successfully addressed their subsistence concerns and fulfilled their financial obligations without acquiring any additional land.

It is interesting to note that younger migrant workers really want to change their social class by buying homes in cities instead of

living in farming villages. Jivan Khatri's statement is an illustration of the sentiment :

I am working in Qatar. But I have not earned sufficient money because the salary is not good. I have to spend a large amount on household maintenance because there is no additional source of income. It is very difficult to purchase the increasing cost of consumer goods, child education, celebrating rituals and festivals, and health care. My parents would like to use money to buy land here, but I do not agree with them. I could not buy land now. Even if I could, I would not buy land in this village because there is no value in it. The village life is full of hardship... I have deposited a small amount of money in the bank and have supported some of my brother-in-law's plans to go to Japan. Now, I am also in the process of going to Japan so as to earn sufficient money and buy land in urban areas for the bright future of the children.

### **3-3 Land Dispossession**

According to the respondents, there is evidence suggesting that a specific group of individuals, namely former landowners and peasants, have voluntarily surrendered their authority over land. This trend is particularly prevalent among households that lack opportunities for engaging in non-agricultural endeavours, as they have chosen to sell their land. In contrast, businesses and households engaged in employment do not engage in the direct acquisition or loss of land. Instead, they focus on the expansion of their business activities. Landowners who exclusively depend on inherited property and subsistence farming are seeing a progressive erosion of their authority and control over land resources. According to Prem Pun, there is a transfer of land ownership from impoverished peasants and erstwhile landowners to migrant households. Out of the total of ten houses residing in the hamlet, a majority of seven homes (70 percent) have acquired land from previous landlords, whereas the remaining three households (30 percent) have obtained land from local peasants. The selling of property by former landowners can be attributed to their limited access to alternate sources of income. The mounting financial burdens related to ceremonial customs make it difficult for people to manage the rising cost of living.

These households engage in the sale of their land in order to acquire monetary resources for the purpose of acquiring consumer



items, financing the education of their children, obtaining healthcare services, and undertaking various rites and rituals. Households are compelled to surrender their land due to a variety of factors, including the increasing expenditures associated with child education, the high expenses of urban living, costly wedding ceremonies, traditional dowry customs, and unsuccessful endeavors in international migration.

Based on my preliminary observations, it was evident that landowners were motivated to sell their properties as a result of their ambitious lives or exceptional life circumstances. Nevertheless, during my most recent visit to the study area, I noticed that a sizable number of households show a willingness to give up their land in order to embrace an urban lifestyle. Certain affluent individuals, with the objective of broadening their business reach from local to urban regions, opt for land sales as a means of recourse following unsuccessful endeavors. Some individuals choose to sell their land in order to adopt an urban lifestyle, while others want to secure land in the Tarai region for the purpose of attaining comfort. Additionally, there are those who sell their land to finance their migration to foreign countries. Raj Bhandari's life history serves as an illustration of how financial restrictions, such as the burden of debt from international air travel, coupled with the exploitative practices of brokers, compel individuals to resort to land sales.

Raj was born and brought up as the youngest son in an economically well-off family. He passed the SLC from a private boarding school in Baglung and did his certificate level in Kathmandu. After finishing his formal education, he married a girl from Pokhara and went to Japan, spending 12 lakh rupees. But, within 3 months, he returned to Nepal when the hotel was closed there. After returning to Nepal, he stayed for 2 years in Kathmandu and tried to fly to America. But, in his second attempt, the agent ran away by taking 15 lakh rupees. His family sold all 45 ropanis of irrigated land to pay off the debt, but up until now, he has been in the process of migration again.

The above discussion highlights the importance of international migration for employment as a reliable non-agricultural career, functioning as a mechanism for obtaining land resources in one's country of origin. The phenomenon of labour migration has emerged as a viable alternative means of sustenance,

exerting a significant influence on the shift of land ownership from landlords and peasants to migrant workers. The transition observed, wherein landowners are replaced by peasants, is in accordance with the increasing social standing of households that have significant income derived from foreign sources. It is worth noting that migrant households, characterized by substantial affluence, pose a challenge to the prevailing authority of landowners, who have historically held sway over power, prestige, and property within the village.

Nevertheless, the steady shift away from land allocation has presented significant difficulties for lower-income households that do not have access to alternate sources of income. The increasing expenses associated with daily living have necessitated these households to either liquidate their property or get loans in order to maintain their means of subsistence. The alteration in the distribution of land has instigated a range of transformations in labour organizations, sharecropping arrangements, mortgage practices, and power dynamics within the village. These aspects will be examined in further detail in the following section. The life history of Dal Bahadur Pun serves as an interesting exemplification.

Dal Bahadur was brought up in a family where the father had worked as an attached labourer before. However, he joined the army in India when his family used to hold a small land, and his four brothers used to work as contract or wage labourers in the village. Pun did his full service, earned a large amount of money, paid off the past debt, and bought irrigated land and 15 ropanies of grassland from Mukhiya. After the separation from his family, he built a house and toilet, educated the children, and added nearly 15 hectare of unirrigated land from the same landowners. Including that, he bought 40 ropani of land from a single person, Mukhiya. According to Pun, being limited to farming, other brothers could not increase land. Now, the land is sufficient to sustain the food requirements for the whole family of 10 members. He is using the pension to fulfill household requirements, celebrate rituals and ceremonies, and hire labour. The deposited money and pension helped him manage the wedding ceremonies of two daughters and three sons. He has credited some money to his relatives, kin, and friends and deposited a small amount of money in the bank for further use. Now he is building a house for his oldest son with his own money. He said, "The employment in the Indian army

not only supported our living but also increased our land resources as well as our prestige in society.”

The life narrative of Dal Bahadur exemplifies the profound influence of overseas employment, particularly his tenure in the Indian army. In contrast to the usual pattern of limited land ownership and hard physical labour, Dal Bahadur broke away from it. His family history is linked to bonded labour. By virtue of his military service, he was able to generate a considerable income, settle outstanding obligations, and tactically engage in property acquisition, procuring irrigated and grassland areas from the local Mukhiya. Dal Bahadur’s endeavors went beyond basic subsistence as he augmented his holdings through the acquisition of additional land, resulting in a cumulative total of 40 ropani. The accumulation of resources enabled him to adequately fulfill the nutritional requirements of his family, which consisted of ten individuals. Furthermore, he employed his pension funds to cover domestic expenditures, engage in traditional customs and observances, and hire workers. The individual’s financial stability played a crucial role in facilitating several key life events, such as the weddings of two daughters and three sons. Additionally, this financial stability empowered the individual to provide financial support to both family and friends. The success story of Dal Bahadur highlights the multifaceted impact of foreign work, which not only provides a means of livelihood but also contributes to the enhancement of social status and economic resources within the community.

### **3.4 Change in Labour Organization**

The following types of work systems were common until the 1970s: Bethi (unpaid work done for lords and Panchyati leaders), Parma/Hudda/Mela (mutual labour exchange), Hali (work based on contracts), familial labour, and wage labour. The attached and free labour system has experienced a collapse, while other labour groups have continued to exist, albeit with noticeable changes in their characteristics.

### **3.5 Collapse of Attached and Corvée Labour**

The labour systems of attached work, free labour, and contractual labour persisted until the 1980s, albeit in a diminished state. According to the person, during that time period, certain households were providing services like Kamara/Kamari, Susare,

Vanse, Haruwa, and Charuwa to the former Malla king of Galkot state and other important landowners and Panchyati leaders in the area.

The Bethi system persisted until the 1980s, during which people were compelled to provide unpaid labour for Panchyati leaders or landlords. Nevertheless, this technique is no longer being implemented. Based on the observations made by KC and Sharma, it may be inferred that the demise of these labour systems had already commenced during the 1980s. The phenomenon of disintegration experienced a notable acceleration during the 1970s and reached its pinnacle in the 1990s. As a result, the conventional labour system experienced a decline during the 1990s, resulting in the liberation of households that were formerly tied to their landlords and the acquisition of land resources. Concurrently, the peasants discontinued offering their labour without payment. The respondents identified the political movement that occurred in Nepal in 1990 as a significant turning point that signaled the deterioration of labour connections or structures within the village. During the interviews, participants recounted their encounters with the free labour system, although none of them reported any associated work relationships during that particular period.

### **3.6 Transitioning from Conventional Contractual Labour Relationships**

The conventional structure of contractual labour arrangements, which played a crucial role in the upbringing of previous generations, entailed a mutual agreement between affluent landowners and households possessing limited or no land. One of the respondents, Bel Bahadur Kala, emphasized the historical backdrop in which landowners, who needed labour to oversee extensive land holdings, engaged in arrangements with households that sought year-round employment for their subsistence. The influence of social norms played a significant role in the widespread adoption of contractual labour arrangements. In his exposition, Krishnahari Upadhyaya explained how societal norms affect people's behaviour. He specifically talked about the common belief that Brahmins were not allowed to work in agriculture. This prevailing idea exerted significant pressure on individuals, regardless of their limited means, to resort to contractual labour as a means of subsistence. According to these agreements, workers made a commitment to engage in year-long labour in return for the provision

of food grains. Ganga Bahadur Pun highlighted the absence of predetermined land size or crop quantity as a basis for pay, as well as the absence of clearly defined working hours, which grants landowners discretionary power in determining salaries. According to Ganga Bahadur Pun's comment, there was frequently an unequal distribution of power, which limited the leverage of labourers.

I had to work for the whole year. When the lords called me for work, I had to attend. Sometimes, they used to call other family members for work, but there were no fixed wages. As a contractual labourer, I could not reject them. The wage tended to be determined on the basis of the property of the lords, but there was no exact value or price of work. Sometimes, the amount of wage used to be varied according to the nature of the lords. If the lords became sympathetic, I used to get a considerable amount of food grain.

The conventional mode of contractual labour is no longer observed inside the community. Among the sample of 30 families that were examined, it was seen that merely 6 households, constituting 20 percent of the total, had encountered contractual labour arrangements up until the previous decade. Moreover, subsequent interviews revealed that none of the households were presently involved in such labour partnerships. Respondents attribute the change to a variety of societal problems, with young people's reluctance to engage in traditional agricultural practices being a key factor. Krishna Bahadur Pun found an interesting pattern: younger people tend to prefer non-agricultural jobs overseas or in cities, which means that their main sources of income change. Consequently, households have become less reliant on feudal lords for their sustenance, and landowners, having relinquished their authority over substantial land holdings, no longer necessitate continuous work throughout the year. The findings of the survey reveal that a mere 5 houses, accounting for 16.67 percent of the total sample size of 30 households, currently possess land holdings ranging from 25 to 40 Ropanis. This stands in stark contrast to historical records, which suggest that certain households used to possess land holdings as extensive as 120 to 350 Ropanis. The reduction in land holdings results in the elimination of the necessity for contractual labour during the entirety of the year. The traditional form of contractual labour agreements in the village has been essentially terminated due to the rising trend of youngsters

transitioning to off-farm employment, with the issue of land fragmentation. Furthermore, the presence of daily wage labour and the emergence of novel contractual labour arrangements have played a significant role in the decline of the conventional system.

**Table-2 : Wage difference for different tasks in 1980s and in 2010**

Description of work	Wages (Crops in Pathi) and Cash (in NRS) in 1980s				Wage in 2010	
	Male		Female		Male	Female
	Crop	Cash	Crop	Cash	Cash	Cash
Manual work	1	5	0.5	2.50	250	100
Ploughing with oxen	2	10	—	—	650	—
Ploughing without oxen	1	5	—	—	350	—
Basket weaving	1	5	—	—	300	—
Mason	1.5	7	—	—	300	—
Wood Cutting	2.5	12.50	—	—	400	—
Carpentry	3	15	—	—	500	—

**Source :** Field Survey, 2011.

This table depicts the evolution of daily wage labour during the preceding three decades. During the 1980s, the prevailing practice was to remunerate workers primarily through the provision of agricultural produce, with monetary compensation being a rarity. As an illustration, individuals engaged in manual labour were compensated with varying amounts. A manual labourer was remunerated with 1 Pathi, equivalent to NRS 5. Similarly, a ploughman without oxen received 1 pathi, while a plowman with oxen received 2 pathi. A basket maker was compensated with 1 pathi, while a mason received 1.5 pathi. A carpenter's daily wage amounted to 3 Pathi, and a woodcutter received 2.5 Pathi for their job. In comparison, the prevailing rates stand at NRS 250 for an individual engaged in manual labour, NRS 300 for a skilled worker in masonry and plowing without the assistance of oxen, NRS 650 for a plowman utilizing oxen, NRS 350 for a professional basket maker,

NRS 400 for a woodcutter, and NRS 500 for a carpenter. Labourers are being given breakfast and lunch, although there has been a notable transition in the food offerings. Previously, homemade staples like bread, maize, and locally brewed millet alcohol were provided, but these have now been replaced with fast food options such as noodles and alcohol.

The respondents attribute the changes in daily wage work to the increased migration of young people for the purposes of education, training, business, and employment in urban areas and foreign countries. According to a distinguished participant named Man Singh Bhandari, migrant families were instrumental in introducing cash compensation for labour within the hamlet. The practice of remunerating workers in currency rather than in agricultural produce can be traced back to migrant labourers who earned wages while working in foreign countries. Over time, this practice exerted an influence on non-migrant households, leading them to also embrace the use of cash compensation for remunerative work. The emigration of the most industrious segment of the population has resulted in a deficiency of labour, hence augmenting the need for labour and its associated expenses within the community.

Labour migration has not only created a labour gap, but it has also made it easier for migrant households to become major employers because they own more land and make more money from working abroad. Man Singh Bhandari claims that this situation has had an impact on the demand for and cost of labour in the hamlet. The respondents have also observed that labour migration has had a significant impact on the bargaining power of labourers in deciding their salaries. Unlike in the past, when landowners set wages because there were so many unemployed young people, workers today have more power when it comes to negotiating wages. Individuals demonstrate a willingness to incur elevated labour expenses in order to ensure the prompt completion of tasks during periods of high demand.

Furthermore, the transition towards daily wage labour has emancipated previous contractual labourers from the discriminatory measures enforced by landlords. Dil Bahadur Khatri, a previous individual engaged in temporary labour, emphasized the demanding nature of the activities they were required to undertake within the previous framework while also acknowledging that the

remuneration received was inadequate for maintaining their means of subsistence. The termination of contractual labour relations confers advantages not only upon labourers but also upon small landowners and Brahmins with little land, as they are relieved of the responsibility of sustaining a contractual labourer for the duration of a whole year.

### **3.7 Emergence of New Forms of Contractual Labour**

The emergence of novel forms of contractual labour has become a significant phenomenon in contemporary society. The findings from interviews indicate that individuals are progressively turning to contract-based incentive labour. Although daily wage work continues to be widespread, Paul Khatri noted that the practice of hiring individuals may not be suitable in all circumstances. According to him, "hiring daily wage labour might be stressful for households lacking manpower to serve the worker for breakfast and lunch." In addition to Khatri, Kamala Rana said that she could not rest her mind while hiring wage labour. She further said that she has to be with him/her/them to make sure that the hiring labourer(s) is doing the work all right. But, as she had small children, neither she could go to the field nor be sure that everything was right in the field. In this context, both of them are using contractual labour in practice. If a labourer makes a mistake in the quality of the work, she is not required to pay the price of the labour-performed work. That is why they preferred to use contractual labour with the remittances earned abroad.

According to the respondents, the conventional yearly contractual labour arrangement exhibited a lack of predetermined work hours and tangible outcomes. In contrast, modern contractual agreements entail the determination of prices that are contingent upon the characteristics and projected labour demands of the undertaking. Instead of the traditional practice of signing contracts with feudal lords that lasted a whole year, modern work arrangements are more focused on specific lengths of employment, ranging from hourly to monthly contracts. This transition enables proprietors to circumvent the onus of year-long obligations by instead choosing fixed-price agreements. The respondents perceive this progress as a means of freeing owners from protracted commitments.

The shift from conventional to modern contractual labour arrangements is noteworthy, particularly within migrant households



that encounter a labour shortage. In households where male members are not present, contractual labour is employed to fill the gaps in the labour force for various jobs, including building, land leveling, wood cutting, and basket production. This strategy allows these households to make use of their existing financial resources. One of the former landowners and leaders, Chinta Bahadur Bhandari, compared his position in the past and at present :

In the past, Dalits and poor people used to come by asking for work, even for survival. Some of them used to come to borrow the Chhaupanje and return it with interest and labour for a whole day. Sometimes, they used to work free of charge, and we used to give them crops in return. To employ people as hali or wage labourers used to be a matter of pride and respect. The labourers used to respect us. They used to have food grains as wages. The wage used to be cheap. But now everything has changed. All the people tend to go abroad. They earn money and settle down in urban areas. They do not eat local products in the village. They buy rice to eat. They do not like to work hard in the village. Working a daily wage in the field is rare nowadays. Some workers are working in the village. But it is difficult to hire them because we have to treat them like sons-in-law. Neither it is affordable nor available in time. Therefore, we have to do the work ourselves. I am of old age, and I do everything in the field.

More and more people moving around has made things harder for older and female people in the village. The most productive workers are making money abroad, while the elderly are forced to work and need extra care. For women, this situation has made things more difficult. To deal with the lack of workers in both the village and the households, a plan is emerging that involves mortgages or free land distribution. We will talk more about this topic in the next part.

In short, the increase in job possibilities and lack of workers have made the demand for labour and wages higher, which is good for working conditions in the village. People who used to work on a contract basis and own land are now working for wages, which has changed the yearly contract work relationships in the village. Labour migration has changed the way upper-class landlords and foreign investors depend on contract workers. It has also changed the way people live, from farming in the village to working in factories in

another country. Labour migration has changed the lives of some families, moving lower-class migrant families into the middle class and middle-class families into the higher class. Even homes from the working class have moved up to a better class. Notably, people who used to own land and be in political power have to work because there aren't enough workers because more people are moving away. Balkrishna Bhandari's life story helps us to better understand the effects of the movement on labor relations in the village :

The Bhandari family has two sons. One works in the Indian army, and the other in Japan. They used to trade work in the past, following the rules of the mutual labour exchange. When they were planting and harvesting, family and friends would help for free. Before his kids joined the Indian army, he worked as a plowman on other people's land and got paid in grain. People who worked as plowmen before Bhandari were paid one "PATHI" (almost four KG) of grain per day. Besides that, he has worked as a plowman and has been paid one "PATHI" grain. People who were migrants used to get food grains as payment, but some families started giving cash instead. In this case, he said, "When non-migrant households paid us in food grains, we were interested in working for the British and Indian armies because they paid us in cash and brought us clothes and rum from abroad." There was a little more respect between us and the Lahure families than between other families because they needed workers more than anyone else and had worked on other people's lives. During this time, three of his sons were called up to serve in the Indian army, but he didn't stop hauling crops. But when their younger son moved to Japan, they told him not to work on other people's land because it would hurt their reputation. He didn't agree with his son and kept working, but when his two daughters-in-law and their husbands went to India, he sold an ox, shared it with someone else, and stopped working on other people's land. When his younger daughter-in-law moved to Kathmandu to send her kids to school, he sold another ox. The couple from Bhandari are now at home. For the time being, they can't work, so they have mortgaged most of the land. They are farming some land by hiring wage labour with money that his kids send from abroad. The land that his kids bought in Chitwan is now home to their families.

### 3-8 The End of Sharecropping

Adhiya, or “sharecropping”, was a common way for people in the village to own some land in their younger years. This is what the present elderly generation did. Older responders remember that some families owned a lot of land that they couldn’t take care of with just their family’s work. Others, who had smaller plots of land, had a hard time making ends meet. In these situations, landlords and peasants agreed to work together on farms, which is known as sharecropping. Dil Bahadur Khatri said that sharecropping was good for the lords because it gave them a 50/50 share without them having to work directly on the crops. It also dealt with worries about taking care of the land and keeping its fertility. For sharecroppers, working as a farmer wasn’t about weighing the pros and cons; it was a way to make ends meet when they didn’t have enough land or other ways to make money.

