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Barun Multiple Campus, Khandbari

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Editorial

The Planning and Research Management Committee (PRMC) of Barun Multiple Campus (BMC), Khandbari is pleased to present the Third Issue of the Third Volume of BARUN Journal, April 2026 (Nepal Journals Online//<https://www.nepjol.info/index.php/barunj>). As a community-based institution affiliated with Tribhuvan University, our campus remains committed to promoting research, innovation, and academic excellence.

BARUN Journal serves as a multidisciplinary platform that encourages scholarly dialogue in the fields of social sciences, management, education, and humanities. This issue brings together research articles that address contemporary academic and societal concerns with methodological rigor and contextual relevance. Many of the studies reflect the realities of eastern Nepal, thereby strengthening the connection between higher education and community development. In alignment with the quality standards and research guidelines of University Grants Commission Nepal, the journal follows a peer-reviewed process to ensure academic integrity, originality, and scholarly contribution. The PRMC remains dedicated to nurturing a sustainable research culture within the campus by motivating faculty members and young scholars to engage in meaningful inquiry.

We extend our sincere appreciation to all contributors, reviewers, and editorial team members whose collaborative efforts have made this publication possible. Their commitment reflects the growing research capacity and academic enthusiasm within our institution.

We hope this issue of BARUN Journal will stimulate intellectual discussion, inspire further research, and contribute to the broader academic community at local, national, and international levels.

Editorial Board

Barun Journal

Planning and Research Management Committee (PRMC)

Barun Multiple Campus, Khandbari

April 2026

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A Situational Analysis of Landlessness among the Santhal People in Morang District

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Abstract

This study examines the situation of landlessness among the Santhal community in Ward No. 2 of Rangeli Municipality, Morang District. Despite being an indigenous national group, the Santhal people continue to face systemic exclusion from land ownership in an agrarian society where land determines livelihood, dignity, and social inclusion. The research is guided by two key questions: (1) What are the underlying causes and current patterns of landlessness among the Santhal community in the study area? (2) How does landlessness affect their socio-economic conditions, rights, and access to basic services? Accordingly, the objectives are to examine the structural and historical causes of landlessness and to analyse its socio-economic impacts on the community. The study adopts a mixed-method case study approach, combining descriptive and exploratory designs. Primary data were collected through household surveys (63 respondents), two focus group discussions, and two case studies, while secondary data were obtained from government reports, academic literature, and NGO publications. The findings reveal that nearly 73% of respondents live on public (Ailani) land without secure tenure, and many depend on Adhiya (sharecropping) farming and daily wage labour. Major causes of landlessness include historical land dispossession, lack of education and legal awareness, poverty, weak documentation, and ethnic marginalization. The impacts are severe, including insecure housing, limited access to services, restricted educational opportunities, and exclusion from government schemes. The study concludes that landlessness among the Santhal is a multidimensional issue requiring urgent, inclusive, and rights-based policy intervention.

Keywords: Santhal, landlessness, discrimination, marginalization, development

Background

Land ownership in Nepal is not only a symbol of economic stability but also a determinant of social status, political power, and access to resources. In agrarian societies like Nepal, land continues to be a primary asset for livelihood, particularly for rural and indigenous communities. Despite several land reform efforts initiated since the 1950s, including the Land Reform Act of 1964, landlessness persists as a critical issue, especially among historically marginalized groups such as the Dalits, indigenous nationalities (Adivasi Janajatis), and other socio-economically disadvantaged populations (Dhakal, 2011). Among the indigenous communities affected by landlessness, the Santhal people, also referred to as Satar or Santal, occupy a particularly vulnerable position. The Santhal are a recognized Adivasi Janajati group in Nepal, primarily concentrated in the eastern Terai region, including Morang, Jhapa, and Sunsari districts. They have a rich cultural heritage, unique language, and livelihood practices deeply intertwined with the land. However, due to historical marginalization, exclusion from formal state structures, and lack of legal recognition of their traditional land use systems, a significant portion of Santhal families remain without land ownership (Gaige, 2009).

As the time passed on, the Santals (Santhal) in Nepal were becoming more and more marginalized- struggling for mere survival without having any proper direction to move forward or improve their life situation (Olee Siwakoti). In Ward No. 2 of Rangeli Municipality in Morang District, the issue of landlessness among the Santhal community is notably acute. Despite the area's agricultural potential and increasing urbanization, many Santhal households reside on unregistered public lands (Ailani) or live as informal tenants under insecure arrangements. These families often lack legal land titles, making them ineligible for state benefits such as housing grants, compensation for displacement due to infrastructure projects, and access to agricultural subsidies. The absence of land tenure security not only exacerbates their economic vulnerability but also limits intergenerational asset transfer and community empowerment.

The intersection of landlessness and not having citizenship among the Santhal people has profound implications for their struggles to lead dignified lives. Without secure land tenure and citizenship rights, Santhal communities face systemic barriers that limit their opportunities for socio-economic advancement and perpetuate cycles of poverty and exclusion. Moreover, the lack of recognition and protection from the state leaves the Santhal people vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination, and human rights violations (Khosieko Adhikar, CSRC).

This study seeks to explore the ongoing reality of landlessness among the Santhal people in this specific ward, analyzing both the structural causes and socio-economic impacts of land deprivation. By highlighting the voices, experiences, and coping mechanisms of the Santhal community, the research intends to provide evidence-based insights for inclusive land policy reform and support indigenous rights to equitable development.