Respondents say that the drop in sharecropping in the village is due to big landowners’ land becoming more fragmented and small landowners becoming more interested in activities outside of farming. Nar Bahadur Khatri says that sharecropping was common when large landowners needed peasants to work their land and small peasants needed land to grow in order to make a living. But a big change in how land resources are shared and how people make a living has put an end to sharecropping in the village. Large landowners don’t have the money to make crop-sharing plans because they have sold or split up most of their land. At the same time, more and more young people from small farmer families are working off-farm to make money and improve their social standing. These big changes have made it possible for sharecropping to stop in the town. The following table shows how common sharecropping has been in the past and how common it is now:

**Table-3 : Patterns of Share Cropping**

Experience of Share Cropping	Number of households	%	Practicing now	Numbers of households	%
Having Land	8	26.67	Having	—	—
Giving Land	5	16.67	Giving	--	—
Having no experience	17	56.67	No practicing	30	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>			<b>30</b>	

**Source :** Field Survey, 2011.

The table shows that out of 30 families, 13 (43.24%) had done sharecropping before, but none of them do it now. Most of the families (17/667) had never been sharecroppers; 8 (26.67%) had been sharecroppers themselves; and 5 (16.67%) had given land to sharecroppers. The data makes it clear that sharecropping is becoming less common in the village.

Workers moving to other states to find work is what former sharecroppers say caused the practice to end. Since Dammer Nepali and Yam Pun's kids work abroad, they send money back to their families instead of sharecropping. After giving up sharecropping, Dil Bahadur Khatri said that he was making enough money from money sent back to his home country and from buying land with money earned abroad. Through remittances and foreign investments, he was able to move from struggling to make ends meet as a sharecropper to having a stable income.

A lot of people who answered also said that free land was a big reason why sharecropping stopped. What changes, though, is that people are becoming less interested in farming and more interested in things that don't involve farming. Because young people are leaving agriculture for jobs that aren't related to farming, there is a lack of workers. To avoid paying high wages for workers during planting and reaping, landowners offer their land for free. Surprisingly, households that don't move prefer wage work to free land because it gives them more freedom and better pay. This feeling is reflected in Bal Bahadur Sarki's words.

In the end, the decline of sharecropping in the village is due to changes in how people make a living, especially the movement of labour. The focus has moved from farming to jobs outside of farming, and this migration has also changed the relationship between landlords and tenants. Since sharecroppers no longer have to pay owners for land, they are no longer required to share half of the crops they grow with them. Even though they are no longer in sharecropping relationships, they now depend on money from other countries.

### **3.9 How Mortgage Needs are Changing**

Under the Bandhaki (mortgage) system, a renter gives the landowner a deposit of money and then owns the land until the deposit is returned. This system has changed over time. It is a popular way for village households to own some land. It used to

happen a lot, but things have changed a lot about how it works now. People who answered say that until about 20 years ago, both dry and wet lands were often mortgaged. However, dry land is not used in mortgages right now. According to Jhappat Bahadur Kunwar, irrigated land is still the best choice for mortgages because it is easier to farm and gives better results. Dry land use in mortgages, on the other hand, has stopped because it requires a lot of work and doesn't pay well.

According to Indra Prasad Sharma, the past use of mortgages on dry land was caused by a lack of households that owned land and a high demand from people who needed mortgage land to grow food. But in the last twenty years, the village economy has changed from farming to money sent back to the village. Since most families now get their money from remittances, mortgage systems are becoming less common. The mortgage patterns among studied households that were studied before and after migration are shown in the table below.

**Table-4 : Changing Patterns of Mortgaged Land**

Mortgage before migration	Number of households	Percentage	Practice of mortgage now	Numbers of households	Percentage
Having Land	8	26.67	Having	2	6.67
Giving Land	2	6.67	Giving	5	16.67
No experience	20	66.67	No practicing	23	76.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>			<b>30</b>	

**Source :** Field Study, 2011.

The data show that mortgages are becoming less common among migrant families over time. Out of 30 families, only 7 (23.34%) are in mortgage relationships right now, compared to 10 (33.34%) before the migration. Notably, migrant families are giving up mortgage practices after moving. At the moment, only 2 households (6.67%) mortgage other people's land. Before migration, 8 households (26.67%) did this. Also, 5 households (16.67%) have mortgages on their land, compared to 2 households (6.67%) before migration. The fact that fewer migrant families have mortgages and more of them own land shows that people in the village are switching

from having mortgages to owning land. There don't seem to be as many families with mortgaged land as there are with mortgaged land. Respondents say this change is due to a lack of workers and the money that migrant families get from living abroad, which makes them less dependent on farming. As a result, migrant families are slowly giving up using other people's land and choosing to mortgage their own.

Mortgage lenders say that only watered lands are mortgaged because they require less work, are easier to farm, and yield higher prices. Land is easier to get, either with debt or for free, because wealthy families are leaving their farms behind and moving to cities. Families that don't have enough workers are happy to let their land be farmed, but families that do have enough workers are hesitant because they won't get enough money back. People also don't harvest on other people's land, even if it's free, because the cost of work is so high. Even though there are problems, people have to mortgage or give away their land because they can't find workers at the right time during planting and reaping seasons and the work isn't very good. To sum up, migrant families often use mortgages to get around the high costs of finding work when there aren't enough workers.

The labour movement also helps people who used to have mortgages because it gives them another way to make money to live on. Migrant families that had mortgages before they moved no longer have to worry about how to make ends meet. More people are moving to cities, and fewer people are interested in living in the country. This leaves a labour shortage in the village, which leads poor families to sell land for little or no money. Hari Maya Khatri says that the mortgage has more power when negotiating the amount of money placed and the terms of the mortgaged land because there aren't enough workers in the village.

#### **4. Summary and Conclusion**

The objective of this study was to examine the changing class dynamics within migrant households that arise from adjustments in means of subsistence as a consequence of international labour migration. The study was carried out in the Narethanti village located in the Baglung district of western Nepal. It utilized various research methods, including in-depth interviews, household surveys, and key informant interviews, to acquire a comprehensive picture of the experiences of migrant workers and their families. The

study involved the active participation of 45 respondents from 30 households, each possessing unique characteristics. Its aim was to collect qualitative and quantitative data pertaining to the evolving patterns of land ownership and labour connections that arise as a consequence of foreign labour migration. Based on an extensive fieldwork, a number of significant results were derived, which are presented as follows:

The phenomenon of international labour migration has become a prominent means and strategies for households to diversify their livelihood, wherein decisions of foreign migration are frequently motivated by an aspiration to alter the socio-economic conditions of the village through the financial gains obtained from working abroad. The present study examines the impact of labour migration on class dynamics within a rural community located in the western region of Nepal. The findings shed light on the intricate interactions between economic, social, and political changes that result from this phenomenon.

Upon analyzing the life histories of migrant households, a noticeable change in the dynamics of land ownership becomes apparent. In addition to enabling the acquisition of consumer items and debt repayment, remittances play a substantial role in effecting a notable shift in property ownership, shifting it from previous landowners to migrant households. As a result, the class status of migrant households is elevated, leading to a proportional reduction in the class position of non-migrant households within the societal structure. The act of redistributing land initiates a series of interconnected transformations in labour organizations, land use systems, political power structures, and credit connections inside the community.

The phenomenon of labour migration has the potential to cause significant disruptions to conventional contractual and wage labour connections, as well as sharecropping agreements involving affluent households. The decline of sharecropping and traditional forms of contractual labour in the village can be attributed to two main factors: the fragmentation of landownership and the growing preference among the youth for off-farm employment. Novel contractual labour arrangements have arisen, enabling workers and landowners to engage in price negotiations that are contingent upon the specific characteristics and projected labour demands of the task

at hand. This innovative approach provides a heightened level of flexibility in terms of the duration of the engagement.

The social implications of migration become apparent when migrant households acquire and exercise power over high-quality land, political institutions, debts, and bank deposits, therefore threatening the established dominance of landowners and political elites. The acquisition of economic and political power by migrant households allows them to rise in the social hierarchy, leading to the displacement of previous landowners in terms of their influence and status.

Labour migration has a profound impact on agrarian populations at a worldwide level, as it leads to the formation of a global working class. This phenomenon involves individuals from diverse social groups in rural areas seeking employment opportunities abroad. This transition corresponds with Marx's theoretical framework of international labour solidarity in response to exploitative conditions, notwithstanding the ongoing challenge of achieving organizational cohesion. The phenomenon of global labour migration has the potential to undermine national boundaries, hence posing a possible challenge to the established capitalist framework.

The influence of remittances on the agrarian class structure is notable, since migrant households apply foreign money to augment land ownership and engage hired labour, so modifying the conventional land use patterns. Migrant households, who have now become landowners, endeavor to elevate their social status by reducing their own physical labour and instead depending on hired assistance, which stands in contrast to the traditional practice of relying on contractual labour by established landlords.

This study highlights the complex interplay between labour migration, remittances, and the establishment of a working class and class stratification. The arrival of foreign earnings expedites the process of class development in rural villages, as migrant households ascend to higher positions within the social hierarchy. Nevertheless, it also underscores the increasing reliance on remittances for the enhancement of economic, social, and political welfare.

In conclusion, this study argues that labour migration is not the exclusive catalyst for social transformation, but rather an essential component among other contributing factors. The research under-



scores the intricate ramifications of remittance economies, fostering a societal inclination towards migration and reliance on income from abroad. The intricate interplay between the evolving dynamics of class connections and the creation of a working class can be attributed to the pervasive influence of global capitalism. Labour migration has economic prospects, although it also presents challenges to established social structures and the principle of reciprocity within the village under investigation.

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## Factors affecting Gross Saving in Nepal

*Bashu Dev Dhungel\** and *Pitambar  
Lamichhane\*\**

*Gross saving is the engine of capital formation which leads to rise the investment to rise the public welfare by rising income employment of the country. Therefore, the major aim of this study is to examine the major macroeconomic determinants of gross saving within the country by employing Engel-Granger cointegration test and Error Correction Model using the time series data of 1994/95 to 2020/21. Engel-Granger test has identified the gross domestic product is positive and consumer price index is negative major determinants of saving in short-run as well as in long-run but remittance and interest rate are positive and significant determinants only in long-run. Furthermore, the coefficient of Error Correction Term is 0.89% implies that 89% of adjustments toward equilibrium have been confirmed, providing evidence of a stable long term causal relationship*

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*between the variables. Therefore, government should undertake the action to rise the GDP and reduce the general price level within Nepal.*

[**Keywords** : Gross domestic product, Remittance, Lending rate of interest, Gross consumption, Consumer price index]

## **1. Introduction**

The gross saving within the country holds paramount significant in Nepal due to its far-reaching economic and social effects. From an economic standpoint, the issue of country's gross saving rate has very low however, saving has direct impact on various aspects of the economy, i.e., at the field of gross consumption, gross capital formation, various balance of payment account (current, capital, financial), interest rate and economic growth of the country. Furthermore, saving is also rising the living standard of the people in current situation as well as after retirement life during the old age situation. However, Nepal has unable to maintain the required level of saving or it is a challenging goal to achieve. Most of the Nepalese marginalize group of the people relies on government assistance through safety net, direct cash assistance and other assistance that rises the financial burden for government as well future generation. Therefore, gross national saving is an important macroeconomic issue and social factor which effects gross investment, individual living standard, national productivity and production of output, and it might be sufficient saving for future needs during a period of old age life (Chaudhry et al., 2010).

Gross saving with in country is one of the major sources of financing and it is an essential source of capital supply within the country. Rise in supply of capital due to rise in gross saving within the country leads to decrease in market rate of interest which is the major determinants of demand for capital to invest in productive sectors. In this situation, the issue of determinant of saving is very prominent for developing countries like Nepal. Life cycle hypothesis (1957) revealed that permanent income and transitory income are the major determinant of saving. Permanent income is a regular income which is received by people regularly whereas transitory income is the difference between actual and permanent income. Furthermore, Ando and Modigliani (1963) developed the life cycle hypothesis and stated that people maintain the consumption at constant rate whereas earn the maximum income during young age which save for retirement life over the consumption. The consumption pattern of

the people is stable for each group; therefore, people save more for retirement in the young age. Furthermore, saving also helps to raise the long run real growth of the country (Cardenas & Escobar, 1998; Krieckhaus, 2002; Matthias et al., 2015). Therefore, it is necessary to identify the major determinants of saving in Nepal.

## **2. Literature Review**

Various scholars (Baharumshah & Thanoon, 2007; Chaturvedi, et al., 2008; Dash & Sahoo, 2013; Lee & Kwack, 2004; Loayza, et al., 2000; Wood, 1995) examined the main determinants of gross saving and these studies had found the real interest rate, GDP, per capita income, inflation rate and dependency ration etc. are the major factors which effect on gross saving.

Ozcan et al. (2003) analyzed the determinants of private saving in Turkey by covering the period of 1968-1994. Time series data were analyzed through ordinary least squares method by including gross saving as a dependent variable and broad money supply, interest rate, credit to private sector, inflation rate and national income were used as explanatory variables. This study had developed five models to examine the major determinants of saving in Turkey. The regression model found that income level has positive impact on gross saving whereas growth rate of income does not significant effect on gross saving. Furthermore, interest rate and financial depth (broad money supply, credit towards private sector) had positive and statistically significant effect on gross saving. Inflation rate crates the volatility in the country however, it has positive impact on saving. Moreover, this study found the negative impact of life expectancy rate has supported the life cycle hypothesis of consumption function.

Chaudhry et al. (2010) investigated the determinants of gross saving in Pakistan by employing the macroeconomic variables and time series data of 1972 to 2008. Unit root test, Granger cointegration test, Johansen cointegration and vector error correction test were used to examine the short run and long run determination of gross saving. Export, remittance, consumer price index, public expenditure, public loans, and rate of interest were the macroeconomic variables used in this study. This study found that export, consumer price index, public expenditure, remittance and interest rate were positive and significant determinants of gross saving in Pakistan whereas, the coefficient of public loan was negative and its effect was

significant on domestic saving of the country. Error correction model also confirmed the convergence of saving model towards equilibrium hence, saving had played the important role to stabilize the Pakistani economy.

Blanc et al. (2014) examined the household saving behaviour and motivates for saving in 15 Euro countries by employing cross section data of 2010-2011. This study found that 11% of young, female and divorced people had spent above of their income on consumption expenditure. However, most of the people were made the saving for precautionary motive as well as for old age provision in all countries. The main determinants of household saving were the characteristics of household, structure of tax rate, social security prevails in the country, and welfare system. Household characteristics and institutional macroeconomic variables were found to be more homogenous variables that make the significant effects on household saving.

Suppakitjarak and Krishnamra (2015) investigated the factors affecting to household saving behaviour, firms saving, determinants of firms saving and investment decision in Thailand by employing risk return concept. The descriptive method was used by collecting the data from 844 respondents whose age was above 20 years and their income above 20,000 Baht. This study found that the average saving rate was 29.17% of their income for future retirement spending. Furthermore, saving rate of the peoples was determined by insurance policy, interest rate, price of bond, and mutual fund.

Azimova and Mollaahmetoglu (2017) analyzed the impact of financial services on saving of 20 high income countries of panel data by covering the period of 2005-2014. Hausman test was used to check the either fixed effects or random effects models were used to examine the effects of financial development on saving. The panel data analysis confirmed that there was positive and significant impact of financial innovation on gross saving of these countries, however, net interest margin and banking crisis made the negative impact on gross saving. This paper concluded that higher financial innovation and diversification led to rise saving.

Khan et al. (2017) examined the factors affecting the gross saving in different countries (Pakistan, China, Singapore, Japan Turkey and Russia) by using panel data of 1995-2016. Descriptive statistics, correlation analysis and fixed effect model were employed. Dependency rate of aged people, broad money supply, per capita

income, and gross domestic product made the positive and significant impact on gross domestic saving whereas foreign direct investment and inflation rate made the negative and significant effects on gross saving.

Ismail et al. (2018) investigated saving behaviour of Malaysian employees by taking the 150 respondents. This study had collected the primary data from Malaysian employee to identify the major determinants of saving. The purposive sampling procedure was used to collect the data and the data were analyzed through descriptive as well as regression method and the regression result found that service quality, knowledge and religious belief were the major factors which affects saving behaviour of the people.

Rapian and Ahmad (2019) reviewed the various articles to examine the determination of saving behaviour. The various articles were abstracted from online of Emerald and google search. Based on the previous scholar's research work reviewed, this study found that knowledge, income, social environment, financial innovation, religious belief, and service quality were the major factors that influence the gross saving of the country.

Yigezu (2022) analyzed the factors which have short run and long run effects on gross domestic saving in Ethiopia using the data of 1985-2020. The main objective of this study was to investigate the macroeconomic factors which effect on gross domestic saving. Johansen cointegration test and victor error correction model were used. This study found that interest rate, GDP, development assistance and inflation rate were the main determinants of gross domestic saving in Ethiopia.

### **3. Data and Method**

In this study, to examine the determinants of gross saving in Nepal, data were gathered from Nepal Data of Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB). The time series data from 1994/95 to 2020/21 have collected to examine the causal relationship between dependent variable, gross domestic saving (GDS) and explanatory variables gross domestic product (GDP), consumer price index (CPI), remittance (RMT) and lending interest rate (Lr). Engle and Granger (1987) cointegration (single equation) model has been used to examine the major determinants of GDS. On the basis of previous studies of various scholars (Chaudhry et al., 2010; Ismail et al., 2018; Khan et al., 2017; Wood, 1995); GDS is a function of GDP, CPI, RMT, and Lr.

Therefore, gross domestic saving is the function of GDP, CPI, RMT, and RT. This function is presented in equation (1) below :

$$\text{Saving} = f(\text{GDP, CPI, RMT, RT}) \quad (1)$$

Equation (1) has converted into log linear econometric model to avoid the problem of misspecification single equation model and it has made the more convenient to interpret the results (Box & Cox, 1964; Sargan, 1964). In addition, the log linear model has offered to address issues like heteroscedasticity and multicollinearity, as suggested by (Goldstein & Khan, 1976; Gafar, 1988). Therefore, equation (1) has converted into log linear model as follows:

$$\text{LnGDS} = \beta_1(\text{LnGDP}) + \beta_2(\text{LnCPI}) + \beta_3(\text{LnRMT}) + \beta_4(\text{LnLr}) + \mu \quad (2)$$

Where,  $\mu$  is disturbance term, and Ln refers to log value of variables used in the model. Equation (2) has analyzed through cointegration analysis and error correction model. To perform the cointegration analysis, unit root (Augmented Dickey Fuller [ADF] and Philips Peron [PP]) tests have been employed in the first stage. If all the variables are stationary at the first difference I(1) then the Engle and Granger (1987) cointegration test has employed, which estimating the cointegration regression by employed ordinary least squares (OLS) method. this has involved obtaining the residual series, denoted as  $\mu^t$  and testing for unit root of  $\mu^t$ . To conform the presence of cointegration among the variables, this study has conducted ADF test of residual term  $\mu^t$  and has compared the result with the critical value established by Mackinnon (1991). If the value is found to be cointegrated, it is essential to employ an Error Correction Model (ECM) to uncover both short run dynamics and long run equilibrium. The ECM model can be presented as equation (3).

$$\text{LnGDS}_t = \beta_1 \Delta \text{LnGDP}_{t-1} + \beta_2 \Delta \text{LnCPI}_{t-1} + \beta_3 \Delta \text{LnRMT}_{t-1} + \beta_4 \Delta \text{LnLr}_{t-1} + \text{ECT}_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (3)$$

$\Delta$  represents the first difference,  $\text{ECT}_{t-1}$  indicates Error Correction term,  $\beta_5$  is coefficient of ECT ( $-1 < \beta_5 < 0$ ) and  $\mu_t$  represents purified random term.

#### 4. Data Analysis and Discussion

The aim of this paper has been examined the major factors which influence the gross domestic saving of Nepal by employing the Engle Granger cointegration technique whereas GDS as dependent variable and GDP, RMT, CPI and Lr are the explanatory variables. The nature of these variables has shown by descriptive statistics in Table-1:

Table-1 : Descriptive Statistics of the Variable

variables	Mean	Median	Max	Min	SD	JB	N
LnCPI	4.07	3.97	4.92	3.21	0.54	2.05	27
LnGDP	13.78	13.61	15.28	12.29	0.96	2.13	27
LnRMT	11.30	11.84	13.64	7.88	2.01	2.83	27
LnGDS	11.53	11.29	13.28	10.38	0.86	2.11	27
LnLr	2.29	2.24	2.80	1.91	0.25	2.20	27

**Note :** Descriptive statistics are estimated based on data abstracted from Nepal Data of NRB (2023).

The above table depicts the descriptive statistics of the variables used in model whereas mean values of LnCPI is 4.07 with maximum 4.92 and minimum 3.21. Similarly, the mean value of LnGDP, LnRMT, LnGDS and LnLr is 13.78, 11.30, 11.53 and 2.29 with standard deviation of 0.96, 2.01, 0.86 and 0.25 respectively. Furthermore, median and mean values of all variables are nearest, standard deviation is very small and there is no big gap between maximum and minimum value of all variables used in the model. Therefore, the data used in the analysis is appropriate to further analysis.

For the purpose of further analysis, it is necessary to check the data, either data are stationary or not to check the order of the variables. If the variables remained stationary at the same level, Engel-Granger cointegration test is deemed suitable. As a result, the examination moved forward with conducted unit root test, especially employing the ADF and PP tests for every variable considered in the study.

Table-2 : ADF &amp; PP Unit Root Test of Log Levels of Variables at Level

Variables in Test Statistic Level	ADF		PP	
	Test statistic	Critical value at 5%	Test statistic	Critical value at 5%
LnGDP	0.01	-2.98	-0.03	-2.98
LnCPI	-0.34	-2.98	-0.28	-2.98
LnRMT	-1.59	-2.98	-1.59	-2.98
LnLr	-2.92	-2.98	-2.01	-2.98
LnGDS	0.51	-2.98	-0.90	-2.98

**Note :** Descriptive statistics are estimated based on data abstracted from Nepal Data of NRB (2023).



Table-2 shows that all variables included in the model are not stationary at the level. Hence, ADF and PP tests suggest to check either the variables are stationary at first difference or not. Table-3 shows the unit root test of all variables included in the model at first difference.

**Table-3 : ADF & PP Unit Root Test of Log Levels of Variables at Level**

Variables in Test Statistic Level	ADF		PP	
	Test statistic	Critical value at 5%	Test statistic	Critical value at 5%
LnGDP	-4.12	-2.98	-4.17	-2.98
LnCPI	-3.64	-2.98	-3.64	-2.98
LnRMT	-4.18	-2.98	-4.17	-2.18
LnLr	-2.99	-2.98	-3.37	-2.98
LnGDS	-5.88	-2.98	-12.95	-2.98

**Note :** Descriptive statistics are estimated based on data abstracted from Nepal Data of NRB (2023).

The above table confirms that all variables are stationary at first difference and they follow the same order I(1). Therefore, this study has employed Engle-Granger cointegration test to check either the variables are cointegrated or not and to check the long run and short run association of variables. Engle-Granger long run equation is presented as follows:

### Model 1

*Estimated Long run Coefficients, Dependent Variable is LnGDS*  

$$\text{LnGDS} = -19.94 + 3.77\text{LnGDP} - 4.53\text{LnCPI} + 0.18\text{LnRMT} + 0.24\text{LnLr}$$
 t (-2.51) (3.17) (-2.26) (2.08) (2.88)  
 $R^2 = 0.91, F = 78.27, DW = 1.64, N = 27$

Model 1 shows that all long run coefficients (LnGDP, LnCPI, LnRMT, LnLr) are significant which is confirmed by corresponding t-statistics of respective variables include in the model and possess the appropriate sign. Therefore, gross domestic product, remittance, and interest rate make positive effects on gross saving whereas consumer price index make the negative impact on gross saving of the country. This result GDP, CPI, RMT and Lr are the major macro-economic determinants of gross saving is consistent with the result of Chaudhry et al. (2010), Loayza, et al. (2000), Wood, (1995), and Yigezu (2022).

The coefficient of determination  $R^2$  (0.91) implies that 91% gross domestic saving within Nepal is determined by country GDP, CPI, RMT and Lr. The f-statistics 78.27 confirmed that the model is good fit.

In order to determine whether the estimated long run significant variables have cointegration relation or not, their status have verified through a series of errors estimated from Model 1, the result is depicted in Table-4, which displays the ADF t-statistics for the residual series of Model 1.

**Table-4 : Augmented Dickey- Fuller Test of Residual Series of Model I at Level**

		t-Statistic	Prob.*
Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic		-5.182459	0.0003
Test critical values:	1% level	3.596616	
	5% level	-2.933158	
	10% level	-2.604867	

\*MacKinnon (1996) one -sided p-values.

The above table shows that the ADF t-statistics for the residual series of Model 1 is -5.18 comparing this value with the critical value of ADF statistics for 27 observations with 5 parameters at the 5% significance level is -4.7, it is evident that the calculated ADF tstatistics exceed the critical value of ADF statistics. This result confirms that Model 1 is a cointegration equation, indicating a long run association among the variables.

Consequently, this study proceeds to estimate the error correction model as follows:

### Model 2

*Estimated Error Correction Model, Dependent Variable is D(LnGDS)*

$$D(\text{LnGDS}) = -0.07 + 4.45D(\text{LnGDP}) - 5.64D(\text{LnCPI}) + 0.38D(\text{LnRMT}) + 0.27D(\text{LnLr}) - 0.89\text{Ect}(-1)$$

$$t \quad (-0.42) \quad (4.72) \quad (-2.60) \quad (1.66) \quad (0.45) \quad (-4.27)$$

$$R^2 = 0.65, F = 9.79, DW = 1.90, N = 27$$

Model 2 represents the Error Correction Model (ECM) whereas only two (GDP, CPI) variables are significant in short run and other variables (RMT, Lr) having the positive sign but statistically insignificant. In the Model 2, it is evident that the estimated coefficient of the error correction term (-0.89) is statistically significant and negative.

This suggests that the explanatory variables are adapting to correct the previous periods disequilibrium at a rate of 89%. In other words, the explanatory variables are adjusting at a speed of 89% annually to bring the system back into equilibrium. Therefore, there is valid long run relationship between GDS and explanatory variables included in the model and variables are cointegrated and have a stable relationship that helps to correct any deviation from equilibrium.

The ECM model shows the coefficient of determination  $R^2$  (0.65) indicating a substantial 65% of variation in Nepal's gross domestic saving could be accounted by the factors incorporated into the model. The f-statistics coefficient (9.79) has underscored the overall significance of the model. Furthermore, a thorough examination of the Model 2 for potential violations of ordinary least squares (OLS) assumptions, including the Breusch-Godfrey serial correlation LM test, Breusch-Godfrey heteroscedasticity test and normality test, coefficient inflation factor test yields the results indicating the absence of autocorrelation, heteroscedasticity, non-normality, and multicollinearity. Consequently, these findings affirm the logical reliability of the estimated results and their appropriateness for informing policy decisions.

## 5. Conclusion and Policy Implication

In the modern age saving is an engine of capital formation which is necessary to rise the investment for public welfare within the country. Therefore, this paper examines the major determinants of gross saving within the country. Engel-Granger cointegration test identify gross domestic product, remittance and interest rate are the positive determinants of gross saving whereas consumer price index is the negative determinants in the long run but in the short run GDP makes positive impact and CPI yields negative impact on gross saving, other variables (RMT, Lr) are not making significant impact on gross saving of the country. The result of this study has identified the major two variables (GDP, CPI) which are makes the significant impact on gross saving, therefore government should undertake the action to rise the GDP and reduce the general price level within Nepal.

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## **A Review of Circular Economy Concept : Findings, Challenges and Future Scope**

***Shailja Kanwar\****

*Balancing industrial development, economic growth, human health and environmental preservation are the current challenges faced today and in response to these efforts have been put on low-carbon development mechanisms and limited resource usage. To address such complex issues on a global scale the initiatives like circular Economy (CE) have come forward where its core idea is to recognize the value of resources in a closed-loop system. This process allows to reduce emissions, reduction in waste production and economic growth. This paper firstly examines the existing literature based on aims, methodology and analyzes the major findings and secondly, tries to identify the research gaps to pave the way for future advancement. The findings are of utmost importance for the organizations,*

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*stakeholders, and researchers who are keen on gaining information on CE and explore the potential opportunities in this field.*

[**Keywords** : Circular Economy, Enablers, Inhibitors, Manufacturing sector, Re-cycle, Re-use]

## 1. Introduction

The apportionment of scarce resources in relation to competing uses is something that continuously bothers economists. The environment can be defined as some surrounding that has an impact on development and growth. In any economy there are quintessentially three sectors : Agriculture, Industry and Services. These sectors have an interplay with the environment in three main ways:

- Using it as a source for natural resources,
- Getting amenity goods and
- Using it as waste sink.

Economists have always recognized and shown interest in the impact of economics activities on the natural surroundings such as considering natural resources usage and reducing waste accumulation. The important questions have been finding the institutional and economic reasons for environmental problems, valuing the degradation of the environment and to inculcating the economic incentives to greet the environmental issues. It was in 2015 that the Sustainable development goals (SDGs) came into being. Various approaches such as Industrial Ecology, Green economy, blue economy, Performance Economics, Biomimicry and Circular Economy have been developed to achieve these goals. All these are budding topics that promotes sustainability.

SDGs (6, 7, 8, 12 and 15) are the ones that cater to Circular Economy. It offers a tool chest for recycling e-waste, wastewater, household waste, contributing to sustainable development. The concept of circularity emphasizes keeping resources within a circular loop rather than following the linear “take-make-use-dispose” model of consumption, which has been in place since the Industrial Revolution. The increasing gap in the demand for bounded resources and its availability is highlighted by demand-supply globally. The origins of the circular economy can be traced back to a departure from the linear economic model that characterized past centuries. Emphasizing circularity and sustainability becomes crucial in managing resources and achieving sustainable economic development.

## **1.1 Concept of Circular Economy**

The first ever formal usage of the term circular economy was done by Pearce & Turner (1990) in an Economic Model. It works on the fact that output of one operation/process can be input of other. It's important to understand that circular economy as a whole i.e., both in production and consumption needs a paradigm. The enthusiasts of circular economy claim it to be a new paradigm for the industry as it is aimed towards bettering the economic, ecological and social value of the environment. The need for circularity can be attributed to the following reasons : The expected increase in world population in the next 50 years and economic growth has raised serious concerns about the capacity of natural ecosystem (Herrmann, 2012). The energy requirement by industrial sector accounts for half of the world's total energy demand (Kant & Sangwan, 2014). It is expected that by 2030 the energy requirement will increase by 40% from 175 quadrillion British thermal unit (BTU) in 2006 to 246 quadrillion BTU (2020), out of which 85% is still generated by non-renewable energy sources like coal, petroleum, and natural gas (Fang et al., 2011). It's not just recycling that is crucial in circularity but also a restorative industrial process is required that will eventually see waste as an input for new things. Circularity concept is not just about recycling, it is basically a system which is restorative in the industrial processes which treats the waste as a resource. It implies that once a in the product life cycle the product's life ends, attempts should be made to utilize them by creating a value of it (Ellen Mc Arthur, 2015).

## **1.2 Definitions of Circular Economy**

- Production and consumption of goods through closed loop material flows that internalize environmental externalities linked to virgin resource extraction and generation of waste (including pollution) (Suave et al., 2015).
- The core of the circular economy refers to three activities: reuse at the product level (such as repair or refurbishment); reuse at the component level (e.g., re-manufacturing); and reuse at the material level ('recycling') (Zink and Geyer, 2017).

The studies focusing and addressing role of manufacturers in the success of Circular Economy has accelerated. Reviews with



interplay from the circular economy largely focuses on aspects from the circular economy which are centered on issues outside the manufacturing process. (Ghisellini, Cialani and Ulgiati, 2018) for instance reviews literature concerned with the ecology of circular economy and its implementation at different levels : micro, meso and macro. Circular Economy is a booming field providing opportunities and profitable business.

There is a dire need, particularly in emerging and developing countries, to improve manufacturing performance, resulting in less pollution, less wastage, and less material and energy consumption (Sangwan & Mittal, 2015). This will lead not only to environmental and social benefits but also economic benefits.

Also, Given the current uprise of the global movement towards sustainability manufacturing firms feel societal pressure to minimize their ecological impact (Haigh, 2019; Sengupta, 2019). Circular Manufacturing means maximizing the process in manufacturing and yielding towards accomplishing efficiency in manufacturing on hand and limiting unnecessary waste polluting the environment. In manufacturing commodities, wastages are produced at different levels, requiring attention while disposing of them. Therefore, one can emphasize enough on the need to implement the Circular Manufacturing system before pollution reaches an extreme level.

## **2. Methodology**

It was after 2008 that Circular Economy became highly discussed though it first appeared in 2004. It was China that laid greater emphasis in publication in this field starting from 2005 and until 2013. Between the linear economy and circular economy, the perspective on sustainability is different. The research paper was searched using the keyword Circular Economy AND (Manufacturing) OR (Industry)) and almost eighty research papers were short-listed based on the abstract that suited the aim of this research and further ten paper were short-listed based on the full paper and analyzed further to identify the methodology, findings and the research gaps.

## **3. Results and Analysis**

Table-1 elaborates the ten short-listed papers on next page.

**Table-1 : The Major Findings and gaps in Short-listed Papers**

S. No.	Author (Year)	Title	Aim & Methodology
1.	Wang et al. (2021)	Analysis of the impact of foreign direct investment on urbanization in China from the perspective of 'circular economy	1. To assess the level of circular economy development in China provinces. 2. Data of 30 provinces (2004-2016) Using the Super-Efficiency SBM model to measure the eco-efficiency value used to measure CE .
<b>Findings</b>		<b>Gaps</b>	
1. A Complex non-linear relationship between the development of urbanization and CE. 2. FDI under Environment regulations is beneficial to promote China's urbanization. 3. Promotes policies to promote CE and reinforce FDI screening		1. Can be extended to find the eco-effectiveness. 2. Should incorporate economic, environmental pollution, and resource consumption at all levels of evaluation.	
		<b>Country</b>	
		China	
S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
2.	Antonioli et al. (2022)	The economic returns of circular economy practices	1. To offer new empirical data regarding economic benefits and to find the factors affecting the choices of greener production different from traditional technologies. 2. 3000 Italian manufacturing firms' data to establish a relationship between innovations and Circular Economy and economic outcome.
<b>Findings</b>		<b>Gaps</b>	
1. Circular Economy related innovations tend to be barely related to revenues and to production costs. 2. Circular Economy process is positively related to revenues and potential influence to increase, production costs as due to innovation cost of production increases.		1. Economic returns is little talked about when it comes to CE and its associated technologies. 2. No information on sales and employment increase due to CE and its broader potential. 3. Can be further extended to environment and social aspect	
		<b>Country</b>	
		Romania	

S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
3.	Singh et al. (2018)	Developing an extended theory of planned behaviour model to explore circular economy readiness in manufacturing MSMEs, India	<p>1. The theory of planned theory (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991), is a most strong theory in psychology to assess the intrinsic and external factors that impact circular economy in manufacturing.</p> <p>2. Data collected from industries listed red and green in CPCB (Firms are Dairy, food etc)</p>
<b>Findings</b>		<b>Gaps</b>	<b>Country</b>
<p>1. This study contrasts the TPB and extended TPB (ETPB) model and opined that ETPB model has a finer illustrative power in predicting CE readiness among MSMEs in India.</p> <p>2. The findings signify that attitude and social norms play a positive role in promoting Circular Economy and perceived control behaviour is impediment in Circular Economy.</p>		<p>1. Can be analyzed for the manufacturing sector as a whole except for MSME.</p> <p>2. Also, the Cultural aspect is not touched.</p> <p>3. The dependency on consumers' willingness to accept a circular product not added as a construct.</p>	India
S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
4.	Rizos et al. (2015)	The Circular Economy: Barriers and Opportunities for SMEs	<p>1. The aim is to identify key barriers and enablers to adopting circular economy business practices.</p> <p>2. Done by analyzing the Literature on the Topic</p>
<b>Findings</b>		<b>Gaps</b>	<b>Country</b>
<p>1. Finance has been identified as a barrier, lack of knowledge about the benefits of CE , raising consumer awareness about CE and its products</p>		<p>1. This is all based on a literature review analysis.</p> <p>2. No empirical evaluation was done such as meta-analysis to find the in-depth impact of these barriers and enablers</p>	Europe
S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
5.	Zhu et al. (2017)	Exploring environmental and economic costs and benefits of a circular economy approach to the construction and demolition sector : A literature review	<p>1. Investment is the key.</p> <p>2. Varied barriers (political, economic, legislative, managerial and informative).</p>

Findings	Gaps	Country
<p>1. Findings are that both the Rs i.e, reuse/recycling at the end-of-life of a building and production process provide sustainable and economic benefits.</p> <p>2. Nevertheless, several factors as the type of material, logistics, building elements, economic and political context play an important role</p>	<p>1. Different frameworks can be used.</p> <p>2. Only a few studies assessed the design phase in the life - cycle of traditional buildings within a cradle to cradle which calls for increased efforts to better understand and further improvement.</p>	China

S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
6.	Chimwal, Madhukar et al. (2021)	Challenges in the implementation of circular economy in manufacturing industry	<p>1. 30 factors of CE are identified from the literature.</p> <p>2. Using TOPSIS, SIMOS approach, the rating and impact of decision makers (DMs) for each factor were collected</p>

Findings	Gaps	Country
<p>1. Management of waste is one of the major challenges faced by many developing countries.</p> <p>2. Develops a circular economy (CE) model to reduce the generation of residual wastes in municipalities.</p>	<p>1. Limited to only waste management sector only. Other sectors can be touched on, and a similar CE framework can be developed.</p> <p>2. Nothing is said about the cost, attitude. And other challenges that are faced by the stakeholders.</p>	India

S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
7.	Zhu et al. (2017)	A Comparison of Regulatory Awareness and Green Supply Chain Management Practices Among Chinese and Japanese Manufacturers	<p>1. To understand CE and GSCM, survey was conducted among small &amp; medium-sized Japanese manufacturers, leading Chinese manufacturers and traditional Chinese manufacturers.</p> <p>2. Shenyang is an industrial zone for the survey. Kawasaki Eco- Town for projects in Japan, and many small and medium-sized manu- facturers are located there. Thus, Kawasaki was chosen as a case study area in Japan.</p>

Findings	Gaps	Country
<p>1. The highest awareness of both international and domestic rules/policies and apply GSCM practices at the priority level among the Chinese manufacturers.</p> <p>2. Traditional Chinese manufacturers have scarce acknowledgement of global environmental regulations/policies</p>	<p>1. How to disperse the events in these priority manufacturers to other manufacturers needs further studies.</p> <p>2. Second, customer interactions and cooperation with environmental concerns and investment recovery. Such driving measures can be more sustainable.</p> <p>3. Awareness on social, economic and cultural aspect not studied.</p>	Japan and China

S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
8.	Namita Kapoor (2021)	Circular Economy in India: emerging business models and its effects	<p>1. The study aims to be beneficial for a broad understanding of the Circular Economy with respect to Indian Economy.</p> <p>2. The study provides empirical evidence to the Consumer's willingness to participate in circular economy. It also provides a data base for further research in the related field.</p> <p>3. An attempt has been made to examine the consumption pattern and willingness of individuals in participating in the Circular Economy.</p>

Findings	Gaps	Country
<p>1. An approach involving the partnership of consumers, retailers and investors jointly is required.</p> <p>2. One pattern of consumption is very responsible. Consumers do want to access products- retain them but they want to buy and exchange them back to the system.</p> <p>3. The other type of consumption pattern shows that consumers can afford and access products (used/ refurbished products) as the companies are offering them.</p>	<p>1. To understand the holistic view more case studies should be done.</p> <p>2. No empirical work has been done to gauge and measure the impact of circular economy. Future studies focus on the quantitative aspects of these impacts.</p> <p>3. Quantitative analysis of the benefits (Environmental, economic, social) are not that common. Aspects like gender race, and equality of social opportunities are not considered in the circular economy concept.</p>	India

S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
9.	Clube & Tennant, 2022)	Social inclusion and the circular economy: The case of a fashion textiles manufacturer in Vietnam	1. Fashion textiles and its social concerns as laborer rights, safety, minimum wages remain valid. 2. Uses H-SD framework
<b>Findings</b>		<b>Gaps</b>	<b>Country</b>
1. Exposed communities and resources that are sustainable have been highlighted. 2. Offering stable jobs to people with disability while revalidating wastage problems in the fashion industry.		1. Interaction between human resources, management, and Circular Economy is rarely studied. 2. If CE practitioners can showcase the intensification of human needs, then this will help provide a more compelling narrative for the social benefits of transitioning to circularity	Vietnam
S. No.	Author	Title	Aim & Methodology
10.	Liakos et al. (2019)	Understanding circular economy awareness and practices in manufacturing firms	1. To see the realization levels and practices of CE in manufacturing firms and empirically validate it. 2. A quantitative survey questionnaire-based approach. 3. More than 500 people were contacted. The sampling process took 40 days using a database (FAME), LinkedIn and personal contact. Descriptive statistics were used to validate the CE model, a correlation analysis was also conducted.
<b>Findings</b>		<b>Gaps</b>	<b>Country</b>
1. The research findings show that with the growing emphasis on CE globally. 2. The analysis also shows the insights on the three pillars (environmental, economic benefits and resource scarcity) of CE. 3. Out of the three pillars it was environment that was in more developed state mostly, in a research state.		1. In the future to generalize the results larger responses should be analyzed. This can also be extended to other sectors to get an idea of the benefits and issues of CE . 2. The opinion of the experts can be taken to shed some more light CE and its practices Along with it the use of more robust statistical analysis techniques can further add to the credibility of the findings.	U. K.