Research Question

Despite being one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal, the Santhal (Satar) community continues to face systemic exclusion and marginalization, particularly in terms of land ownership. In an agrarian society where land is a key resource for livelihood, dignity, and socio-economic development, the lack of secure land tenure has placed the Santhal people in a vulnerable position. This landlessness is not merely a matter of individual poverty but is rooted in historical injustice, policy negligence, and social discrimination. To address the core issues highlighted above, this study is guided by the following key research questions:

- What are the underlying causes and current patterns of landlessness among the Santhal people in Rangeli Municipality, Morang District?
- How does landlessness affect the socio-economic conditions, rights, and access to services of the Santhal community in this area?

Objectives

Understanding the structural and historical causes of landlessness, along with its practical consequences in the lives of the Santhal people, is crucial for designing effective interventions. This research, therefore, seeks to provide a grounded analysis by capturing both the systemic dimensions and the lived realities of landless Santhal families in the study area. Based on this general objective, the study has the following specific objectives:

- to examine the underlying causes and present patterns of landlessness among the Santhal community in study area,
- to analyze how landlessness affects the socio-economic conditions, rights, and access to basic services for the Santhal people in the study area.

Significance

Landlessness is not merely an economic issue but a deeply rooted social and structural problem that reflects historical exclusion, policy failure, and power imbalance. For

indigenous communities like the Santhals, land is not only a means of livelihood but also a source of cultural identity, social recognition, and intergenerational security. However, despite their long-standing presence in the Terai region, many Santhal families remain without formal land ownership, resulting in continued marginalization and limited access to state resources and opportunities. This study holds significance at multiple levels. First, it contributes to academic knowledge by focusing specifically on the Santhal community, a group that is often overlooked in national and regional discourses on land reform and indigenous rights in Nepal. By documenting the lived experiences of landless Santhal families in Rangeli Municipality, the study brings attention to an issue that is both urgent and under-researched.

Second, the findings of this research can serve as an evidence base for policymakers, local government officials, civil society organizations, and development practitioners working on land reform, indigenous rights, and inclusive development. By highlighting the root causes, present realities, and consequences of landlessness in a localized context, the study aims to inform more targeted and culturally sensitive interventions. Lastly, the study gives voice to the Santhal people themselves, whose struggles and perspectives are often unheard in decision-making spaces. By centering their narratives, this research not only contributes to knowledge production but also supports the broader goal of social justice and equity for indigenous and marginalized communities in Nepal.

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative and quantitative case study approach, which is appropriate for exploring the complex social issue of landlessness within a specific community context (Creswell, 2018). The case study method allows for an in-depth understanding of the Santhal people's lived experiences, social dynamics, and the structural factors contributing to their landlessness. This research adopts both descriptive and exploratory approaches to understand the situation of landlessness among the Santhal community in Ward No. 2 of Rangeli Municipality, Morang District. The descriptive aspect focuses on presenting the current status of land ownership, socio-economic conditions, and access to services among the Santhal households. It includes statistical data from household surveys, highlighting patterns, trends, and demographic characteristics of the respondents.

On the other hand, the exploratory aspect of the research aims to investigate the deeper, underlying causes of landlessness and the lived experiences of the Santhal people. Through focus group discussions and case studies, the study explores how historical,

social, and structural factors have contributed to their present condition. Since there is limited, formal research specifically targeting landlessness in this community, the exploratory design also helps in identifying new themes, issues, and perceptions that may not have been previously documented.

Both primary and secondary data were collected for this study.

- Primary data was gathered directly from the Santhal community members through HHs survey, FGDs, and observation.
- Secondary data was sourced from government records, academic publications, policy documents, and reports from NGOs working on land and indigenous rights.

Major Findings

The present study was conducted to assess the situation of landlessness among the Santhal people in Ward No. 2 of Rangeli Municipality, Morang District. The data presented in this chapter were collected from a total of 63 community members who were selected as respondents for this research. The sample comprises 44 males and 19 females, reflecting a predominantly male representation in the study population, which constitutes about 70% of the total sample, while the remaining 30% were females.

Table 1: No. of respondents from the study area

SN	Name of Village/Tole	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1	Bhaluwajhora	24	38%
2	Latamarang	8	13%
3	Jaliya	7	11%
4	Kathkholuwa	22	35%
5	Laxmipur	2	3%
	Total:	63	100%

Source: Field Study 2025

The data shows the distribution of respondents across different villages or toles within the study area. Among the total of 63 respondents, the highest number came from Bhaluwajhora (24), which constitutes 38% of the sample. Kathkholuwa follows closely with 22 respondents (35%), reflecting a significant representation from these

two villages. The rest of the respondents are distributed across Latamarang (13%), Jaliya (11%), and Laxmipur (3%), indicating a relatively small population from these areas. This distribution suggests that the majority of the data was collected from Bhaluwajhora and Kathkholuwa, which are the main settlements of the Santhal community in Ward 2 of Rangeli Municipality.

Table 2: Age group and gender ratio of respondents for household survey.