Source : Compiled by author.

The sustainability concept within a linear economy focuses on eco-efficiency. Though it shows that Industry has room for improvement and potential for resource conservation and thus application of Circularity. Sustainability is said to increase the eco-effectiveness within a circular economy. We need to reinforce the ecological, societal and economic systems so that this effectiveness creates an overall positive impact. Despite unsustainable economic development, China was one of the first countries to plan an economy based on closed loops, in order to maintain strong economic growth while pursuing environmental sustainability (Zink and Geyer, 2017).

#### 4. Discussion

Based on the above analysis, it can be said that CE studies follow three main lines of action :

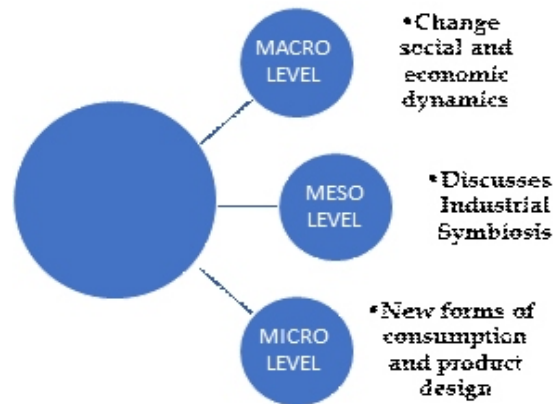


Figure-1 : CE main action lines

After going through the available literature this section consists of the following findings :

##### 4.1 Micro-Level

Out of the papers found the least focus was at the micro-level. It was only recently after 2018 that the focus has been shifted to micro level. Articles based on reuse, recycle, circular business models, corporate practices involving circularity have been increasing recently. The concept distribution has been at the market level on supply and demand side. By taking steps to change the traditional linear corporate procedures (operation and production), the firm level is taken as the first factor which contributes to closing, narrowing, and reducing the materials loop. It also creates the right environment for new entrepreneurs to take advantage of business

opportunities. Several operational models have been proposed to help businesses reuse and reduce resources and use renewable energy sources. In relation to the circular economy, numerous corporate practices have been proposed that offer useful tools for enhancing organizational practices, organizational culture, and human resource management (Pham et al., 2019). On the consumer side very few papers are there that have analyzed the willingness of consumers to pay for products produced based on CE and on the behaviour of consumers towards circular economy products (Camacho-Otero et al., 2018)

#### **4.2 Meso-Level**

According to the logic of industrial ecology, industrial symbiosis, industrial metabolism, and eco-clusters, this denotes a collaboration between businesses in their efforts to exchange waste materials. The final selection of publications for this study, however, concentrated on the fundamental goal of looking at industrial ecology in relation to CE during the previous decades. Over the past few years, there has been a sharp rise in articles discussing the interaction between CE and industrial symbiosis. This implies that a firm's waste materials could be reused as raw material for other firms. The idea that is being emphasized is that the nexus between the concept of CE and industrial ecology can reinforce the social acceptance of industrial parks.

#### **4.3 Macro-Level**

Most of the studies done on CE is done at the macro level. It focuses on regional, urban and national level measurement of CE. Also, the policies could be of critical importance in promoting CE in the extant economies. They also mentioned several issues with these tools, such as the absence of CE education programs for the general public and the lack of waste treatment technology, both of which are crucial for promoting CE practices. In order to transition businesses from linear to CE behaviour, another section of the pertinent literature focuses on conceptual models to bring CE criteria into public procurement (Alhola et al., 2019).

Significant amount of importance has been given to articles on engineering, environmental, and natural sciences. Not many papers are on the economic aspects of CE. The closer link between CE and the idea of sustainability is a crucial subject for research. Even though



there have been numerous initiatives to link CE with sustainability and the SDGs, a stronger connection between CE and sustainability is still required. In fact, the idea of strong sustainability offers a solid foundation for developing effective solutions for the preservation of environmental resources, the growth of the economy, and the bolstering of social cohesion. Strong sustainability assumes that the three capital kinds (economic, environmental, and social, for example) might replace one another in a constant quantity with the main goal of preserving a crucial capital suited to preserve and renew the various capital types. Future research in this field might be particularly interesting if it focuses on greater sustainability in circular business models, in corporate social responsibility, in clean technologies and on consumer behaviour supporting strong sustainable consumption. The eco-efficiency of resources and the positive impacts of CE on sustainability is another crucial academic area that should be examined by researchers in the context of CE.

By protecting natural resources for future generations and generating new employment possibilities for the current generation, CE is a good weapon to advance social and human rights problems. To investigate the social aspect of CE and how these might be incorporated in more comprehensive approaches to the notion, scholars must conduct more research. The papers reviewed majorly catered to industry, business or manufacturing sector as the majority of work for development takes place in this sector. But CE has much scope in the agriculture and services sector too. In fact interrelated study or comparison analyses in these sectors can be done. CE enablers and inhibitors are listed and talked about and adopted by many papers but to see their impact on CE is still limited.

## **5. Conclusion**

This essay presents some fundamental concepts that establish the background for the CE and Sustainability initiative. Our study summarizes the current state of the CE literature with a focus on identifying needs and prospects in this area. A triple-level perspective was used to assess the literature, with an emphasis on the micro, meso, and macro levels. This paper reveals that work has been increasing gradually in the field of CE during the previous ten years (from 2011 to 2021), especially with an increased focus on analyzing the papers based on the level of implementation (micro-meso- macro). The niche of studies conducted is mainly on production side therefore consumer

side, demand and application of Ce in different sectors is unknown especially in developing countries. This paper thus identified such gaps and future scope for CE. It was also discovered that the academic subjects of engineering and the natural sciences are covered by the majority of the CE articles. For future investigation, certain productive research avenues are identified. The relationships between the three levels of analysis (micro, meso, and macro), the relationship between CE and its social dimension, and the necessity of strengthening the connection between different fields are all included in a suggested research agenda (inter- disciplinary approach).

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

***Keshab Raj Silwal\****

*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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## **Background and Consequences of the Second Battle of Sherkot (A Case Study of ‘Indian Revolution of 1857 versus Jihad’ in Bijnor District)**

***Vighnesh Kumar\****

*Bijnor has been the only district of the then India which had been under the control of Indians from 6-7 June 1857 to the next more than ten months. During this period, the East India Company was totally out of the scene there. But due to the Jihad sentiments and the atrocities committed to the Hindus by the Nawab's administration, the scenario was to be changed. The First Battle of Sherkot proved the Jihad its cruel nature against the Hindus and so the Second Battle of Sherkot was fought under the leadership of Chaudhary Pratap Singh, the headman of Tyagi Riyasat of Tajpur. All the Hindu chieftains of the district were united under his flag and Nawab Mahmud Khan's men- Ahmad Allah, Mareh Khan, Shafi Allah Khan and others were resisted, attacked and defeated. In the last, Nawab himself*

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*was attacked at Bijnor and was bitterly defeated by the Hindu chieftains who had to flee for his life.*

[**Keywords :** Indian Revolution 1857, Shafi Allah Khan, Ahmad Allah Khan, Nawab Mahmud Khan, Chaudhary Nain Singh, Jodh Singh, Chaudhary Pratap Singh, Chaudhary Randhir Singh, Chaudhary Umrao Singh, Shivraj Singh, Basant Singh, Chaudhary of Kanth]

In the light of facts relating to the outbreak of “Indian Revolution of 1857”<sup>1</sup> on Sunday, May 10, 1857 at Meerut,<sup>2</sup> an example of a conversation at the *verandah* of the Bijnor Collectorate on 29<sup>th</sup> March held between Fransis Shester and a ‘so called Nawab’ is witnessed. Its fairly good record is maintained in the ‘Deposition No. 1’ taken at Meerut in 1858 by Major G.W. Williams, the then Superintendent of Cantonment Police, North-Western Provinces.<sup>3</sup>

In the faithful reproduction of the “*Mutiny Narratives*” titled as ‘1857 IN 1857 : *Original Mutiny Narratives*’, the editor records<sup>4</sup> :

“On the 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1857, I was at Bijnour, and went to pay my respects to the Collector and Magistrate of the district; whilst waiting in the *verandah*, a native, whom the *chupprassie* called Nawab, also came; I heard he had a brother, who was a *tehseeldar* in the district; a *jemadar* in the Canal Department was present; we were all seated. The Nawab commenced the conversation by observing that two regiments to the eastward had taken their discharge, because the *kafirs* [means British] had mixed pigs’ and cows’ fat with the new cartridges, that the *kafirs* had determined to take away the castes of all Mahomedans and Hindoos, and that these infidels [means the English] should not remain in India, or there would be no difference between Mahomedans and Hindoos, and whatever they said we should have to do.”

Fransis Shester also tells in his ‘Deposition’ that “the Nawab was about thirty-five years age, slightly built, but the *jemadar* was a powerful man.”<sup>5</sup>

In conversation what the so called Nawab had replied to his comment, Shester tells<sup>6</sup> :

“The Nawab answered, what ease have we, they [the English] are always inventing new laws to trouble us, and to overturn religion, teach out of their religious books, which are also distributed; is there now any security for Islam, as it used to be?”

The questions and the worries raised in the last words present the glimpses what was their main concern in those days in the minds of those people who, on June 7, 1857, were entrusted the district of Bijnor by both the "Company's higher officials" as well as the "Chaudharies", the prominent Hindus chieftains of the district.<sup>7</sup>

It is interesting to note that the so called Nawab seems to be the very Shafi Allah Khan whose elder brother Ahmad Allah Khan was the *tehsildar* of Najibabad during 1857. Both the real brothers were the nephews of Nawab Mahmud Khan to whom on June 7, 1857 in the very early hours of the date, Collector and Magistrate Mr. Alexander Shakespear handed the charge over to.

Just after 2 hours Nawab Mahmud Khan's following declaration was heard before the Sun-rising in the city's streets<sup>8</sup> :

*"Khalq Khuda ka, Mulk Badshah ka,  
Huqum Nawab Mahmud Khan Bahadur ka."*

From the very beginning there was a rift between the Nawab and the Chaudharies – Nain Singh and Jodh Singh of Bijnor. Nawab Mahmud Khan's nephew Ahmad Allah Khan settled the terms putting the seal on the *Qur'an* for fidelity and thus he remained successful in gaining Chaudharies' trust.

Then he took both the Chaudharies to the Residence of Mahmud Khan at Bijnor and there both, the Nawab and he himself putting seal on the *Qur'an*, took oath not to breach the mutual trust.<sup>9</sup> From that very moment, due to the efforts made by Ahmad Allah Khan, Chaudhary Nain Singh and Chaudhary Jodh Singh became loyal to Nawab in his efforts against the Company's rule.<sup>10</sup>

Assuming the charge of Bijnor District in the night of 6-7 June, 1857; Nawab Mahmud Khan, made new appointments. Ahmad Allah Khan, his nephew and the then *tehsildar* of Najibabad was made Joint Magistrate and with this high office, he was, made direct responsible for district administration.<sup>11</sup> Really he was the most efficient officer of the Nawab's regime during Indian Revolution of 1857. The Chaudharies could be taken into terms to the Nawab by his efforts. The Hindu chieftains having suspicion on Nawab's malafide and bad intensions towards the Hindus could be thus removed. From 7<sup>th</sup> June, 1857 to the day when the Battle of Nagina fought on 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1858; he was the most trusted person for the Nawab. For this time-bracket of ten mouths and a half, the district of Bijnor was under the control of Nawab Mahmud Khan and his most trusted nephew Ahmad Allah Khan.<sup>12</sup>

On 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1857 Ahmad Allah Khan attacked on the *garhi* of Sherkot.<sup>13</sup> His lieutenant *Sheikh* Imam Bakh *alias* Mareh Khan started looting and killing the Hindus with his consent. They finally captured it. It was the First Battle of Sherkot. Ahmad Allah Khan celebrated the victory.

The Chaudharies of the district of Bijnor became alert. The feeling of the *Jehad* in the minds of Nawab's officials was then not a secret. Ahmad Allah Khan and *Sheikh* Mareh Khan, the Blackguard had a fool proof planning to extract money from the Hindus. Harassing, looting and killing the Hindus became a routine. The victims were appealing the Hindu chieftains of the district. The oath taken by Ahmad Allah Khan and again along with Nawab Mahmud Khan putting seal on the *Qur'an* was a thing of bygone days. There was an urgent call to take a notice of the Sherkot episode and so the Chaudharies of the district were assembled to take a firm decision. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, in his book under the heading—"The Chaudharies Ready to Resist Ahmad Allah Khan", thus remarks<sup>14</sup> :

"The Chaudharies [Hindu chieftains] held a round of discussions amongst themselves, in view of their overriding concern at this heavy blow against one of the leading men of the District. With one voice, they agreed to make an effort to take back the fortress from Ahmad Allah Khan and to mobilize their men at Dhampur. On July 31, 1857 the following leaders banded together: Chaudhary Randhir Singh and Chaudhary Budh Singh, *Rais-es* of Haldaur, with two artillery pieces; Chaudhary Partab Singh with a *jezail*; and the Chaudhary of Kanth with an artillery piece. In one village after another, the drums were sounded to mobilize the population; this call to mobilize was heard everywhere in the District. As hostages for Ghassa Singh and Basant Singh; the Chaudharies seized Nadir Shah Khan, Hasan Raza Khan, and Sabit Ali Khan, who were relatives of Mahmud Khan and his agents at Dhampur. At the same time they killed two *sowars* of the Nawab."

As the Hindu chieftains took the notice of the undeclared *Jehad* of the Nawab party, they gathered and had taken the decision to take the arms up against their oppressor, the Nawab's Administration.

In the meantime a signed letter of Mahmud Khan was captured.<sup>15</sup> It was sent to Ahmad Allah Khan from Bijnor on 31<sup>st</sup> July, the same day of holding the council of the Chaudharies—the Hindu chieftains of Bijnor and one of Kanth in Moradabad District. This



council was called by Chaudhary Pratap Singh of Raja ka Tajpur. One more such letter of Azmat Allah Khan was also seized by the Chaudharies.<sup>16</sup> It was written at Najibabad. Both the letters were written to same Ahmad Allah Khan in which intention of harassing the Hindus for extracting money from them was a crystal clear thing.<sup>17</sup>

Describing the resistance of the Hindu Chaudharies to the infamous *Jehad* party of Nawab Mahmud Khan's administration, Sir Sayyid further remarks<sup>18</sup> :

"The Nawab was in a tight corner as a result of this [Hindu chieftains means the Chaudharies] mobilization. His men were being seized and killed wherever they went. Some of his soldiers were killed in the village of Nangal. Some of his letters that had been dispatched to Ahmed Allah Khan were also taken. I saw in Chaudhary Umrao Singh's possession an authentic letter sent by Mahmud Khan from Bijnor, and another equally authentic letter of Azmat Allah Khan."

This is what should be taken as the background of the Second Battle of Sherkot. Both the letters mentioned above seized by the Hindu chieftains from which they were not unable to draw the image for what Nawab was dealing with. The *Jehad* party active under Mareh Khan was initiating and accelerating the undeclared *Jehad*. One more interesting evidence about this *Jehad* mobilization lies in fact that Nawab's nephew and Joint Magistrate Ahmad Allah Khan had already fixed Rs. 100 per month for Mareh Khan while assigning the duty of mobilizing men [?] means mobilizing men for fighting without salaries *i.e.*, the *Jehad* against the Hindus to whom those were looting, killing, kidnapping, harassing and insulting by all means. That particular *Jehad* was not against the British because no European was then present there in whole of the district.

Sir Sayyid is not wrong in his comments that there had been no Hindu-Muslim conflict earlier in Bijnor. His comment is worth seeing<sup>19</sup> :

"Before this fighting there had never been a dispute, nor feelings of hatred, nor even a religious altercation, between Hindus and Muslims of this District. On the contrary, Muslim servants prevailed in numbers in the houses of the Chaudharies."

Throwing light again, he further writes<sup>20</sup> :

"However in this fighting, the growth of hatred between Hindus and Muslims became more and more unavoidable."

Sir Sayyid, thus, in his writing, may be wrong in perception but surely he is not wrong in his argument. Again, one of the most remarkable comment, he makes<sup>21</sup> :

“On the one side there was the group of Hindu leaders, while there was the group of Muslim leaders on the other side.”

Sir Sayyid, certainly by using his farsightedness about the Narrative, gives space to Nawab and Ahmad Allah Khan's *Jehad* party. He 'no and never' uses the actual ground reality and hid the bare truth of both the *Jehad* and the *Jehadis*. He never shows the fact that Mareh Khan was assigned Rs. 100 per month to mobilize men and material, where the men were to be mobilized from? The answer is clear and that lies in the call for *Jehad* which Mareh Khan did well. The Hindus were looted, their women folk raped and kidnapped and even killed- was the simple outcome of Mareh Khan's activism. The poor Hindus' appeal worked and the Hindu chieftains gathered under the leadership of Chaudhary Pratap [Partab in original sources] Singh of Raja ka Tajpur.<sup>22</sup> On his call, the Bisnoi leader, the Chaudhary of Kanth came and joined<sup>23</sup> alongwith Chandlay Randhir Singh of Haldaur<sup>24</sup>, whose real maternal uncle was Chaudhary Shivraj Singh of Sherkot whose wife and daughter-in-law were also killed in the undeclared *Jehad* at Sherkot.

Combined forces of the Hindu front thus evolved against the *Jehad* party of Nawab Mahmud Khan attacked Ahmad Allah Khan and besieged him in the fortress of Sherkot.<sup>25</sup> And with this, the Second Battle of Sherkot started. Nawab's nephew and the real leader of the Nawab's *Jehad* party Ahmad Allah Khan was utterly defeated in the ancestral garhi of Chaudhary Umrao Singh, the owner of the Sherkot *garhi*.

Ahmad Allah Khan, finding no option left, escaped from the Sherkot fortress in the dark of night and did not stop until reaching Najibabad.<sup>26</sup> In whole of the district of Bijnor, the *Jehad* victims were shown wide sympathy and with the result, Nawab's men were being beaten<sup>27</sup> in whole of the country side. Even in the city of Bijnor, Nawab was attacked on August 6, 1857<sup>28</sup> in which he had to flee. His eldest son Ghaznafar Ali Khan had to flee bare footed.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, it was the 'Second Battle of Sherkot', that resulted into a comma for the Nawab's *Jehad* party under Ahmad Allah Khan due to the united force of the Hindu Chieftains who had come forward to save their co-religious innocent brethren from the inhumane atrocities done to them by the Nawab's administration during their

undeclared *Jehad* against the Hindus. It was the very thing to which *tehsildar* Ahmad Allah Khan's brother Shafi Allah Khan had answered to Fransis Shester on 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1857 at the Collectorate's *varandah*.<sup>30</sup> This also gave a set back to the movement and so the momentum of Indian Revolution of 1857 in Rohilkhand Division in general and in Bijnor District in particular was broken fully and finally. The feeling of the *Jehad* destroyed the movement of 1857 though the Nawab in beginning had taken oath putting seal on the *Qur'an*. All the good virtues and things to resist the East India Company proved fake except the *Jehad* – the contemporary sources hesitatingly show if handled with care.

The definition of '*kafirs*' had been changed to what was in Shafi Allah Khan's conversation. The same Shafi Allah Khan who on 29<sup>th</sup> March 1857 was enbracketing the English people as "*kafirs*"<sup>31</sup> had been changed then, as for him the Hindus had become then the '*kafirs*'. It was change in definition of '*Kafirs*'. Sir Sayyid, on this very perception, thus remarks<sup>32</sup> :

"Ahmad Allah Khan and Shafi Allah Khan continued with their evil ways. They continued to harass the Hindus and to loot and set afire to the villages in the environs of Najibabad."

On the atrocities done to the Hindus in general and to the Jats in particular, the following words of Sir Sayyid present a glimpse of what had been done to the innocent poor Hindus<sup>33</sup> :

"Shafi Allah Khan, for example, burned down the village of Musapur. Mareh Khan and Abdullah Khan (whom the Nawab had appointed *tehsildar* of Nagina after dismissing Maulvi Qadir Ali *Tehsildar*) looted and set afire Hasanpura, Mohanpura, Shafiabad, Kardili, Narayanpur, and Pattijatan-all villages inhabited by Jats."

Playing the victim card by the Muslims who had come to Najibabad shouting, worked in full measure. The Nawab cleverly again took the advantage. On this episode, Sir Sayyid, in his *Tarikh-i-Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnor* throws some light, though in very much guarded language. It is as follows<sup>34</sup> :

"The Nawab took clever advantage of this development to group his forces [of *Jehad* soldiers without salaries]. He told the people :

"Look what the Hindus have done to the Muslims : all the Muslims ought to come together to kill the Hindus."

Ahmad Allah Khan made use of such slogans. He took out his artillery, sent his army, and also raised the Mahammadi flag on August 22, 1857 A.D., *Muharram* 1, 1274 A. H., at Jalalabad near Najibabad. A large force came together, since many Muslims were ready to fight a religious war [i.e., the *Jihad*] to kill the Hindus."

General declaration of the *Jihad* by same Ahmad Allah Khan who had taken oath putting seal on the *Qur'an* was a fact now open to the Hindus. The Nawab also followed his nephew and now for the first time openly declared *Jihad* to kill the Hindus. Nawab Mahmud Khan had forgotten his oath putting seal on the *Qur'an* before the Chaudharies in reply of their oath taken putting holy Ganga-water on palms; and had declared publically the *Jihad* as was recorded by Sir Sayyid<sup>35</sup>:

"The Nawab saw...He raised the Muhammadi flag; at once violence [of *Jihad* against the Hindus] was set afoot, and Religions war [i.e., *Jihad*] was established in the District."

There is an example when Inayat Ali Khan, *Qazi of Khera*, attacked the post of Mujahidpur, where he had shown his character full of *Jihad* in both motivation and execution, even then Dalel Singh Gujar neither could take a lesson nor resented. In Sir Sayyid's words<sup>36</sup> :

"Inayat Ali Khan, Qazi of Khera, attacked the post of Mujahidpur, where he captured two Hindu peons. One he killed; the other he "converted" to Islam. In the same way *Qazi* Inayat Ali and Dalel Singh Gujar and Hasan Raza called Chattan, accompanied by two artillery pieces and 2,000 men, attacked Miranpur, where they looted the Police Station and some shops. They also killed some men and proclaimed by beat of drums the name of Mahmud Khan before running off to come back."

Shafi Allah Khan, after his victory at the Battle of Pamrawali fought against the combined Hindu force, became famous. Writing about it, Sir Sayyid mentions<sup>37</sup> :

"Chaudhari Budh Singh and Chaudhari Maharaj Singh decided to fight the Nawab once more. They wrote letters to the brotherhood and asked Chaudhari Partab Singh [Tyagi] for help too. They mobilized at the village of Pheona. Those who assembled... Upon getting word of their advance, Ahmad Allah Khan sent some men, under the command of Shafi Allah Khan,

from Nagina and from Kiratpur. ...This victory made Shafi Allah Khan famous. He won the title of “Bahadur” [brave one]; he also began to be called ‘The Brave General’. Accordingly, this title of his is seen in most of the documents.”

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## **Pilgrimage and Patronage : The Connected Histories of Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ**

***Vijaya Laxmi Singh\* and Prem Kumar\*\****

*The cities of Gayâ and Bodhgayâ are celebrated pilgrimage centres for Hindus and Buddhists of the world. Since the early centuries, Gayâ and Bodhgaya were deeply connected to the different parts of the Indian subcontinent and across Indian oceans through trade, culture, and politics. Pilgrims not only travelled to Gayâ and Bodhgaya but also took the cities back to their parts of the world as memories, records, and relics. Inscriptional sources, traveller's accounts, and Gayâwal's records provide sufficient information to establish shared or connected histories of pilgrimage and patronage in both cities.*

**[Keywords :** Pilgrimage, Patronage, Connected Histories, Gayâwal's Records, Buddhism, Hinduism, Mahabharat, Sraddha, Pinda, Gayâ-ksetra Skanda Purana, Hiuen Tsang, Fa Hien, Ceylon, China, Burma, Myanmar]

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## **1. Introduction**

Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ are two sides of the same coin: the ancient city of Gayâ. The city is a celebrated pilgrimage centre for two major religions of the world, i.e., Hinduism and Buddhism; had a long, shared and connected histories<sup>1</sup>. Gayâ has been a land of liberation since the ancient period. Hindu pilgrims visit Gayâ for the salvation of the ancestor's spirits by performing post-funeral or *sraddha* ceremonies. Buddhist pilgrims visit Bodh Gayâ to liberate themselves, just like Buddha freed himself after enlightenment. In this paper, we explore the connected histories of Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ that are expressed through the interplay of pilgrimage and patronage. In ancient times, Gayâ was deeply connected to the different parts of the Indian subcontinent and across Indian oceans through trade, culture, and politics. The cultural encounters at Gayâ were explicit in religious pilgrimage and patronage. Ancient religious communities travelled to their corresponding sacred palaces and built and rebuilt architectures through patronage or religious endowments. Religious pilgrimage and patronage opened cultural dialogue between Hinduism and Buddhism at Gayâ and opened competitive avenues. With pilgrimage and patronage, the connected histories of Gayâ continuously evolved and are still evolving. A pilgrimage centre connects local, regional, inter-regional and long-distance religious networks. The connection is not based on the one-way movement from different parts to the sacred centre or city. The sacred city and its architecture also reached different parts of the world along with the pilgrims.

Much of the connected histories of Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ are known from the votive inscription, followed by literary texts, travel accounts and Gayâwal's records. These written records tell us about a shared history of the pilgrimage and patronage at Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ. The connected history of Bodh Gayâ was attempted while writing the connected history of India and the world by several historians such as Tansen Sen<sup>2</sup>, Upinder Singh<sup>3</sup> and Parul Pandya Dhar<sup>4</sup>. The pilgrimage and patronage at Hindu Gayâ were not taken into account as a site of study while discussing the Buddhist Bodh Gayâ. One of the major objectives of the paper is to bring forth the connected history of Hindu Gayâ to the world.

## **2. Gayâ, Bodh Gayâ and the Convergence**

Based on religious affiliations, literature divides the religious landscape of Gayâ into two Gayâ-*ksetra* and Buddha-*ksetra*<sup>5</sup>. Skanda



Purana mention the presence of two Gayâ – Adi Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ<sup>6</sup>. *Puruans* such as *Skanda Purana*, *Vayu purana*, etc., offer the mythical origin of Gayâ and Gayâ pilgrimage (Gayâ-tirtha). According to *Skanda Purana*, the Gayâ tirtha was formally established in Avanti. Afterwards, it originated in Kikata (Magadh) country<sup>7</sup>. According to *Skanda Purana* not only Gayâ but the Kikata (Magadha), the river Puna (Phalgu) and Râjgrha are highly meritorious. *Skanda Puran* also fixes the geographical extents of the Gayâ ksetra and Gayâsira to five krosas and one krosa, respectively<sup>8</sup>. Gayâ tirtha was situated in Mahâkâlavana<sup>9</sup>. According to *Skanda Purana*, the land of Gayâ was given to Brahmans by Nimi, the legendary king of Videha<sup>10</sup>. Gayâ is also called the city of Camatkarpura in *Skanda Purana*. According to *Vayu Purana*, Gayâ was among the three sons of Sudyumna, namely Utkala, Gayâ and Vinatasva; and the city of Gayâ was called the saintly king<sup>11</sup>. The name suggests that it was the capital of King Gayâ, the son of Samudravijya of Râjgrha, as mentioned in the Svetambara Jaina agama Uttaradhyaya sutra<sup>12</sup>. According to *Vayu Purana*, the holy place became famous by the name of Gayâsura<sup>13</sup>.

Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India visited Gayâ or Gayâ-ksetra throughout the year to offer *pinda* or the rice ball (final death rites of their ancestors). Some of them also visited Bodh Gayâ and worshipped the Bodhi tree and Buddha image with the same purpose since the Kusana period. Gayâmahâtmya also prescribes Hindus visit Bodh Gayâ as a part of Gayâ *sraddha*. On the other hand, till the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Buddhist pilgrims visited Gayâsira as a place related to Buddha<sup>14</sup>. Brahmanical Hindus also visited Bodh Gayâ and contributed towards the growth and development of Bodh Gayâ. Many Brahmans patronised the Mahabodhi temple through the religious endowment. Hiuen Tsang also testifies the same. When Buchanan Hamilton visited Bodh Gayâ in 1811, he found the temple dilapidated. Pilgrim from Gayâ came here to offer *pinda* and worship the Bodhi tree.

### 3. Pilgrimage Sites at Gayâ

Visnupada is the centre of the Gayâ pilgrimage. According to Barua the Mundaprishta is no other than modern Visnupad<sup>15</sup>. The Pretakuta or Pretasilâ described in Gayâmahâtmya is the hill of ghosts and sacred to Yama, a Hindu god, and another pilgrimage place. Pilgrims' chief bathing place is the Phalgu River's bathing ghats. The Phalgu is associated with funeral ceremonies, as Sita offered a *pinda* of sand, in default of rice, to the spirit of Dasratha, the father of Rama. The

Akshyavata, or undying banyan, is situated half a mile to the southwest of the Visnupada, immediately under the Brahmajoni hills (Gayâ sira hills). From the days of Mahâbhârata the Gayâûira was the prominent landmark of the town of Gayâ, writes Barua<sup>16</sup>. The pilgrimage at Gayâ concludes with the offering to Gayâwals<sup>17</sup>. Besides funeral rites, pilgrims also visited Gayâ to desire many sons, hoping that at least one of them would perform funeral rituals at Gayâ. Pilgrims from Bengal and east come mainly in *Chait*, while pilgrims from the northwest and western India come in the month of *Asin*<sup>18</sup>. Buddhaghosh also provides information about the connected road measuring three *gavutas* (6<sup>th</sup> to 7 miles) between the Bodhi tree to Gayâsirsha (Gayâûira) hills<sup>19</sup>.

#### **4. Hindu Pilgrimage and Patronage at Gayâ and the Connected Histories**

According to Barua, Gayâ had attained pre-eminence among the notable places of Hindu pilgrimage as early as the days of the Buddha<sup>20</sup>. *Mahabharata* also mentions the Gayâ as a sacred place of Hindus. The Ashokan inscription does not mention the name of Gayâ. However, Buddhist literature and early traveller's accounts do not support the Gayâ acquired pre-eminence in early India. Fa Hian visited Gayâ at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. During his pilgrimage to Bodh Gayâ, he found the city of Gayâ in 'desolate and desert' condition. Two and half centuries later, when Hiuen Tsang visited the town of Gayâ in the middle of the Seventh century AD, he found the city a small settlement with a thousand families of Brahmans and *rishis* (few inhabitants) whom the people highly respected. When Hiuen Tsang visited Gayâ, Gayâûira had been an important Buddhist pilgrim spot. Hiuen Tang also mentions a stupa on the top of the hill built by Aúoka. Based on the authenticity of the records, Barua doubts that King Aúoka built any Buddhist sanctuary in or near Gayâ<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, despite being a vigilant pilgrim, Fa Hian did not notice any stupa in Gayâ-*ksetra*. Both Chinese pilgrims found nothing worthy to be recorded except the decadent condition of the city. Literature does not provide a bright picture of the early phase of pilgrimage and patronage at Gayâ.

The second phase of pilgrimage at Gayâ started around the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD when texts like *Skanda Purana* or *Vayu Purana* eulogized the Gayâ tirtha. Gayâmahâtmya in the *Vayu Purana* was written to glorify and propagate the image of Gayâ tirtha. According to Barua

Gayâmahâtmya is propaganda work written to attract a large number of pilgrims from different parts of India<sup>22</sup>. Legends were created to connect Gayâ to a different part of India. For example, the Gayâsura legend mentioned in Gayâmahâtmya. According to the text, when Visnu killed the demon, his gigantic body when stretched to the ground, his head rested on the Gayâ range of hills, his naval rested on Viraja hills (Jajipur) and his feet on the Mahendragiri (the hill at Rajmandri). In Jajipur, a town in the district of Cuttack (Odissa), there is a sacred well or pit within the enclosure of Jajipur temple called the Gayâ *nabhi* or Bamphi. People used to throw the *pindas* of their ancestors in the well. Barua dates Gayâmahâtmya not posterior to the Palas of Bengal<sup>23</sup>. The images enshrined in Hindu temples at Gayâ are older, though non-dated before the Pala period, the most ancient having been carved in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>24</sup>. *Skanda Purana* records a king named Visnusena from Mahishmati of Haihayas Clan who came to Gayâ to perform *sraddha* ceremony of his father, Indrasena<sup>25</sup>. Mahishmati was located on the Narmada River in Madhya Pradesh. It was also the capital of Kalchuris. After Ujjayinî, Mahishmati was the second capital of Avanti. The story symbolizes the transfer of *sraddha* tirtha from Avanti to Gayâ.

Pilgrims inscribed their inscriptions to commemorate their pilgrimage at Gayâ. Large numbers of votive inscriptions were made to record their patronage. Wealthy pilgrims and proxy pilgrims from different parts of India came to Gayâ and patronized sacred centres such as temples, *ghats*, tanks, *dharmasalas*, *maths*, etc. Apart from rebuilding the older ones, many new structures were also added by pilgrims from different parts of India. the proliferation of inscriptions at Gayâ from the mid-eleventh century onwards shows more significant pilgrimage traffic and patronage coming to the city.

An inscription reported by O'Malley (1906) reads that Vajrapani of Nayapala, dated 1060 AD, says that Gayâ was raised from a small place into Amravati (city of Indra noted for lofty decorated buildings)<sup>26</sup>. Another inscription dated 1242 AD records the pilgrimage and religious construction at Gayâ by some Rajput minister from northwest India<sup>27</sup>. Inscription of Kakatiya Prataparudra<sup>28</sup> (1199-1260 AD) of Warangal (Andhra Pradesh) records the performance of the Gayâ *sraddha* ceremony by Gauri, wife of Mallikarjuan (preceptor of Prataparudra), to secure the salvation of her husband. According to the record, she performed the *nitya-sraddha* for the emancipation of her husband's spirit. Inscription

of the time of Hoysala Narsimha III<sup>29</sup> belongs to the royal family of Hoysala from Dorasamudra (modern Halebidu in Mysore state). The first inscription refers to a person named Appana as the son of a priest named Padmanabhba-topadhyaya of the temple of Hoysala king Vir Narsimhadeva. Appana also constructed a Gayâ-rajana-matha (*dhammasala*) for the pilgrims who visited Gayâ from Karnataka country from which Appana belonged. These persons, namely Rudrapada, Vishnupada and Gadadhara, witnessed the construction of the *matha*. Devaras engraved this inscription. The second inscription speaks of Chandiranna, son of Jakanna, an employee in the mint of Vir Narsimhadeva, and his pilgrimage to Gayâ. From the two inscriptions, it appears that Appana and Chandiranna visited Gayâ at the same time.

Another inscription belonging to Krishnadeva Raya (1502-29) of the Tuluva dynasty of the Vijayanagar kingdom<sup>30</sup> refers to the king's installation of a *Vijaya-sasna* at Gayâ. The inscription is written by his court poet Nandi Timmana. According to D. C. Sirkar, as a proxy of his patron, poet Timmana visited Gayâ to install the victory rule. Sirkar regards the rule as *dhamma Vijaya sasana* rather than *Vijaya sasana*<sup>31</sup>. According to Sirkar, such kind of practice of sending proxy pilgrims on behalf of the lord was prevalent in medieval inscriptions<sup>32</sup>.

The inscription of Achyutaraya (dated 1531 AD)<sup>33</sup> also discusses the *dhamma-úasana* (religious merits) of King Sri-Vira Achyutaraya-Maharaya, Narasimha's son, Isvara's grandson and great-grandson of Timmaya. A person visited Gayâ on the king's behalf. The inscription states that certain Timmananna made the occupants of the Vijayanagar throne Gayâ-mukta (ancestors of the king emancipated at Gayâ). It means that on behalf of the king, Timmananna performed the Gayâ-*sraddha* of Achyutaraya's ancestors at Gayâ. Timmananna was probably a priest of the king. Besides Gayâ, the inscription also mentions the city of Vijayanagar (modern Hampi in the Ballary district of Karnataka). King Krishna Deva and his queen Tirumala Devi in 1521 AD, constructed a gateway that lies between Vishnupada temple and Surya temple<sup>34</sup>.

The Chaitanya Bhagavata and the Chaitanya Charitamrita mention the pilgrimage of Chaitanya, the Vaishnava reformers of Bengal, to the holy land of Gayâ. He visited Gayâ in the year 1508 AD and offered *pindas* to his forefathers at sixteen sanctioned sites- Siva Gayâ, Brahma Gayâ, Preta Gayâ, Rama Gayâ, Yudhhthua Gayâ,

Bhima Gayâ, Brahma Kunda, Visnupad, Uttaramansa, Dakshinamansa, Gayâûira and the rest.

Maratha queen Ahilya Bai Holkar made the most generous endowments to Gayâ 's temples, *ghats dharmshala*. In addition to the construction of the famous temple of Vishnu and a magnificent ghat on the Phalgu, she replaced the old temple at Pretaûilâ with a new one. She patronised many monuments at Varanasi as well. In the 19th century, Madan Mohan Datta from Bengal financed the stairs leading to the hills, Ramshilâ and Pretaûilâ. He also repaired old temples and built new temples on the two hills. He also constructed the road joining the Pretaûilâ with the town of Gayâ<sup>35</sup>. Rây Ballava, son of Rajâ Rây Ballava, the company Deewan during Hastings built a Dharmasala located on the right corner of the main ghat of Phalgu<sup>36</sup>. Ranjit Pandey, the minister of the raja of Nepal, donated the main bronze bell that hangs in the Visnupad temple. A British officer named Gillanders presented another bell to Visnupad temple in January 1790<sup>37</sup>.

## 5. Gayâwals and their Connected Histories

Gayâwal's records also mention the names of several kings, princes, landlords and other affluent pilgrims from Kashmir, Rajasthan, Bengal, Bombay, Mysore, and Baroda. Vidyardhi thinks the Gayâwal's information is very vague and incomplete<sup>38</sup>. The Gayâwals associated their religion with the Vaishnavism established by the Dravida Brahmana Madhava- charya in southern India during the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>39</sup>.

The professional lineage titles of Gayâwals also indicate local, regional, and subcontinental connections with different social groups. They adopted these titles after those professional groups. They adopted the title '*Baddihia*' after the village 'Badi Dih', where the family is believed to have taken shelter when some Muslim ruler attacked the city of Gayâ<sup>40</sup>. Some Gayâwals adopted the title of 'Bhaiya' after princes of royal families of Madhya Pradesh, as the princes were called '*bhaiya*'<sup>41</sup>. They adopted the titles of '*Dubhaliya* and *Katariyar*' after the village name Dubhaliya and Katari' where they took their shelter at the time of Muslim attacks<sup>42</sup>. Those who got pilgrims from hills or '*Garva* and *Pahar*' were called '*Garai* and *Pahari*' respectively<sup>43</sup>. Gayâwals specialised in Punjabi pilgrims were called '*Jhangar*'<sup>44</sup>. Some Gayâwals borrowed the title '*Mahata*' from their south Indian pilgrims<sup>45</sup>.