Age Group	Gender		Total	Percentage
	Male	Female		
18-24	3	3	6	10%
25-34	11	3	14	22%
35-44	11	6	17	27%
45-54	9	3	12	19%
55-64	8	0	8	13%
65+	2	4	6	10%
Total:	44	19	63	100%

Source: Field Study 2025

The age-wise distribution of the respondents shows a varied representation across different age groups. The 35-44 age group comprises the highest number of respondents with 17 people (about 27%), reflecting a dominant working-age population in the community. The 25-34 age group follows closely with 14 people (about 22%), while the 45-54 age group comprises 12 people (about 19%). Furthermore, the 55-64 age group consists of 8 people (about 13%), and the 18-24 age group and 65 and above age group both account for 6 people each (about 10%) of the total sample.

Table 3: No. of rooms in Santhal houses

Number of rooms in their house		
No. of room	No. of HHs	Percentage
Home with 1 room	11	19%
Home with 2 rooms	22	37%
Home with 3 rooms	15	25%
Home with 4 rooms	8	14%

Number of rooms in their house		
No. of room	No. of HHs	Percentage
Home with 5 rooms	2	3%
Home with 9 rooms	1	2%
Total Respondents:	59	100%

Source: Field Study 2025

The data reveals that the majority of Santhal families live in small houses with a limited number of rooms. Among the 59 respondents, 2-room houses are the most frequently reported, with about 37% of the families living in 2-room accommodations. This is followed by 3-room houses, which account for 25%, and 1-room houses, making up 19% of the total. The prevalence of small houses reflects the challenging living conditions of many Santhal families, where space is often scarce and not adequately divided for different household needs. Meanwhile, 14% of the families reside in houses with 4 rooms, 3% in 5-room houses, and 2% in a 9-room house, a small fraction that likely belongs to a relatively more well-off household in the community.

Table 4: Access of basic facilities by Santhal households.

Access on basic facilities		
Particular	No. of response	Percentage
Drinking Water	59	94%
Electricity	48	76%
Toilets	49	78%
Health Post	3	5%
Road	4	6%
School	7	11%
Communication	48	76%

Source: Field Study 2025

The data reveals that the majority of the Santhal community has access to certain essential facilities, although there are still significant gaps in many areas. Among the 63 respondents, drinking water stands out as the most accessible service, with about 94% of the community having reliable access. This suggests that drinking water is largely available, reflecting the progress made in this area.

Table 5: Perception on Land Rights by Santhal People

Perception on Land Rights		
Do you think the Santhal community is treated fairly in land ownership issues?	No. of respondents	Percentage
Yes	0	0%
No	60	95%
Not Sure	3	5%

Source: Field Study 2025

A question was asked in the online form with ‘Do you think the Santhal community is treated fairly in land ownership issues?’ and the received data reflects a deep-rooted perception of unfair treatment among the Santhal community when it comes to land ownership issues. Among 63 respondents, 60 (95%) stated that the Santhal community is not treated fairly in land ownership matters. This overwhelming majority underscores a strong feeling of injustice and inequality within the community. Furthermore, a small fraction about 5% (3 respondents) responded that they were not sure whether the community is treated fairly or not, reflecting some uncertainty or lack of knowledge about the legal procedures and policies related to land ownership. Importantly, none of the respondents believed that the Santhal community is treated fairly in this context, which highlights a universal perception of unfairness and a persistent violation of their land rights.

Findings from Case Study

To get a deeper understanding of the struggles faced by landless Santhal families, two case studies were documented from the study area. These cases reflect the real-life stories of community members who have been affected by unfair practices, illiteracy, and a lack of legal ownership of land. Through their experiences, we can observe the human dimensions of landlessness; its impact on daily life, income, education, and future prospects; and appreciate the urgency of addressing this issue in a fair and effective way.

Marangmay Mardi (Pseudo Name)

Marangmay Mardi, a 55-year-old woman, lives in Jaliya, Rangeli Municipality-2. She is married to Bagan Mardi. While Marangmay has her citizenship certificate, her husband, Bagan, does not. Due to this, the couple has not been able to register their marriage legally and obtain a marriage certificate.

The family lives on 1 Kattha of Ailani land that belongs to the government, and they cultivate an additional 12 Kattha of land under the Adhiya system. Adhiya means that the land is owned by someone else (the landlord), and in return for using it, the Mardi family must give the landlord 50% of whatever they produce. Naturally, this arrangement makes it hard for the family to grow enough food for the whole year. To make up for the shortage, the members of the family, including her children, sometimes travel to nearby cities and factories to find daily wage employment and help keep their household going.

Their home is small, just two rooms made of bamboo sticks and clay, with a tin sheet roof. The space is not enough to accommodate their whole family comfortably. Furthermore, due to their poor financial condition and lack of proper documents, the family cannot purchase additional land. Even if they were able to buy land, registering it under their name would be a challenge because her husband does not have citizenship papers.

The children of Marangmay and Bagan are attending school and have birth certificates, thanks to the help of their school authorities. However, their future is uncertain, particularly when it comes to obtaining citizenship and securing their legal rights. Without citizenship documents, their future opportunities; education, employment, marriage registration; may be affected.

Marangmay expresses her struggles honestly and directly: “Because of not having permanent land and residence, the family is deprived of electricity service and we have to rely on kerosene lamps during the night. I wish the local government would address our issues as soon as possible.”