## 6. Pilgrimage Beyond Gayâ-sraddha

Beyond *sraddha*, pilgrims also visit Gayâ to worship many gods such as Surya, Siva, Durga, etc. In Chaita and Kartika months, many devotees visit Suraj Kund, Uttaramansa and the sun temple at Brahmani ghat. The Gayâ Sitala temple inscription of Yakshapala (dated 1077-85 AD) refers to a *shudra* vassal named Visvarupa of the king of Gauda and his son Yakshaapala built a temple of Maunaditya, Sahtralinga, Kamal- rdhangina Narayan (combined image of Visnu and Laxmi just like Ardhanarishvara, Someshvara, Phalgunath, Vijyaditya and Kedara, dug a tank called Uttramanasa, and established hall of charity<sup>46</sup>. According to Rana P. B. Singh Yakshapal installed a 1.5-meter-high sun statue<sup>47</sup>. According to Rana P. B. Singh, before Gayâ became closely linked with Vishnu's presence and *sraddha*, sun worship may have been a dominant feature of the area. The widely scattered stone slabs depicting nine *graha* with prominent of the sun support this possibility<sup>48</sup>. The sun temple with a sun god statue is one of the oldest temples in Gayâ. However, Buchanan based on inscriptions, dates it to the thirteenth century by Pratap Rudra of Warangal. The adjoining sun tank was rebuilt with bricks and plasters by Mitrajit of Kashmir in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## 7. Buddhist Pilgrimage and Patronage at Bodh Gayâ in Connected Histories

Records of pilgrimage and patronage at Bodh Gayâ go back to the third century B.C. The 8<sup>th</sup> rock edict of King Aúoka records the pilgrimage of the king to the Bodh Gayâ (called Sambodhi) around 260 BCE. Asoka is said to have built a chaitya at the site of the Bodhi tree under which Buddha meditated. The Asokan visit is also sculpted in the relief of the Bharhut stupa and the eastern gateway of the stupa no one at Sanchi, both dated 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> BCE. Ashokan building of chaitya at Bodh Gayâ is also mentioned in the Burmese inscriptions at Prome in Myanmar and Bodh Gayâ.

King Meghavarma, the king of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), was the first Asian king who sent envoys with valuable presents to Samudragupta and sought permission to erect a monastery for the residence of Ceylonese pilgrimage at Bodh Gayâ. When great Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang came to Bodh Gaya, they heard about the Ceylonese pilgrimage legacy and mentioned them in their accounts. Fa Hian wrote about the monastery built by the Ceylonese king, and

according to Hiuen Tsang, the king of Ceylon just sent one pilgrim, his brother, who took to monastic life. To facilitate his brother's visit, the king built a monastery at Bodh Gayâ. On the other hand, Wang Hiuen-t'se says that King Meghavarma sent two monks on pilgrimage, named Mahanama and Upa (Upasena). Both are mentioned in the inscription of Mahanama II, dated 587 AD. A tenth-century Sri Lankan inscription from Ramkale near Sigiriya also confirms Mahanama visit and gives patronage at Bodh Gayâ<sup>49</sup>. According to the Ramkale inscription, Mahânâma visited Bodh Gayâ thrice in his lifetime<sup>50</sup>.

Besides the institutional patronage, the votive at rail bars of stone railing shows the beginning of gifts at Bodh Gayâ by different individual pilgrims such as Amogha, Patiharaka, Buddharakashitâ, etc. Buddhara-kashitâ was the earliest known Ceylonese pilgrims to Bodh Gayâ. According to Barua, King Meghvarama sent any pilgrim from Ceylon, must be other than Buddharakashitâ<sup>51</sup>.

Apart from building monasteries, pilgrims started donating objects like images of Buddha, railings, and a gateway to the temple. An inscription on an image of Buddha reads, "Om this is the appropriate religious gift of the elder Mahanama, a Buddhist monk an inhabitant of Amardvipa (Sri Lanka)." Two other Buddha images were also donated by three other Buddhist monks of Ceylon named Dharmadasa, Dharmagupta and Damshttrasena. They came on pilgrimage together with Mahanama II of Amardvipa. Dharmaguta and Damshttrasena jointly gift one image and both are mentioned as residents of Tishyamratirtha. Tishyamratirtha is a place on the island of Lanka, and Damshttrasena, too, is a Singhalese name, argues Barua<sup>52</sup>.

Chinese traveller, Fa Hien visited Bodh Gayâ in 409 AD and mentioned about great pagoda (temple) at the site. Fa Hien visited the monastery and mentioned that the monastery was sheltering 5000 monks<sup>53</sup>. On his first trip to the Indian subcontinent, another Chinese pilgrim-traveller Hiuen Tsang first visited Râjgrha and then Mahabodhi temple in Bodh Gayâ, where he placed an inscription within the Bodhi tree where Sakyamuni attended the enlightenment. The mission also accompanied an artisan named Song Fazhi who drew images of Buddhist architecture and artefacts that were replicated in China<sup>54</sup>. When Fa Hian came to Bodh Gayâ, the shrine was a simple and decent structure. But two and half centuries later,

when Hiuen Tsang came to Bodh Gayâ, he drew a flourishing picture of the Mahabodhi temple. Hiuen Tsang also attests to the gift of images made to the Mahabodhi temple. He credits a Brahmin votary of Siva-Maheshvara with the costly erection of a temple at Bodh Gayâ, and his younger brother excavated a tank with a flowery bank on the south side of the great shrine. The Buddha image enshrined in the main shrine is praised as the handiwork of the skilled Brahmin artist employed by the builder.

Soon after the introduction of Buddhism into Vietnam in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, the first batch of pilgrims came to India. Two monks named Khuy Sung and Minh Vien took a ship, and via Sri Lanka, they landed on the west coast of India, and from there, they came to Bodh Gayâ. From Bodh Gayâ, they went to Râjgrha, after which Khuy Sung became sick and died at the age of 25<sup>55</sup>.

Ceylonese pilgrimage continued in the coming centuries. Another Sanskrit inscription of the stone railing mentions the name of a Ceylonese pilgrim, Prakhyatakritti, who visited Bodh Gayâ in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. The votive inscription of Udayasri, written on the pedestal of a Buddha image, yields a record of the Singhalese pilgrimage to Bodh Gayâ. Udayasri was an upâsaka or layman who came on pilgrimage with his wife and son. An inscription from Ghuriyavan (Gayâ) talks about donating an image. The image on which the description is inscribed belongs to Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara modelled per the characteristic features of Pala period sculpture (8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century). The purpose of the inscription is to record a donation of an image of Bodhisattva by a person named Yaúodharâ, an inhabitant of Abhayagiri Achala. Abhayagiri Achala is identified as Abhayagiri Vihara (monastery), located on a hill to the north of the capital city of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. The Ceylonese monastery at Bodh Gaya also succeeded in getting land grants. According to the Janipura stone inscription, found 10 km west of Bodh Gayâ, Pithapati Jaysena, the son of Buddhasena, granted a village for the maintenance of the monastery to the Ceylonese monk Mangalavamin. The inscription shows that Acharya, with the Sena title, continued ruling over the region<sup>56</sup>. Buddhasena was a pilgrim from Dattagalla in Ceylon who gifted an image of the Buddha at Bodh Gayâ.

The eleventh century witnesses an upsurge in pilgrimage and patronage at Bodhgaya. The 11<sup>th</sup> century also brought the second great epoch of the Chinese pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya. Chinese



dynasties like Han and Song (Sung) promoted and patronized pilgrimage. The pilgrimage to Bodh Gayâ by Chinese monks is evidenced by four inscriptions belonging to the Song dynasty. Out of four, the first three are dated to 1022 and the fourth to 1033 AD<sup>57</sup>. Five 11<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese inscriptions are also found at Bodh Gayâ<sup>58</sup>. All Chinese inscriptions record the endowments made by Chinese monks. According to one inscription, on the command of the Song emperor, a monk gifted a stone stupa at Bodh Gayâ. The inscription of pilgrim Chi I shows that he was a priest of the great Han dynasty. He came twice to the kingdom of Magadha to gaze upon the diamond throne (Vajrayana). Hwei Tsci and Kwang Fung accompanied him for the second time. The longest Chinese votive inscription, dated 1021 AD, is devoted to pilgrim Yun Shu from China's western (Yellow) River. On his first visit to Bodh Gayâ, he became associated with Chiang Hsia-Pias, another Chinese priest who had come there earlier. He was also accompanied by two pilgrims named I-Ching and I-Lin. I-Ching and I-Lin set up a separate inscription dated 1029 AD, the 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the great Sung dynasty. I-Ching and I-Lin inscriptions also mention another priest from the monastery of the commencement of holiness in the eastern capital named Yu-Pin. Lastly, the inscription of Hui wen, dated 1033 (the second year of Ming Tao), records the erection of the diamond throne at Bodh Gayâ.

The 11<sup>th</sup> century also began a long-term relationship between Burma and Bodh Gayâ. The Burmese King Kyanzittha of Pagan (1084-1112 CE) sent the first Burmese mission to the Mahabodhi temple and Bodhi tree. Pyuthkin, the prince; Radha, the minister; and Waradathi, the Buddhist, successfully repaired the Mahabodhi shrine's first Burmese repair. According to Burmese inscriptions, Burmese rulers sent three such missions to Bodh Gayâ. The purpose of these missions was to repair the Mahabodhi temple. The Shwesandaw Pagoda inscription at Prome, dating approx. 1100 CE, reads as:

"In this respect, no other king is like him. Thereafter, the holy temple of Sri Bajras, of three ..., destroyed by the kings .... King Kyanzittha (Sri Tribhuwanadityadhammaraja) got together jewels of diverse kind and sent them in a ship with intent to build up the holy temple of the glorious Sri Bajra (Vajrasana), to buy (land) ..., to dig tank, to irrigate arable land, to make dams, in order to burnt tapers that should never be allowed to go out, to present drums..., xylophones, singing dancing, finer than

before. In this respect, too, no other king is like him. Therefore, the greater building which Dhammasoka built, which were old in ruin, king Tribhuwanadityadhammaraja proceeded to build a new, making it finer than ever before".<sup>59</sup>

Another inscription that records the Burmese connection is found at Bodh Gayâ, which dates back to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. The inscription reads :

"When 218 years of the Buddha's dispensation has eclipsed, one of the 84000 chaityas built by Sri Dhammasoka, the king of Jambudvipa, at the place where the milk-rice offering had made (Sujata offering of payasa to Siddhartha at Bodh Gayâ), fell into ruin due to stress of age and time. A senior pansaku monk repaired the chaitya. Thereafter, it fell into ruin again. The 'king of the law, 'lord of the white elephant' sent his acarya Dharmarajaguru to repair it, and the latter took his pupil, Sri Kassapa. When the finance was found to be insufficient, at the request of a Vanavasi monk, Putasin Man (Buddhasena, named a local ruler) extended a helping hand, which seemed to have involved financial assistance. The work was thereafter resumed and continued from 1296 to 1298 CE".

Bodawpaya, king of upper Burma and ruler of the Alompra dynasty of Ava sent a Buddhist mission to Bodh Gayâ. The predecessor of Burmese king Thibaw sent a second repair mission to Bodh Gayâ. Asokavalla, the Buddhist king of Sapadalaksha (Sivalik), built a monastery installed a Buddha image, and employed cook Mamaka and keeper Harichandra to prepare offerings to the deity. Sahanasana, the treasurer of Prince Asaratah, the younger brother of Asokavalla, made meritorious patronage at Bodh Gayâ. Dhammazedhi was the famous king of lower Burma and author of the Kalyani stone inscriptions who sent a Buddhist mission to Bodh Gayâ to make a drawing of the holy shrine for building a model in his capital. Sri Dharmarajaguru from lower Burma, the elder brother of King Sahadevinda, was gifted a large copper guilt umbrella.

Bodh Gayâ's connected history is explicitly reflected in patronage showered upon Bodh Gayâ by different rulers at different points in time. Burmese kings not only sent pilgrimage missions to repair the Mahabodhi temple, but they also built monasteries at Bodhgaya and a replica of the Mahabodhi temple at their places. For example, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Hrilo Minlo, who ruled from Pagan, built

a temple modelled on the Mahabodhi temple of Bodh Gayâ. When pilgrims visited Bodh Gayâ, they brought some articles such as clay tablets as mementoes or souvenirs to memorise their visit to the sacred city. These pilgrimage items show the two countries' backward and forward links. For example, the Bodh Gayâ tablet is found stamped at Kyaunak Gu Cave temple Began dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The replication of Mahabodhi temple in the Burmese tablets is natural considering the link Myanmar had with Bodh Gayâ, argues Suchandra Ghosh<sup>60</sup>. The manufacturing techniques of these tablets were also adopted from Bodh Gayâ. Travelling of Mahabodhi images in the form of tablets is the best manifestation of the connected history of Gayâ with Myanmar.

Apart from the significant influx of pilgrims from China and Myanmar, the 11<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed subcontinental pilgrimage. In 1011 AD, a great teacher Atisa from Bengal visited Bodh Gayâ<sup>61</sup> for ordination before going to Tibet. Around the same time, famous translator Richen Sangpo (959-1051) came to complete his study at Bodh Gayâ<sup>62</sup>.

A 12<sup>th</sup>-century inscription from Bodh Gayâ also mentions the presence of Singhalese samgha (Sri Lankan) at Bodh Gayâ. The presence of Singhalese sangha indicates the inflow of Sri Lankan pilgrims at Bodh Gayâ. The Sri Lankan pilgrims also brought an influx of income to the temple. Besides Burmese and Sri Lankans, there were also pilgrims from China and Tibet. According to a Sanskrit inscription Prakhyatkirtti, a Sri Lankan monk, not only built a new temple just next to Vajrasana but also repaired the old one and gifted 100 cows for a perpetual lamp placed before the brass image of Buddha. He also provided to dig a water reservoir and lay land for monks' needs.

Pilgrims from different parts of the subcontinent also visited Bodh Gaya A votive inscription also mentions a pilgrim named Viryendra from the great monastery of Sompura and an inhabitant of Samatata attract which formed a part of ancient Bengal. According to Barua, the last cycle of Buddhist pilgrimage to Bodh Gayâ from different parts of India started in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>63</sup>. Many inscriptions are dated 1359 AD (two), 1365, 1385, and 1388 AD. The rest of them do not bear dates. The inscription dated 1385 mentions the epithet Karasaka. Karasa was probably a locality in the Punjab or Sind. This shows that Buddhist pilgrims from northwest India also

turned up at Bodh Gayâ. An inscription (on the old stone railing) of Pandita Jinadasa engraved by Samgatta records that Pandita Dinadasa hailed from Parvata. In all its possibilities, Parvata mentioned in the votive inscription is none other than Multan<sup>64</sup>. Between 1302 and 1331 several pilgrim batches came to Bodh Gayâ from Sindh and, in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, from Multan, all evidenced by granite paving stones.

The third phase of the Chinese pilgrimage to Budh Gaya began at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In 1401-02 a delegation of the Ming emperor and Hou Xian also visited Bodh Gayâ. According to Tansen Sen, the Chinese pilgrims visited Bodh Gayâ through both maritime and overland routes. During the early Ming period, the pilgrim named Hou Xian (1403-14-27) went to Bengal and Bodh Gayâ by both the overland route through Tibet and the maritime route through Sumatra<sup>65</sup>. A Buddhist monk from south India visited Bodh Gayâ in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from Bodh Gayâ, he visited Afghanistan, Kashmir, Ladakh, Sri Lanka, Java, Laccadives, Tibet, Burma, Lumphun in northern Thailand, and even East Africa<sup>66</sup>. Around the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a Nepalese pilgrim named Abhayaraj came to Bodh Gayâ and resided here for several years. During his stay at Bodh Gayâ, he made a layout of the Mahabodhi temple. On his return, he constructed a more miniature replica at Patan near Kathmandu<sup>67</sup>. In the 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century, a copy of the Mahabodhi temple was also built at Mrauk U, the ancient capital of Arakan. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a mission was sent to Bodh Gayâ to take saplings of the bodhi tree. Inscriptions from Burma and Bodh Gayâ indicate that Bodh Gayâ received not only regular pilgrims from Burma but also substantial patronage in the form of royal endowment whenever they found the shrine in bad shape. Kings of Burma took a personal interest in conserving the shrine at Bodh Gayâ. According to Upinder Singh, among the all-Buddhist sites of India, Bodh Gayâ seems to have been of preeminent importance when it came to the trans-regional endowment<sup>68</sup>. Through these endowments, Bodh Gayâ possesses the longest and largest trans-regional history.

In 1773, the Puchen Lamba from Tibet sent nine monks and three laymen led by Tung Rampa to Sarnath and Bodh Gayâ. The king of Varanasi welcomed them, and in their return, the gifted Lama a small model of the Mahabodhi temple along with a watch and elephant tusks<sup>69</sup>.

Generous endowment to Bodh Gayâ from Burmese kingdoms became intense in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Three inscriptions at Bodh Gayâ testify to this. In 1810, the Alompra dynasty of Burma started repairing the main shrine. In 1911 King Bodawpaya sent a mission to Bodh Gayâ to repair the temple. In 1877, Mindon Min the last Burmese king also sent a mission to Bodh Gayâ to repair and build a monastery. The Burmese king Mindon Min was also profoundly interested in conserving the temple and started the conservation work once again in 1877. The outbreak of the Anglo-Burmese war forced the work to be stopped.

## 8. Conclusion

Hindu Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ attracted a large number of pilgrims from India and the world. There is a doubt that Gayâ was a sacred centre from the epic time. However, in the absence of literary and inscriptional records, Barua is not correct when he argues that 'Gayâ had attained pre-eminence among the notable places of Hindu pilgrimage as early as the days of the Buddha'<sup>70</sup>. Chinese pilgrims (Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsang) also present a grim picture of the Hindu Gayâ. The 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries were the formative period of Hindu Gayâ. The sculptural records at Bodh Gaya also indicate the beginning of image donations started in the Pala period. *Skanda Purana* also registers the shift of pilgrimage from Avanti to Gayâ; during this period, texts like *Gayâmahâtmya* were written to propagate the importance of Gayâ as a pilgrimage centre. As per epigraphic records, the actual phase of the Gayâ pilgrimage started in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and continued without breaks. The other side of the history of Bodhgaya is entirely different. Pilgrimage and patronage at Bodhgaya started with King Asoka in the middle of the third century BCE and gained momentum in the post-Christian Era. Buddhist rulers (China, Sri Lanka, Burma) patronised Bodh Gayâ by sponsoring restoration works with new projects and various endowments. According to Janice Leoshko, the Buddhist practice at Bodh Gayâ largely ceased after the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>71</sup>. However, records of pilgrimage, both at Hindu Gayâ and Bodh Gayâ, provide that from 11<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Gayâ continuously received pilgrims and patronage and remained connected with the Indian and South Asian Buddhist communities. The 'Vijaya-asana' inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagar at Gaya show that Muslim rule did not put obstacles to the pan-Indian pilgrimage that Gayâ received during the medieval time and continued after.

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3. Upinder Singh and Parul Pandya Dhar (eds.), *Asian Encounters Exploring Connected Histories*, New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2014.
4. Parul Pandya Dhar (eds.), *Connected Histories of India and Southeast Asia*, New Delhi : Sage and Spectrum, 2023.
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6. *Skanda Purana*, V.i.59.1-8.
7. *Skanda Purana*, V.i.59.10.
8. *Skanda Purana*, V.i.59.13.
9. *Skanda Purana*, V.i.59.28-30.
10. *Skanda Purana*, I.ii.74. Mimi is also famous as a royal sage in Buddhist Jataka. Mahabharata also records his gift to the kingdom.
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15. Benimadhab Barua, *Gayâ and Buddha-Gayâ, Early History of the Holy Land*, Vol-1, Book-1, Calcutta : Satis Chandra Seal, 1934, 12.
16. Benimadhab Barua, *Gayâ and Buddha-Gayâ, Early History of the Holy Land*, Vol-1, Book-1, Calcutta : Satis Chandra Seal, 1934, 137
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25. *Skanda Purana*, VI.31.34-104.
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28. D. C. Sirkar and K. H. V. Sarma, *Inscriptions from Gayâ, Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, 103-08. The inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed into the eastern wall of the shrine of Shiva in front of the Vishnupada temple.
29. D. C. Sirkar and K. H. V. Sarma, *Inscriptions from Gayâ, Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXXII, 108-10. The inscription is engraved on the left door of a Mahadeva shrine under the *Pipal* tree in the compound of the Vishnupada temple. The record is written in the Nandi nigari character of about the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century AD It contains two inscriptions, and both refer to the same Hoysala king Narasimha.
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31. D. C. Sirkar and K. H. V. Sarma, *Inscriptions from Gayâ, Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, 111.
32. D. C. Sirkar and K. H. V. Sarma, *Inscriptions from Gayâ, Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, 111. An inscription from Bothpur in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh refers to a chief named Vittaya who sent two persons named Bachaya and Boppa to Varanasi. In another inscription of 1272 AD from the same place, a chief named Malyala Gunda gave some lands to several people for making a pilgrimage on his behalf to tirtha like Ramsetu, Úrîparvata, and Alampuru on the Tungabhadra.
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36. L. P. Vidhyarthi, *The Sacred Complex in Hindu Gayâ*, Calcutta : Asia Publishing House, 1961, 27.
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## **Nawab Zabardast Khan Tyagi in Legends and History : An Unsung Hero of Indian Revolution of 1857**

***Vighnesh Kumar\**, *Kuldeep Kumar Tyagi\*\**,  
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*Acharya Chatur Sen, one of the famous Hindi novelist is well known for his historical novels. In his 'Sona Aur Khoon', he describes about the persona of Zabardast Khan, the Nawab of Hapur. The picture of the Nawab Acharya painted was not a similar one to what he actually was. Nawab was neither a Ruhela nor a Pathan but a Tyagi convert. He was a Bhadsyan Tyagi of Gautam 'gotra'. His uncle was Chaudhary Roop Ram Tyagi of 'Taga Sarai' muhalla of Hapur. They owned Hapur and nearby areas. His role in Indian Revolution of 1857 was great. He was resisting the East India Company forces not only at Hapur but also beyond*

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that. Towards Gulaothi, Kithor and Garhmukteshwar, he was active. Ultimately assisting Walidad Khan, the Nawab of Malagarh; he was identified by the British during the 'Datiyana' episode. He along with his only son and all of his real brothers and other supporters was killed. The inhabitants of Hapur have a tradition to organize one month "Shaheed Mela" since 1975 to commemorate its great martyrs of 1857.