Her story highlights not just the struggles of a single family, but also the ongoing hardships faced by many landless Santhal families in the area. It underscores the urgency for policy intervention and proper legal recognition to help people like Marangmay move toward a more stable and secure future.

Murmu (Pseudo Name)

Lilmuni Murmu, 36, is a woman living in Rangeli Municipality-2. She is married to Talai Murmu and together they have 3 children (2 sons and 1 daughter). Lilmuni came to this community from a nearby village called Daulatpur after her marriage. She is a daughter-in-law in a joint family; Talai is the second of 3 brothers in his household. The family lives in a temporary home constructed on a small piece of land, about 10 dhur; and they cultivate nearly 10 Kattha of land that belongs to the

public. None of this land is registered under their name; their living and agricultural practices are entirely dependent on land that they do not legally own. Lilmuni shared a painful story from her family's past; a story that has profoundly affected their present conditions. Many years back, her father-in-law owned 10 Kattha of land in nearby Betauna and 5 Kattha in Mangalbare. At the time, her father-in-law fell into financial trouble and borrowed some money from a merchant, a person who was rich and powerful in the community.

Her father-in-law kept paying the merchant the interest on the borrowed amount for years. However, the merchant insisted that the principal amount remained unpaid and demanded more and more. Eventually, under pressure and unfair conditions, her father-in-law was forced to transfer his land to the merchant's name to clear the supposed dues. With a heavy heart, the family handed over their land and fell into landlessness, a condition that has kept them vulnerable and struggling to this day. Lilmuni expresses deep sorrow over this incident. She says, *'This was a very unfair incident upon the family of my husband at that time. Due to a lack of education, the proper calculation of the loan and the interest couldn't be done by my father-in-law. That kind of injustice is still haunting our family and makes it hard for us to live a comfortable life.'*

Today, the family finds it challenging to make a living without permanent land. They rely on the small piece of public land for their home and agricultural activities, and the future of their children hangs in uncertainty. The story of Lilmuni and her family underscores the lingering effects of unfair practices and illiteracy; and highlights the struggles of landless communities to find stability and dignity in their lives.

Conclusion

The research was primarily based on a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The household survey was conducted with 63 respondents from Santhal community, using a structured questionnaire. Additionally, 2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were organized; one in Jaliya and another in Kathkholuwa; to generate qualitative information through communal perspectives. Furthermore, 2 case studies, featuring Lilmuni Murmu and Marangmay Mardi, were documented to provide a deep, human-centric view of landlessness and its impacts on daily life.

The findings of the study show a high prevalence of landlessness in the Santhal community, with nearly 73% of the people living on public land and a small fraction having their own land with proper documents. A significant number of landless

families were found to be engaged in Adhiya (half-crop) farming, lease hold farming, and daily wage labor. The main factors contributing to landlessness include lack of education and awareness about land policies, historical unfair practices by landlords, poverty, political powerlessness, and weak legal documents of land ownership. Furthermore, the study reveals that caste and ethnic dimensions have compounded their landlessness, adding a layer of structural injustice to their situation.

The consequences of landlessness are profoundly visible in the daily struggles of the Santhal community; insecure housing, poor sanitary conditions, limited education opportunities for children, vulnerability to flood and natural disasters, and persistent poverty. Importantly, the lack of land ownership has kept the community from accessing financial services, agricultural programs, and other government schemes, further perpetuating their poor living conditions.

The qualitative data from FGD and case studies underscore the human dimensions of this problem. Participants described the unfair practices through which their ancestors lost land, the persistent struggles to maintain their livelihoods, and their deep-rooted feeling of injustice and neglect. The stories of Marangmay Mardi and Lilmuni Murmu reflect the daily struggles of landlessness; their vulnerability, their hard choices, and their strong wish to resolve their land issues.

The community perceives land ownership as key to improving their future, securing their children's education, strengthening their financial stability, and participating more fully in society. Nevertheless, the people remain discouraged by their lack of awareness about land-related policies, poor implementation by authorities, and political disinterest in addressing their issues.

The present study on landlessness among the Santhal community in Ward No. 2 of Rangeli Municipality, Morang District reveals the deeply rooted and multi-dimensional nature of landlessness and its pervasive impacts on this Indigenous group. The findings clearly demonstrate that landlessness is not merely an economic condition, but a complex issue intertwined with historical injustices, structural inequalities, poverty, political marginalization, and systemic exclusion.

It is evident that the majority of the Santhal people continue to reside on public (Ailani) land without secure ownership, leaving them vulnerable to eviction, natural disasters, and exclusion from basic services. The study found that while a small number of households possess landownership documents, the overwhelming majority are engaged in partial farming (*Adhiya* system) or work as daily wage laborers,

highlighting their fragile livelihoods and dependency on others' land.

The historical loss of ancestral land, often through unfair practices, lack of awareness about legal procedures, and the absence of political backing, remains a key factor that has shaped their current situation. The Santhal community's limited access to education, information, and legal services has further deepened their landlessness over generations. Structural factors like caste and ethnic marginalization have exacerbated their exclusion from land rights and government schemes intended to address such issues.

This condition of landlessness has profound social and economic consequences: insecure housing, lack of electricity and safe drinking water for many, difficulties in sending children for higher education, inability to access formal credit, and poor resilience against disasters. The emotional toll is also high, with people expressing feelings of discrimination, insecurity, and hopelessness about the future.

What emerges clearly from this study is the community's strong aspiration for secure land ownership, not only as a means to improve their economic conditions but also as a foundation for dignity, stability, and inclusion in society. However, the lack of effective government intervention, weak policy implementation, and political neglect continue to hinder the realization of these aspirations.

In conclusion, addressing the landlessness of the Santhal community requires urgent, coordinated, and sustained action that recognizes land as both an economic resource and a fundamental human right, particularly for marginalized Indigenous communities. Solutions to the problem of landlessness in the Santhal community.

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Channels of Exit: Education-Led Vs. Labor-Led Out-Migration Pathways among Youth in Nepal

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Abstract

International migration has become a defining livelihood strategy and mobility pathway for Nepali youth. It is particularly structured into two distinct streams: an education-led departure to the Global North and a labor-led flow to the Gulf and Southeast Asia. This study compares these channels to examine how they operate as a stratified system that allocates youths according to pre-existing socioeconomic resources and shapes diverse life projects. Using a qualitative, comparative case study design, I conducted in-depth interviews with 24 Nepali youths (12 from each channel), recruited through educational consultancies and manpower agencies in Kathmandu. Guided by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital, data were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Education-led migrants, typically having the luxury of higher economic and cultural capital, framed migration as an individual 'self-project' for long-term career advancement and global mobility. In contrast, labor-led migrants, driven by immediate economic pressures, approached migration as a familial 'survival project', often financing it through high-risk debt that mortgaged family assets. These different logics of aspiration and risk were reinforced by intermediaries, particularly educational consultancies and manpower agencies, which served as field-specific gatekeepers. The study concludes that these are not parallel pathways but a hierarchical system that globalizes domestic inequality. Rather than governing these flows separately, the study argues for an integrated policy lens that addresses the structural roots of this stratification.

Keywords: migration channels, youth aspirations, social stratification, Bourdieu, Nepal

1. Introduction

International migration has become a central pillar of Nepal's socio-economic structure, shaping household livelihoods, national revenue, and youth imaginaries. For a country facing political transition, a limited industrial base, and chronic underemployment, out-migration is not merely a demographic shift but a critical livelihood strategy deeply ingrained in cultural discourse (Adhikari, 2017). This outflow is organized into two dominants, yet fundamentally different, streams. The first stream is channelled through educational consultancies facilitating enrollment in universities, primarily in the Global North, and the second stream is managed by manpower agencies that place labor, particularly in (GCC) countries and Southeast Asia. While both streams sustain a remittance economy constituting over 23% of GDP (World Bank, 2023), they raise critical questions about equity, opportunity, and social stratification. The participants in, and destinations of, these parallel movements occupy vastly different social and geopolitical spheres. This paper explores how local intermediaries of global forces influence the creation of diverse life opportunities for young people in Nepal at this crucial moment.

The study's significance is threefold. First, theoretically, it contributes to migration sociology in the South Asian context by linking the frequently disparate investigations into high- and low-skilled migration using a Bourdieusian perspective. By analysing how local circumstances and global systems interact to determine life projects, it engages the sociology of youth. Second, in terms of policy, the results can guide more comprehensive national labor, immigration, and education strategies to handle the specific risks associated with each channel and go beyond the fragmented control of these flows. And third, methodologically, it centres the voices of youth, methodologically, thereby humanizing macro-level migration data and contributing to a more nuanced public understanding.

The study focuses on Nepali youths (aged 18-30) in the active pre-departure stage, recruited through consultancies and manpower agencies in Kathmandu. While this study excludes those who migrate via informal networks or direct application, it captures the dominant institutionalized mechanisms controlling migration for a significant portion of the population. The research provides an in-depth, comparative qualitative analysis of the stratified nature of global mobility from Nepal.

2. Literature Review

Although these different types of migration are growing at the same time, experts and policymakers often study and manage them as largely separate issues, creating a "scholarly divide" that matches the way they are handled in the real world. Literature on student migration often focuses on human capital development and the experiences of an urban elite, framing the process as an investment in future career capital (Sharma & Khadka, 2021). While valuable, this body of work may inadvertently normalize elite mobility without critically analysing its contribution to the reinforcement of class privilege or its reliance on the growing consultancy businesses. Conversely, academic research on labor migration centres on remittances, their unsafe or unstable jobs, and the struggles of rural families, contextualizing these moves as a desperate search for economic necessity and survival (Seddon et al., 2002; Kern & Müller-Böker, 2015). Such studies provide vital documentation of exploitation but less frequently interrogate the systemic architecture of the labor brokerage system itself.

This bifurcation of the streams creates a significant analytical blind spot. A few studies explicitly compare the aspirational worlds, preparatory stages, and institutional intermediaries as two aspects of a single, socially stratified exit system (Gurung, 2019). A particular gap exists in qualitative, youth-oriented studies that clarify the decision-making sequence where personal ambitions tackle structural constraints. The pre-departure stage is critical, as it is where social inequalities are activated and future trajectories are set. Consequently, there is a lack of a robust understanding of how pre-existing social inequalities in Nepal determine access to these divergent global pathways, and how these pathways, in turn, reproduce and globalize those inequalities.

3. Theoretical Framework: Bourdieu's Theory of Capital

To analyse the stratification, this study employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital as its central theoretical framework. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualizes capital as accumulated labor in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized forms. It exists as economic, cultural, social, and symbolic resources, which are convertible and deployable within specific social fields to maintain or advance one's position.