**[Keywords :** Nawab Zabardast Khan, Taga Sarai, Hapur, Emperor Bahadur Shah, Zeenat Mahal, Nawab Walidad Khan, Malagarh, Sona Aur Khoon]

While making deep efforts for compilation of regional history around Meerut and Delhi<sup>1</sup>, one of the famous Hindi writer and novelist Acharya Chatur Sen<sup>2</sup> in his very famous work '*Sona Aur Khoon*'<sup>3</sup> has focused his pen upon the much infamous (?) personality of a forgotten hero of Indian Revolution of 1857. He, thus, describes his persona<sup>4</sup> :

"Nawab Zabardast Khan was a tall, well built strong person who had large estates around Hapur and towards other nearby stations like that of Gulaothi. He was fond of dancing girls but was very cruel in nature. He was infamous for both due to his cruelty and also due to his anti-Hindu sentiments."

On the other hand, the authors of this article, when investigated, found Acharya Chatur Sen's comments untrue and even unhistorical to some extent. Nawab Zabardast Khan belonged to the Tyagi family of 'Taga Sarai' and 'Qila Kohna' of Hapur.<sup>5</sup> Chaudhary Roop Ram Tyagi was his uncle with whom he had a number of land disputes. Originally this family belonged to the Tyagis of Gautam *gotra*<sup>6</sup> who are said to have 360 villages of their clan and are called the '*Bhadsyans*'.<sup>7</sup>

It is said that Chaudhary Zabardast Khan was styled, 'Nawab' by the Mughal Emperor Bhadur Shah whose youngest son from Queen Zeenat Mahal was married to Chaudhary Zabardast Khan's intimate friend Nawab Walidad Khan's sister's daughter.<sup>8</sup>

When the Revolution of 1857 outbreak at Meerut on 10th May, 1857; Nawab Walidad Khan was present at Delhi. He returned on May 26, 1857 to the Fort of Malagarh with the Sanad of the Governorship of Aligarh and Bulandshahar regions from the Emperor<sup>9</sup>.

Being situated at the very peculiar strategic geographical position, the town of Hapur became of military importance for both

the Indians and the British. It stood on the crossing of both the highways from Meerut Cantt. to Agra Cantt. and from Delhi to Rohilkhand.

Nawab Walidad Khan handed the responsibility over to his most trusted friend Chaudhary Zabardast Khan to hold his control on Hapur and nearby area upto Gulaothi.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, the Indian side was defeated by the East India Company's forces and Zabardast Khan alongwith his all the real brothers was executed.<sup>11</sup> He was shot dead<sup>12</sup> and his brothers were hanged till death at the spot where present *tehsil* of Hapur stands.<sup>13</sup> Thus, a forgotten hero of 1857 in legends and history is covered in this paper.

The '*Sona Aur Khoon*' is one of the most famous novels of Acharya Chatur sen. It has been compiled in ten volumes in about 5 thousand pages. Mentioning about two of his friends, he writes<sup>14</sup>:

*"Upnyas ke es pratham bhag ki tayyari mein do mitron ne mujhe bahaut sahayta di. Ek Niwari ke Kunwar Surander Pal Singh Tyagi, dusre Kavivar Hansraj Rahbar. Shri Taygi ek bhavuk aur vivechak tarun hein. Naya hi mera unse parichay hua hei... Unhone Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Garhmukteshwar aur Hapur ke bahut-se tathya mujhe diye, jin par mein apni kalphna ki tulika chala saka"...*

Writing about his another friend Hansaj Rahbar, he mentions<sup>15</sup> :

*"Mein badnasib Urdu padh nahi sakta, Shri Rahbar ghanton mere paas baithkar 57 se sambandhit sandarbha Urdu se chhant-chhantkar late aur sunate tatha note karate hein. Sach puchhiye to en dono mitron ki punji par hi pratham bhag ka sara karobar chala hei."*

Published in December 1957, a full century after the outbreak of Indian Revolution of 1857; the 4<sup>th</sup> '*Khand*' of the first *Bhag* discusses about Nawab Zabardast Khan of Hapur and his *aashna* Gulabjan, Gulaothi, Lala Mutsaddilal and others.<sup>16</sup>

Describing the persona of Nawab Zabardast Khan, what Acharya Chatur sen writes is worth-mentioning<sup>17</sup>:

*"Nawab Zabardast Khan was a fitrati Zalim. This was the Nawab of Hapur who belonged to the family of the Ruhela Pathan, dark in colour having the spots of pox on his whole face. In his fort there was kept a natni (dancing girl) named Gulab Jan whom he had given the village of Gulaothi."*

About Nawab's cruelty and anti-Hindu sentiments, he further writes<sup>18</sup>:

*“Hinduon ka kattar virodhi pakshpati Musalman tha. Aaye din fasadi Mulla aur Ulema uske yahan jamate karte aur uske karinde-ghumaste Hindu riyaya par manmane atyachar karte, jinki kahin koi sunwayi na hoti thi. Company Bahadur ki sarkar kewal apni malghuzari lene me chak-chauband thi... Company Bahadur ki sarkar ke pass na etne barqandaz the, na thanedar, na tehsildar, ki vah mulq me aman qaayam karme ki sirdardi uthaye...*

*Ek natni Gulab Jan enki aashna thi. Natni rakhna us zamane me raisi shaan to tha hi. Nawab ne use Gulaothi gaon de diya tha, jahan pura Tanda bas gaya tha... par Nawab ne jab gaon natni ke naam likhkar use vahan ka zemindar bana diya to gaon ke sabhi niwasi uski rayyat ho gaye. Gaon me Thakur bhi the, Brahmin bhi the, Jat bhi the. Ve natni ko zemindar manne me apni hatak semajhte the... vah bhi Nawab ki bhanti sakht-dil aur badmizaz thi... Nawab ne apne yahan uske liye ek aarasta kotha de rakha tha, jahan vah badi shaan se rahti thi. Do mahariyan khidmatgar Nawab ne use de rakhi thin.”*

Undoubtedly, the characters and the stories concerned are of much historic value, even then Acharya was not right in taking Nawab Zabardast Khan as a Ruhela Pathan.<sup>19</sup> He was neither a Ruhela nor a Pathan but a Tyagi convert. His descendants still are big landlords who own lands and proprietary rights still in several villages. One of the his direct descendants is Chaudhary Marghoob Tyagi<sup>20</sup> whose *Phufa ji* Chaudhary Amnwar Ahmad Tyagi has been elected M.P. in 1980 from Hapur-Ghaziabad Lok Sabha seat.

By conducting a dense field work, the authors of this paper have uncovered the facts about Nawab Chaudhary Zabardast Khan and Ulfat Khan and their other family members named Amzad Khan, Sarmast Khan and Dulhe Khan.

It is much interesting that the first author conducted field work on Chaudhary Zabardast Khan when Dr. Mudit Kumar had been doing research leading to Ph.D. under former's supervision. Both the master and the disciple published their work in the form of the book entitled '1857 Ka Viplava' in 2007 during the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebrations of the Indian Revolution of 1857. It mentions<sup>21</sup>:

*“The town of Hapur, a tehsil headquarters of the district of Ghaziabad is situated on the National Highway number 24*

leading to Calcutta from Delhi. Its inhabitants played important role in the Uprising of 1857. The main revolutionaries were Chaudhary Zaberdest Khan and Chaudhary Ulfat Khan.

Alongwith their supporters during the Revolution [of 1857] against the British, Chaudhary Zabardast Khan and Chaudhary Ulfat Khan were hanged till death from the historic pipal tree. The citizens of Hapur still commemorate their martyrdom. Every year a fair has been being observed at Hapur since 1975 to commemorate the martyrs of 1857. No where in whole of the country such type of fair is celebrated."

In his book, Richhpal Singh Tyagi, the famous Freedom Fighter writes about Chaudhary Zabardast Khan and his role in 1857 in and around Hapur. S.A.A. Rizvi mentions the disconnection of the Telegraph line between Hapur and Bulandshahr during the events of 1857.<sup>22</sup>

Nawab Chaudhary Zabardast Khan was a man active enough at the age of forty. He had great influence. He had mobilized his men. He and Walidad Khan had an understanding according to which Gulaothi was to be taken by Walidad and then it was to be governed jointly by both of them. From Hapur to Garh-Ganga the country was to be looked after by Nawab Zabardast Khan.

About Hapur and Walidad Khan's men, it is recorded in a contemporary source<sup>23</sup>:

"In the Hauppur [old spelling of Hapur current in 1857] *Tehseelee*, the neighbourhood of Wulleedad Khan's men kept up a good deal of disaffection..."

Mr. F. Williams, Commissioner of 1st Division Meerut in his Letter no. 406 of 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1858 to the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, Allahabad thus writes<sup>24</sup>:

"Wulleedad Khan about this time, began to advance in the direction of Hauppur, emboldened by the hope of at last getting some mutineers from Delhi. He had pushed the pickets up to Gulaootee, and the Jat village of Burthona was threatened. It was determined to drive these rebels back. Accordingly, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, a detachment of the strength noted in the margin, started for Hauppur."

It is quite worthy to have a look upon the strength as follows<sup>25</sup>:

2 Horse Artillery Guns

2 Mountain Train Guns

2 Carbineers

30 Mounted Volunteers

50 His Majesty's 60<sup>th</sup> Rifles

20 Musicians

15 Seikh Foot.

In fact, on 28<sup>th</sup> August; 1857, Walidad Khan had posted 400 sowars and 600 of his infantry<sup>26</sup> with about 6000 Gujars<sup>27</sup> and Rajputs<sup>28</sup> at Gulaothi. Nawab Zabardast Khan with his men was supposed there on the Hapur side of Gulaothi.<sup>29</sup>

The leadership qualities inherited by Zabardast Khan were experienced by his followers time to time. There was collected the revenue of an amount of 14,000 rupees at Dاتیانا<sup>30</sup>. This village has an ancient Hindu temple and from it evolves the Neem Nadi.<sup>31</sup> During the eventful year of 1857, it had a fine market and the impression of its richness can be taken from the fact that there were seven shops of goldsmiths in that village.<sup>32</sup> intelligence of this amount was received by Nawab Zabardast Khan and he had made the plan to take it away. The name of Zabardast Khan was not an open to public. This leader was executing his plans with top secret. Secretly participating was more safer and long lasting and so Nawab Zabardast Khan was active.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, the intelligence of the same reached the British officers at Meerut. At once Mr. Wilson was given order to march to Dاتیانا. This historical fact has been mentioned as follows<sup>34</sup>:

“When at Dhutteeanah, about 5 miles south of Kethor, on the Gurmookteeser road, thus employed, he received intelligence that a party of Wulleedad Khan's men were coming to attack him, and plunder the money he had realized, about 14,000. Immediately on receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Wilson, who was out at Pureetchutgurh with his 8th Irregular men, was requested to push over to save the treasure, and a troop of Carbiners was sent off from Meerut with the Joint Magistrate to join Mr. Wilson's party at Kethor. Both parties joined and proceeded to Dhutteeanah, and found the treasure all right: the Malagurh men had come, but owing apparently to some

misunderstanding between the Goojurs and Wulleedad Khan, the Groojurs for once took the side of Government and assisted the *Tehseeldar's* men to resist the attack, and defended the Government money, which was brought safely in by Mr. Wilson the next day."

About Walidad Khan and the Fort of Malagarh, Edwin T. Atkinson writes<sup>35</sup>:

"The village though small is a large grain depot, and has a market on Sundays, Malagarh was formerly known as Rathora, and belonged to the Gorwa or Gaurwa Rajputs. A short time before the Marhatta ascendancy, Haqdad Khan, a Khatak Pathan had purchased the rights of the Amil, of Barana, from Rajputs and built a mud fort and a ganj or market here. He changed the name to Malagarh... Bahadur Khan, the son of Haqdad Khan, now made pretensions to the proprietary right in the town, and received from the British the lease of this and 35 other villagers at a fixed revenue of Rs. 5,000 per annum. Bahadur Khan died in 1824, and the lease lapsed. An allowance of Rs. 1,000 a year was made to Walidad Khan, son of Bahadur Khan then a minor, whilst the villages were settled with the original proprietors. Walidad Khan continued in receipt of this allowance up to 1857 A.D. His sister's daughter had married Mirza Jawan Bakht, son of the King of Delhi, in 1852, and on this account, at the outbreak in 1857, he was appointed subahdar of Baran and Koil by the rebel king."

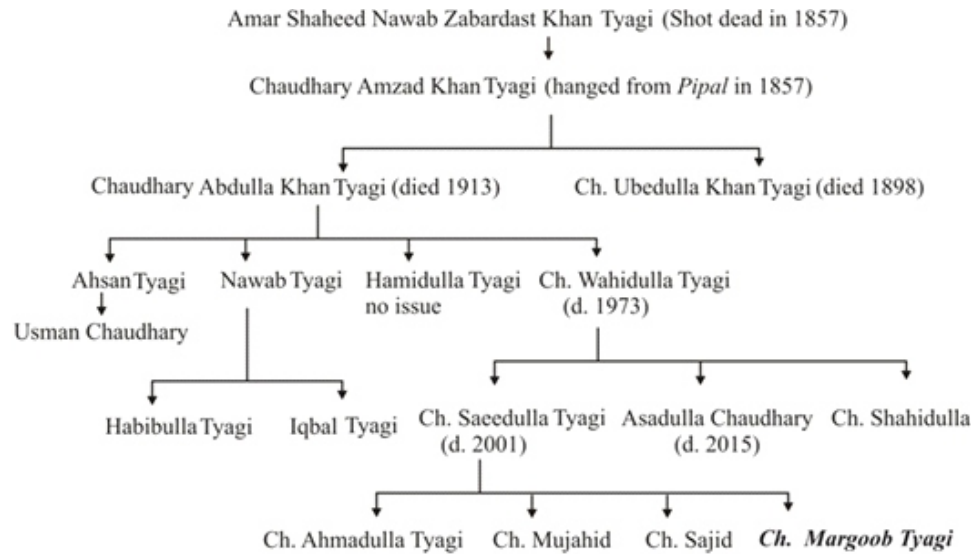
He further writes<sup>36</sup>:

"On the fall of Delhi, Walidad's forces were defeated by Colonel Greathed's column at Bulandshahr, or, and his fort was taken and razed to the ground. It was in operations rendered necessary for the purpose of blowing up the fort that the hero of the Dehli Kashmir gate, Lieutenant Charles Duncan Home, R.E., lost his life."

The village of Datiyana is situated towards Kithor. The latter is still a seat of Tyagi Muslims. It means the influence of Walidad Khan going on continuously increasing due to Nawab Zabardast Khan factor during Indian Revolution of 1857.

The genealogical table as made available by Chaudhary Margoob Tyagi is as follows<sup>37</sup>:





Nawab Zabardast Khan, after failing the “hanged till death drum head court martial”, was shot dead in forehead<sup>38</sup> (while drinking water) by Wilson at Hapur. All of his family members, brothers and sons and a number of supporters met the same fate being hanged till death and after from the *Pipal* tree where now telephone exchange building’s adjoining wall of the Hapur *tehsil* stands on Hapur-Bulandshahr road<sup>39</sup> Every year the citizens commemorate these martyrs by holding a one month ‘Shahed Mela’ which is inaugurated on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of May every year since 1975.<sup>40</sup>

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\*Born on 26th August, 1891 at the village of Chandokh near Bulandshahr in Uttar Pradesh, Acharya Chatur Sen, after receiving his primary education at Sikandrabad, took admission in the Sanskrit College, Jaipur. From there he received the degree of the ‘Ayurvedacharya’ and ‘Shastri’. After further studies in Ayurveda, he was appointed Professor of Ayurveda in the D.A.V. College, Lahore in 1917. He died on 2nd February, 1960 at Delhi at the age of 68 years.

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3. *Ibid.*, p. vi.
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6. *Ibid.*, Chaudhary Margoob Tyagi and 30 other Muslim Tyagi male and female members of Bhandra Pati muhalla of Hapur who are direct descendants of Nawab Zabardast Khan.
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## Artificial Intelligence and its Impacts on the Society

*Saksham Mahajan\**

*With the advancement of technology, previous benchmarks that defined artificial intelligence are fast becoming outdated in 21<sup>st</sup> century. For instance, devices that perform simple calculations or use optical character recognition to identify text are no longer regarded as examples of artificial intelligence, since this function is now taken for granted as an inherent computer function. This paper is an attempt to analyze the impact, both positive and negative, of artificial intelligence on society. It has been shown that while the positive impacts are significant, it's crucial to address challenges such as ethical considerations, job displacement, and the potential misuse of artificial intelligence technologies. This is the reason that many politicians, scientists, technologists and all others concerned with the welfare of society have started fearing about the extensive use of advanced artificial intelligence leading to its negative impact on society. It has been concluded that striking a balance and implementing responsible artificial intelligence practices is essential to maximize the social benefits of this*

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*transformative technology globally in all types of countries. The future impact of AI hinges on our ability to harness its potential responsibly, striking a balance between innovations and safeguarding the principles that define a fair, just, and equitable society.*

[**Keywords** : Artificial intelligence, Technology, Innovations, Computers, Machines, Productivity, Society]

## 1. Introduction

Alan Mathison Turing (June 23, 1912- June 7, 1954), English mathematician, computer scientist, logician, cryptanalyst, philosopher, theoretical biologist and often referred to as the “Father of Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence” has done earliest substantial work in the field of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in the mid-20th century. He asked the the question to himself in 1950, “Can machines think?”<sup>1</sup> He claimed that an answer to the question can be found by subjecting machines to what he calls the “imitation game.”<sup>2</sup>

Turing is famous for his work developing the first modern computers, decoding the encryption of German Enigma machines during the Second World War. He detailed a procedure known as the Turing Test, forming the basis for artificial intelligence, where a human interrogator would try to distinguish between a computer and human text response. Even though this test has been scrutinized extensively since then, it continues to be a significant aspect of the history of artificial intelligence and a current philosophical issue since it makes use of language concepts. He argued that a program must be written in such a way that it directs a computer to learn. His ideas seem to have come true with the increased use of artificial intelligence in different fields.

## 2. Meaning of Artificial Intelligence

Artificial intelligence is the imitation of human intellect in computers that have been designed to have human-like thought and learning processes. In other words, it simply means the approximation of human intelligence in machines. The foundation of AI is the idea that human intellect can be described in a way that makes it simple for a computer to replicate and carry out activities, from the most basic to the most complex. The applications for artificial intelligence are endless. It is evident from its goals which include computer-enhanced learning, reasoning, and perception as it involves the development of algorithms and models that enable

computers to perform tasks that typically require human intelligence. These include figuring out problems, comprehending spoken language, identifying patterns, picking up knowledge from past experiences, and adjusting to new information. This is also the reason that AI technology is being used currently across diverse sectors and businesses from finance to healthcare.

Artificial Intelligence has been defined as the capacity of a digital computer or computer-controlled robot to carry out actions often associated with human intellect. According to McCarthy, "It is the science and engineering of making intelligent machines, especially intelligent computer programs. It is related to the similar task of using computers to understand human intelligence, but AI does not have to confine itself to methods that are biologically observable."<sup>3</sup>

In its most basic form, artificial intelligence is a subject that combines computer science and large datasets to solve problems. It also includes the machine learning and deep learning sub-fields, which are often referenced when discussing artificial intelligence. It is associated with the concept that intelligence is supposed to be manifested by the computer systems and is not a sole property of humans any more. Scholars like Chatterjee<sup>4</sup>, Chopra and White<sup>5</sup> among many others have considered AI as an accurate tool in the context of problem solving without human help. According to Chatterjee and Bhattacharya<sup>6</sup>, AI is usually considered as a computer-centric technology capable of easily solving various problems in the complex situations in a flawless, cost-effective and quick manner without slightest assistance of humans which was previously deemed to be unique treasure of humans.