This framework is suitable for three reasons. First, it clarifies why prospective migrants with varying endowments enter the process of migration in unequal starting positions. A pathway's affordability is determined by economic capital; eligibility is shaped by cultural capital (such as academic credentials); vital information and access to intermediaries provided by social capital; and prestige and differential social value

assigned by symbolic capital. Second, it theorizes channel selection as a strategy shaped by one's portfolio of capital. A youth possessing substantial cultural and economic capital may pursue education-led migration to acquire globally recognized cultural capital. In contrast, a youth whose primary asset is physical labor capacity may pursue labor migration to obtain immediate economic capital (remittances). This choice is not a free-market decision but a strategic response to a constrained and unequal structure of opportunities. Third, the framework enables an examination of the migration system as a mechanism of social reproduction, whereby the elite channel perpetuates pre-existing advantage, while the non-elite channel offers subsistence with limited prospects for upward mobility. Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' explains that personal dreams and goals—like wanting to be a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) versus wanting to run a small tea shop—are not merely individual choices but are shaped by social background and structural position (Bourdieu, 1990).

4. Research Questions and Objectives

This study addresses three core research questions:

- i. How do the socio-demographic profiles, familial backgrounds, and future aspirations of youths differ between education-led and labor-led migration?
- ii. How do intermediaries (educational consultancies and manpower agencies) influence migrants' preparations, imaginaries, and perceived destinations?
- iii. How do these differentiated pathways constitute unequal access to global opportunities and shape prospects for social mobility in Nepal?

The study conducts a comparative sociological analysis of Nepal's two principal migration channels, focusing on the critical pre-departure phase where aspirations, decisions, and institutional coverage. It examines how youths' goals and choices vary depending on which path they take, how institutional intermediaries guide their journeys and self-perceptions, and how these differentiated paths reproduce and worsen existing social inequalities.

5. Methodology

The study adopts an interpretivist qualitative research design grounded in ontological position that social realities such as motivation for migration are not fixed facts but are constructed through individuals' experiences and interpretations (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This paradigm is appropriate for uncovering the complex, experiential aspects of potential migrants' lives, prioritizing depth and contextual insight over

broad general claims. A comparative case study design (Yin, 2018) is employed, treating the education-led and labor-led migration channels as the two primary cases.

The research was conducted in the Kathmandu Valley, the primary hub of licenced educational consultancies and manpower agencies. The study population consisted of Nepali men and women aged 18-30 who were in the active pre-departure stage of international migration via these formal channels. Active pre-departure was operationally defined as the period following the signing of a service agreement with an agency and payment of an initial fee, but prior to visa issuance or departure. Purposive sampling was used to select information-rich cases relevant to the research questions (Patton, 2015). To ensure diversity within each channel and avoid bias toward a single institution, participants were recruited from multiple agencies.

For the education-led channel, three consultancies specializing in different destination clusters (North America, Australia, United Kingdom and Japan) were recruited, in which each consultancy referring four participants. Similarly, for the labor-led channel, four participants were recruited from each of three manpower agencies servicing key markets (Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] countries, Malaysia, South Korea). This strategy yielded a total sample of $n=24$ (12 per channel), considered sufficient to reach thematic saturation for core themes within each group (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006).

6. Data Collection and Analysis

The primary data collection instrument was a semi-structured interview guide developed in line with the study's aims and theoretical framework. The guide contained open-ended questions organized into four thematic sections: (a) Personal and Familial Background, (b) The Decision to Migrate, (c) Navigating the Institutional Channel, and (d) Resources, Calculations, and Futures.

Agency management provided consent prior to data collection. A written informed consent form, a thorough explanation of the study, and an in-person approach were given to eligible participants. The interviews lasted 45 to 60 minutes, were conducted in Nepali in a private location, and were audio recorded with consent. Contextual observations and nonverbal clues were recorded in detailed field notes.

Analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase thematic analysis, which is analytically compatible with a Bourdieusian framework. First, interviews were transcribed precisely in Nepali and translated into English with meticulous attention to preserving meaning. I immersed myself in the data through repeated

reading. Preliminary codes were generated using a combined inductive-deductive strategy, capturing both emergent meanings, including family pressure to earn, and theoretically informed concepts such as conversion of economic capital. These codes were organized into preliminary themes separately for each channel. Themes were systematically reviewed, refined, and clearly defined. Finally, a comparative analytical lens was applied to contrast thematic patterns across the two channels, identifying key convergences and divergences.

The study adhered to international ethical standards and Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) guidelines. Written informed consent was obtained in simple Nepali. Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured through pseudonyms, and participants could withdraw at any time. To enhance qualitative rigor, I employed thick description, maintenance of transparent audit trail, and critical researcher reflexivity regarding my positionality as an educated Nepali youth.

7. Limitations

This study offers rich comparative insights but has several limitations. First, recruiting only in Kathmandu may overrepresent youth with greater resource access, underrepresenting those in remote areas who rely on local sub-agents. Second, the data capture the pre-departure phase; therefore, a longitudinal design is needed to trace how expectations shift upon arrival abroad. Third, the purposive sample size (n=24) enables thematic depth but preclude statistical generalization. Fourth, my positionality as an educated Nepali researcher may have influenced participant rapport and interpretation despite reflexive practices. Finally, the analysis focuses on migrant aspirations and brokerage within Nepal, offering a less detailed examination of the destination-country policies that structurally shape these channels.

8. Results and Discussion

The analysis of 24 in-depth interviews, evenly distributed between education-led and labor-led pathways, reveals an extreme stratified system. Findings are organized around four themes, analyzed through Bourdieu's framework and the broader literature on stratified migration.

8.1. The Social Genesis of Aspiration: Self-Project Vs. Family Project

The results revealed sharply divergent orientations toward migration that clustered distinctly by channels. Among education-led participants, migration was articulated as a 'self project'-an enterprise of personal cultivation, career construction and

cosmopolitan becoming. For example, a participant bound for United States stated: *'I want to work for a leading tech company. A US MS is the direct ticket.'* (EDU_01, male, 22, destined for the USA). This narrative framed migration as proactive step in a long-term personal project. Another participant explained, *'It's about being a global citizen, someone who can work anywhere. The degree is just the start of that kind of freedom and respect.'* (EDU_05, female 24, destined for Australia). Across the education-led sample, 10 out of 12 participants, articulated this self-project orientation, framing migration as a means of gaining autonomy, global belonging, and professional control.

In contrast, labor-led participants framed migration as a 'family project'- a duty-bound strategy of collective survival and intergenerational care. It includes household expectations economic necessity. A participant bound for Qatar explained: *"My goal is to send money every month. Build a proper house. Save for my son's school fees. That's the dream."* (LAB_01, Male, 26, destined for Qatar). In this account, migration was constructed as a reactive strategy to address critical family commitments. Similarly, another participant articulated this with stark clarity: *"This isn't my choice. It's for them [his family]. My life here is done; theirs can be better."* (LAB_09, Male, 28, destined for Malaysia). It indicates that the migrant's identity was often rhetorically pushed aside or ignored, as they were viewed simply as a means to ensure their family's survival and gradual progress. Across labour-led sample, 11 of 12 participants positioned the migrant as a means to family survival and gradual progress rather than as an end in themselves. However, remaining two participants had hybrid positions claiming it as not universal pattern.

This contrast powerfully emphasises Bourdieu's concept of habitus—the ingrained dispositions that shape how individuals perceive and act upon the world. Aspiration is not natural but a social product (Appadurai, 2004) sculpted by one's position in the social structure. For urban, educated youth possessing cultural capital, the international sphere appears as an arena for career-building and self-improvement. A habitus shaped by educational success and relative financial stability orients toward a personal mission—a biographical narrative of self-growth and development. For those from economically uncertain backgrounds, the international sphere is viewed as a site of resource extraction. A habitus formed through family duties and livelihoods tied to physical labour orients as an effort to improve the family's situation rather than personal development. This finding critically reflects theories of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000), which may describe a globalized elite's experience while concealing the constrained, obligation-heavy mobility of the majority.

8.2. Institutional Intermediation: Guided Conversion Vs. Gatekept Access

The institutional pathways operated on fundamentally different logics. Educational consultancies were viewed as expert partners in enhancing their cultural capital and professional status by collaborating to refine their personal credentials. A participant bound for the United Kingdom explained: *“The consultancy matched my grades to potential universities and helped me craft a story about my research interests. They showed me how to sell myself.”* (EDU_04, male, 23, destined for UK). In this account, the relationship was a commercial partnership characterized by knowledge exchange, aimed at perfecting and converting existing academic capital into a globally competitive form. This orientation was articulated by 9 of 12 education-led participants.

Manpower agencies, however, were constructed by participants through a fundamental institutional logic. Across the labour-led sample, 10 of 12 participants described agencies as necessary gatekeepers to economic capital. They work as intermediaries who control the access to opportunities. The process was characterized by dependency, standardization, and a profound information gap between the two parties. A participant bound for Qatar articulated his experience: *“The company and salary are fixed by the agent. We have to trust; we can’t verify. We just submit our papers and wait.”* (LAB_05, male, 27, destined for Qatar). This account reveals the structural position into which labour migrants are inserted. The agency’s power is absolute; it determines both destination and salary. It regulates entry into a commodified labor contract. Furthermore, trust is not a moral choice but a structural necessity imposed by the migrant’s exclusion from knowledge. This dependency on manpower companies are compounded by a sense of anonymity and interchangeability articulated by another participant: *“They hold all the keys. We’re just one file in a stack of hundreds.”* A participant (LAB_07, male, 25, destined for Saudi Arabia). It reveals that the agency controls access, and the migrant has no alternative route. Where educational consultancies cultivated individuality and narrative distinctiveness while manpower agencies processed migrants as identical units in a high-volume operation.

These intermediaries are field-specific institutions that reflect and reinforce the specific rules and mindset of the migration path they represent. In the field of educational migration, where the currency is cultural capital, consultancies act as cultural translators and strategists, assisting in the conversion of national academic capital into internationally recognized credentials. This aligns with Bourdieu’s “officializing strategies,” where experts certify and enhance value. In the field of labor migration, where the immediate currency is an economic contract, agencies

operate through bureaucratic control and network monopolies. They embody the highly transactional and often exploitative brokerage system prevalent in South Asian migration (Kern & Müller-Böcker, 2015). Consequently, the channel a person selects determines not only the destination but the entire dynamic with the intermediary; shifting from a collaborative partnership for students to a purely commercial and asymmetrical transaction for laborers.