### **3. Types of Artificial Intelligence**

There are two main types of artificial intelligence :

- 1. Weak Artificial Intelligence :** It is also called 'Narrow AI' or 'Artificial Narrow Intelligence' (ANI). This type of artificial intelligence is designed to perform a specific task or a narrow range of tasks. It operates within a predefined set of parameters and does not possess the broad cognitive abilities of a human. Examples include virtual personal assistants like Apple's Siri and Amazon's Alexa, IBM Watson, and autonomous vehicles as well as image recognition software.

- 2. Strong Artificial Intelligence :** It is made up of 'Artificial General Intelligence' (AGI) and 'Artificial Super Intelligence' (ASI). Artificial General Intelligence (AGI), commonly referred to as general AI, envisions a hypothetical state of artificial intelligence in which a machine possesses intelligence comparable to that of humans. In this scenario, the machine would exhibit self-awareness, the capacity to solve problems, learn autonomously, and strategize for the future. Going beyond this, Artificial Super Intelligence (ASI), or superintelligence, would exceed the cognitive capabilities and skills of the human brain. Strong AI is a more advanced form of artificial intelligence that can understand, learn, and apply knowledge across a wide range of tasks, similar to human intelligence. It is still largely theoretical and is not yet fully realized.

Artificial intelligence can also be categorized on the basis of its functionality into following four types :

- 1. Reactive Machines :** This type of artificial intelligence system is designed to react to specific inputs or stimuli without the ability to learn or adapt over time. These systems operate based on predefined rules. They do not have the ability to learn from experience. Reactive machines don't possess the capability to change their behaviour or adapt to new situations.
- 2. Limited Memory :** These artificial intelligence systems can learn from historical data or past observations to make informed decisions. However, they have a limited ability to adapt to new situations. This limitation can be beneficial in scenarios where storing and processing large amounts of historical data is impractical or computationally expensive. Models with limited memory are often categorized as online or incremental learning algorithms.
- 3. Theory of Mind :** This is a hypothetical level of artificial intelligence that would have the ability to understand human emotions, beliefs, intentions, and thoughts. This includes recognizing and comprehending beliefs, intentions, desires, and emotions in order to interact more effectively in social settings. This is related to creating machines that not only process and respond to explicit commands or inputs but also understand the implicit and nuanced aspects of human communication.

4. **Self-aware Artificial Intelligence** : It refers to the hypothetical capability of an artificial intelligence system to possess a level of consciousness, self-recognition, and awareness akin to human self-awareness. In other words, this is an even more advanced concept where artificial intelligence systems have self-awareness and consciousness, similar to human beings.

The applications of the types of artificial intelligence systems described above are widespread and include areas such as natural language processing, image and speech recognition, expert systems, robotics, and machine learning. As technology continues to advance, artificial intelligence is playing an increasingly significant role in various aspects of our daily lives and industries.

#### **4. Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Society**

The anticipated arrival of Artificial Intelligence technology has brought short, medium and long-term changes in all societies globally. Many scholars like Chatterjee<sup>7</sup> and Bostrom<sup>8</sup> hold that the integration of AI into society has significant consequences for professionals accustomed to engaging with modern technologies. This extends to legal practitioners who grapple with the influential effects of AI and its regulatory implications, as well as technocrats who regularly rely on this advanced technology to make precise decisions in complex technological matters.

Nobody can probably deny the fact that every technological innovation like artificial intelligence invites effective potential for advancement as well as for damages to the society. The impacts of artificial intelligence on society can be divided into following two categories:

##### **4.1 Positive Impacts of Artificial Intelligence on Society**

Artificial intelligence has the potential to bring about numerous positive impacts across various domains. Some of the key positive aspects include :

1. **Increased Efficiency and Productivity** : Artificial intelligence systems can automate repetitive and mundane tasks, allowing human workers to focus on more creative, complex, and strategic activities. This leads not only to time savings and increased productivity, but also can quickly analyze vast amounts of data to extract meaningful insights. Streamlining



processes through artificial intelligence can lead to increased efficiency and productivity in various industries. It can also optimize supply chain operations by predicting demand, managing inventory, and improving logistics.

- 2. Advancements in Healthcare :** Artificial intelligence is being used to analyze medical data, assist in diagnostics, and identify patterns in patient records. Artificial intelligence algorithms have demonstrated remarkable accuracy in diagnosing medical conditions by analyzing medical imaging data such as X-rays, MRIs, and CT scans. This can lead to earlier detection of diseases and more personalized treatment plans. This enables proactive interventions and personalized care plans for at-risk individuals. Artificial intelligence-powered robotic surgery systems enable more precise and less invasive procedures. With the help of AI, instruments are there for image recognition.<sup>9</sup> This is helping the diseased people who are visually impaired.<sup>10</sup> There are other examples where AI can help the Healthcare industry.<sup>11</sup>
- 3. Enhancement of Education :** Artificial intelligence has the potential to significantly enhance education by introducing innovative tools and technologies that support teaching, learning, and administrative processes. It can provide personalized learning experiences, adapting to individual student needs and learning styles. Educational software and artificial intelligence-powered tutoring systems can assist students in their studies and help educators in tailoring teaching methods. Artificial intelligence also enables the creation of virtual classrooms with interactive features, facilitating engaging online learning experiences. Virtual tutors, simulations, and collaborative tools enhance the effectiveness of remote education. This aspect of AI has been studied by scholars like Slimi<sup>12</sup>, Zhang and Aslan<sup>13</sup>, Bates et al.<sup>14</sup>, Beck et al.<sup>15</sup>, Jain and Jain<sup>16</sup>, etc. among many others.
- 4. Improved Customer Service :** Artificial intelligence plays a crucial role in improving customer service across various industries. Artificial intelligence algorithms can predict potential customer issues based on historical data, enabling proactive customer service. AI-powered chatbots and virtual assistants enhance customer service by providing quick and

accurate responses to inquiries, improving user experience. Natural language processing allows artificial intelligence systems to understand and respond to customer queries in real-time. Artificial intelligence tools are also helpful to analyze customer feedback across various channels, including social media and review platforms, to identify trends, sentiments, and areas for improvement.

- 5. Innovation in Business and Advertisements :** Artificial intelligence also plays a significant role in driving innovation in various aspects of business. It enables businesses to gain insights from large datasets, helping in decision-making and strategic planning. Predictive analytics powered by AI can assist companies in forecasting trends, identifying opportunities and outcomes based on historical data. AI optimizes supply chain processes by predicting demand, managing inventory, and improving logistics. Not only this, AI enhances security measures by detecting anomalies and patterns associated with fraudulent activities.

AI into business procedures is becoming crucial. Information, robotics, and smart advertising is becoming more prevalent in today's marketing. When marketers get into such a contact, the possibilities for consumer value creation are huge.<sup>17</sup> Vladimirovich's<sup>18</sup> study has proved economic efficiency of the integration of artificial intelligence in business which solves many problems. According to Chintalapati and Pandey<sup>19</sup>, AI-powered market strategies that are smart and inventive can quickly respond to different company demands and provide connections and service bundles that are vital and profitable to relevant stakeholders.

Malviya et al.<sup>20</sup> have shown that artificial intelligence is transforming business operations, particularly in the field of digital marketing. Because of the rise of large data and increases in computer power, incorporating AI into business procedures is becoming crucial. Information, robotics, and smart advertising is becoming more prevalent in today's marketing. When marketers get into such a contact, the possibilities for consumer value creation are huge.

Shah et al.<sup>21</sup> Advertisement is now done with the help of not so newfound helping hand that is Artificial Intelligence and

Machine Learning. By implementing advertisements in this manner, we are confident that establishing laws, enforcing them, or even establishing a governing body can guarantee the ethical utilization of this technology. The future of advertising is poised to surpass its current state, with Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning providing companies with increased control over advertising processes. Advertising with Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning are here for a noticeable and a significant change.

6. **Environmental Impact** : Artificial intelligence technologies have the potential to contribute to sustainability and efficiency having far-reaching environmental implications. It is used in various environmental applications, such as monitoring and managing energy consumption, optimizing logistics and transportation, and predicting natural disasters. The infrastructure supporting AI applications, including data centers and cloud computing facilities, can have a substantial environmental footprint. Smart grids and energy management systems leverage AI to enhance the efficiency of energy distribution. Thus, AI can be used to monitor and manage environmental resources more efficiently. Ligozat et al.<sup>22</sup> have unravelled the hidden environmental impacts of AI. They assert that the popularity of AI is on the rise, frequently portraying it as a solution to environmental issues through proposals like AI for Green initiatives.
7. **Assistance for People with Disabilities** : Artificial intelligence has vast potential to significantly improve the lives of people with disabilities by providing solutions that enhance their accessibility, communication, and independence. AI-powered assistive technologies, which include tools for communication, Voice recognition, gesture control, mobility, and daily tasks, can change the life of individuals with disabilities. AI-driven chatbots can provide emotional support and companionship, particularly beneficial for individuals with mental health challenges or social anxiety. By addressing specific needs and challenges, AI has the potential to empower people with disabilities, fostering greater independence and inclusion in various aspects of life.
8. **Scientific Research and Discovery** : Artificial intelligence plays a crucial role in scientific research and discovery, accelerating

the pace of exploration and expanding our understanding of the world. AI accelerates scientific research by analyzing vast amounts of data, identifying patterns, and suggesting hypotheses. Drug discovery and genomic research benefit from AI's ability to process and analyze complex biological data. AI can create and maintain knowledge graphs, connecting information from diverse sources and providing a comprehensive overview of a particular scientific field. It has been proven that the integration of AI into scientific research not only expedites processes but also opens up new possibilities for discovery by revealing hidden patterns and insights within the vast amounts of data generated in various scientific disciplines.

- 9. Improved Safety and Security :** Artificial intelligence has the potential to significantly enhance safety and security across various domains by providing advanced tools for threat detection, response, and prevention. AI can also be used in fraud prevention and cyber-security. Autonomous vehicles leverage AI for navigation, collision avoidance, and traffic management, potentially reducing accidents. AI can also optimize law enforcement resources by predicting when and where misconducts are expected to transpire. AI can monitor critical infrastructure, such as power plants and water treatment facilities, for anomalies that may indicate a security threat or malfunction.

It is evident from the above contribution of artificial intelligence about the positive impact of AI on society that it is proving a boon. Its impact on society has been multifaceted and transformative, contributing to advancements across various domains. We can safely say that the positive impact of AI on society is far-reaching and it has started transforming the way we live, work, and interact. While challenges and ethical considerations must be addressed, the potential for AI to drive positive societal change is substantial, with ongoing research and responsible deployment ensuring that the benefits continue to outweigh the drawbacks.

Chatterjee<sup>23</sup> has rightly shown that artificial intelligence is significantly impacting the general populace by offering substantial assistance in a cost-effective manner. However, it also presents complex challenges that could potentially jeopardize their fundamental rights, including privacy infringement. In this context, this paper makes a measured, thorough, and holistic effort to briefly

analyze the implications of the advent of this technology. AI technology is effectively contributing to the societal changes by providing advantages as well as disadvantages to the humans.

#### **4.2 Negative Impacts of Artificial Intelligence on Society**

In spite of positive impact of artificial intelligence on society, there is its other side also. AI brings about various challenges and potential negative impacts that need to be carefully addressed. Some of the key concerns about negative impact include the following :

- 1. Job Displacement :** Artificial intelligence has the potential to lead to job displacement through automation, a process where tasks traditionally performed by humans are taken over by machines or algorithms. Automation through AI can replace certain jobs, particularly those involving repetitive and routine tasks. AI-powered robots are increasingly capable of performing tasks that were traditionally done by humans in fields like manufacturing, logistics, and even customer service. This can result in job displacement for workers whose tasks are taken over by robots. Not only this, AI systems, including virtual assistants, can automate administrative tasks such as scheduling, email filtering, and document management. This may reduce the need for administrative support roles in certain contexts. It's imperative to note that while AI can lead to job displacement in certain sectors, it can also create new opportunities and transform industries. New roles emerge in AI development, maintenance, and oversight, as well as in areas that leverage the unique skills and creativity of humans.
- 2. Bias and Discriminatory Outcomes :** Artificial intelligence systems can lead to bias and discriminatory outcomes for various reasons, reflecting the biases present in the data they are trained on, the algorithms themselves, and the contexts in which they are deployed. If certain groups are underrepresented or misrepresented in the training data, the AI system may not adequately learn to recognize patterns within those groups. Not only this, the biases of the developers involved in creating and training AI models can influence the outcomes. AI systems may not account for the specific context in which they are applied. Biases present in one context may not be applicable or may even be harmful in a different context, leading to unfair or discriminatory outcomes. If not addressed, these biases can be

perpetuated or even amplified by AI algorithms, leading to unfair or discriminatory outcomes, especially in areas like hiring, lending, and law enforcement. Addressing bias in AI requires a multi-faceted approach, involving careful consideration of data quality, algorithmic design, ongoing monitoring, and diversity in development teams.

- 3. Ethical Concerns :** Artificial intelligence raises ethical questions regarding privacy, consent, and the responsible use of data. Privacy issues arise as AI systems process vast amounts of personal data, leading to concerns about surveillance and unauthorized access. Ethical concerns surrounding AI center on the potential risks and consequences associated with its development and deployment. Issues such as surveillance, facial and voice recognition, and the collection of personal information without proper consent can lead to privacy violations. One major ethical concern of AI is the manifestation of biases in AI systems, perpetuating and amplifying societal prejudices present in training data. Ethical considerations, transparency, and fairness must be prioritized to ensure that AI technologies contribute positively to society
- 4. Lack of Transparency :** The lack of transparency in AI systems is a significant concern that raises ethical, legal, and societal issues. Many AI algorithms, especially in deep learning, operate as complex “black boxes”, making it challenging to understand their decision-making processes. Lack of transparency can raise concerns not only about accountability and trust in AI systems, but also pose several challenges like compliance with legal and regulatory frameworks, fairness and accountability of AI systems, hidden biases and discriminatory practices, undermining consumer rights, limiting human understanding and control, raising ethical questions about the autonomy of AI systems, etc. All these can lead to unforeseen negative impacts on individuals, communities and societies. It must be stressed that striking a balance between safeguarding proprietary information and providing sufficient transparency is crucial for fostering trust, accountability, and ethical use of AI technologies.
- 5. Security Risks :** Though artificial intelligence has the potential to significantly enhance safety and security across various

domains, still AI systems can be vulnerable to adversarial attacks, where malicious actors manipulate input data to deceive AI models. The proliferation of AI technologies has introduced significant security risks that demand careful consideration. The interconnectedness of AI in critical domains like healthcare, finance, and infrastructure creates a broad attack surface, making these systems attractive targets for cyber threats. Additionally, the increasing reliance on AI in critical systems poses cyber-security risks if these systems are compromised. Safeguarding AI against security risks necessitates robust cybersecurity measures, ongoing vulnerability assessments, and a concerted effort to address the unique challenges presented by the intersection of artificial intelligence and cybersecurity.

6. **Social Inequality** : Artificial intelligence has the potential to exacerbate social inequality through various mechanisms. One primary concern is the unequal distribution of benefits and opportunities stemming from AI adoption. Access to and benefits from AI technologies may not be distributed evenly, contributing to social inequality. Those with better resources and access to technology may disproportionately benefit, while others may be left behind. Hence, it may lead to a digital divide that disproportionately affects marginalized communities. To mitigate these risks, there is a pressing need for ethical AI development, inclusive policies, and efforts to address the broader socio-economic implications of AI deployment.
7. **Loss of Human Touch** : The widespread adoption of artificial intelligence technologies raises concerns about the loss of the human touch in various aspects of life. As AI systems automate tasks and interactions traditionally handled by humans, there is a risk of diminishing the personal and empathetic elements inherent in human interactions. In certain fields like healthcare and customer services etc., the introduction of AI may lead to a reduction in human interactions, potentially diminishing the quality of personal relationships and customer service experiences. For example, in healthcare sector, the reliance on AI for diagnostics and patient care may compromise the empathetic connection between healthcare providers and patients. This underlines the need for carefully balancing technological advancements with the preservation of the

human touch to ensure that essential qualities like empathy, understanding, and intuition remain integral in areas where human connection is paramount.

- 8. Misuse of Autonomous Weapons :** The ethical concerns surrounding AI are particularly pronounced in the context of autonomous weapons. The ability of autonomous weapons to identify and engage targets without direct human control introduces the risk of unintended consequences, civilian casualties, and the escalation of conflicts. Ethical considerations encompass issues such as compliance with international humanitarian law, the potential for misuse, and the lack of a moral framework guiding the actions of autonomous weapons. This has sparked discussions about the need for regulations and ethical guidelines in the use of such technologies in military applications and to prevent the ethical pitfalls associated with autonomous weapons.
- 9. Unemployment and Economic Disruption :** Beyond job displacement, the widespread adoption of AI could lead to economic disruption and structural changes in industries, potentially affecting entire sectors and local economies. It has been shown that the integration of AI technologies into various industries has prompted concerns about unemployment and economic disruption. While AI has the potential to create new job opportunities, the pace at which it transforms industries may outstrip the ability of the workforce to adapt. Economic disruption may result from the displacement of existing jobs, necessitating a shift in skills and roles.
- 10. Dependency and Reliability :** The increasing dependence on AI systems raises significant concerns about dependency and reliability. As critical functions in various sectors such as healthcare, finance, and transportation become heavily reliant on AI, the vulnerability of these systems to technical failures, cyber threats, or adversarial attacks becomes a pressing issue. Many scholars hold that overreliance on AI systems without proper fallback mechanisms can lead to catastrophic consequences if the technology fails or makes incorrect decisions. Moreover, overreliance on AI may diminish human expertise and critical thinking skills, leading to a potential erosion of individual and collective problem-solving capabilities.



Addressing these negative impacts of artificial intelligence requires a multidisciplinary approach involving policymakers, technologists, ethicists, and society as a whole. Implementing ethical AI practices, promoting transparency, and developing policies that address the social and economic implications of AI are essential steps in mitigating potential harm.

Many studies have revealed that the development of AI for the societal benefits will be hampered if the concerns covering privacy and security protection for personal data are not properly addressed by formulating appropriate policy, laws and regulations. Those are required to be consistently implemented with good governance. The authority should be cautious to stick to the ethical norms in structuring AI-program.

## **5. Conclusion**

Throughout the world people are depending on use of artificial intelligence and it is expected this trend will increase with passage of time. It may be concluded that the impact of artificial intelligence on society is profound and multifaceted, ushering in transformative changes across various domains. While offering unprecedented opportunities for efficiency, innovation, and improved quality of life, AI also poses challenges that demand careful consideration. The ethical implications, potential biases, and societal inequalities arising from AI applications require ongoing scrutiny and thoughtful regulation. Moreover, concerns about job displacement, loss of privacy, and the need for transparent, accountable AI systems underscore the importance of responsible development and deployment. A number of studies have highlighted the potential misuse of AI on society. This misuse is related both to ensuring that such AI do not harm humans and other morally relevant beings, and to the moral status of the machines using AI themselves. As we navigate this era of technological advancement, it is crucial to prioritize ethical considerations, inclusivity, and the preservation of human values to ensure that AI contributes positively to society, empowering individuals, fostering equity, and enhancing overall well-being. The future impact of AI hinges on our ability to harness its potential responsibly, striking a balance between innovations and safeguarding the principles that define a fair, just, and equitable society.

It is worth mentioning here that there is no comprehensive AI-policy in India. Without a clear regulatory framework, there is a risk of unchecked development and deployment of AI technologies, potentially leading to ethical lapses, biases, and privacy concerns. The absence of guidelines could impede the responsible and transparent use of AI across industries, hindering the nation's ability to harness the full potential of artificial intelligence for economic growth, innovation, and societal benefit. The same has been shown by many scholars (like Lawless and Sofge<sup>24</sup>, Chatterjee<sup>25</sup>, Chopra and White<sup>26</sup>, Garner<sup>27</sup> among many others), who hold that the absence of AI-policy in India might impede progress because the society wants to take the help of AI and at the same time expects to keep data privacy duly protected. This balance will be ensured by strict adherence to the policy of AI which should be, of course, consistent, reasonable and executable.

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