8.3. The Calculus of Risk: Invested Futures Vs. Mortgaged Presents

Financial strategies revealed profound inequalities in risk perception and capital conversion. Among education-led participants, 10 of 12 framed migration as an investment- a calculated deployment of resources in expectation of future returns. They described their financial arrangements in the language of strategic planning, risk calculation, and anticipated appreciation. A participant bound for the United States explains: *“My parents have saved. We see it as investing in my future earning potential. It’s like a business—you invest to earn more later.”* (EDU_07, male, 23, destined for USA). It indicates that the risk was framed as a calculable career risk with a high potential Return on Investment (ROI).

For labor-led migrants, financing often required mortgaging productive family assets and taking informal debts, forcing the household into high financial risk prior to departure. For 8 of 12 labour-led participants, financing required mortgaging productive family assets mainly land had higher potentiality of dispossession of entire family. A participant for Qatar explained, *“I borrowed against a small piece of land with a moneylender. The interest was high, but there was no choice. If I fail, we lose the land.”* (LAB_08, male, 27, destined for Qatar). It shows that risk was existential and immediate. The failure meant not only disappointing returns but catastrophic loss for the family. Another participant added: *“The interest clock starts the day I sign. I’m half-drowned before I even get on the plane.”* (LAB_12, male, 24, destined for Qatar). It reveals that indebtedness is experienced not as a future obligation but also an immediate condition. It shows the migrants struggles that begun before the journey of foreign employment started.

From Bourdieu’s theory of capital, the education-led channel represents a classic accumulative strategy to build status. It involves converting stored economic capital into advanced cultural capital as a foreign degree, with the goal of future turning that prestigious degree into high-paying jobs, framing as an investment potential. The labor-led channel represents an unsafe, extractive conversion: liquidating essential productive capital (land) into cash to pay fees that is exchanged only for the promise

of future wages. This is not an investment but collateralized speculation, exemplifying what Bourdieu described as the urgency which makes the poor sell their arms and their time (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 228). The financial risk of the journey is very deeply rooted, creating a cycle of compulsory mobility where one must migrate and continue working abroad to repay the debt incurred to get there in the first place.

8.4. Imagined Geographies: Transnational Careers and Temporary Exile

The study sharply polarized constructions of destination countries and of migrants' anticipated relationships with Nepal. Among education led participants, 10 of 12 participants, constructed the United States, Canada, or Australia as sites of innovation, career development, and open societies. They envisioned these countries not merely as location of migration but as symbolic landscapes of opportunities and self-realization. Flexible transnationalism was part of their envisioned futures; several discussed becoming professionals with the option to travel between continents. A participant bound for Canada articulated this vision: *"I'll work there for maybe ten years, gain experience, then come back and start something. The world is connected now; you don't have to pick just one place."* (EDU_03, male, 24, destined for Canada). It constructs migration as a strategic investment in human capital that will be redeployed entrepreneurially upon return embodying; termed as flexible transnationalism.

Labor migrants argued Qatar, the UAE, or Malaysia primarily as "sites of labor and earning," defined by salary, contract length, and strict regulation. Their envisioned future was one of temporary exile, with a fixed goal of return upon achieving a specific financial target. A participant bound for Malaysia explained: *"I'll work five years, save, come back and open a tea shop. I don't want to stay a day longer than I have to. It's not a home; it's a worksite."* (LAB_11, male, 29, destined for Malaysia). This orientation is articulated by 10 of 12 participants. For these migrants, home - place of belonging, family, emotions and future day's plans are directly associated to labour migration as well. The aspiration for self-employment upon return reflects a desire for autonomy and agency that migration itself cannot provide.

Each pathway is associated with distinct symbolic capital within its "imagined geography" (Said, 1978). The education-led pathway is inspired by the symbolic capital of prestige, modernity, and intellectual growth, facilitating an alignment with cosmopolitan capital (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). The labor-led pathway is stigmatized, associated with pure physical effort and limited rights, promising no imaginary transformation. This reinforces the theory of the segmented global labor market (Piore, 1979). Consequently, transnational experiences bifurcate: one group may

develop fluid, professional networks; the other's connection is primarily extractive, experienced as an "extractive sojourn" with minimal socio-cultural exchange.

8.5. Channels of Exit as Engines of Social Reproduction

The integrated analysis demonstrates that the education-led and labour led pathways form a structured, top-down system for sending Nepali youths abroad. This system functions less as an open marketplace and more as a social sorting machine, allocating individuals to specific global roles and jobs based on wealth and status they were born into.

The implications for social reproduction are stark. The education-led channel provides a mechanism for urban elites to transnationalize their privilege, converting national capital into globally recognized credentials. This pathway facilitates what sociologists term "maximally maintained inequality," (Raftery & Hout, 1993) where the ultimate spoils of expanded opportunity (top jobs, permanent residency) to those already advantaged. Conversely, while the labor-led channel provides vital livelihood security, it often constitutes a precarious reproduction circuit.

Remittances are typically spent on consumption, debt repayment, or non-productive assets like concrete houses, which are not easily converted into the cultural or social capital needed for intergenerational channel switching. This creates a "sticky floor," confining families to a cycle of dependent mobility. As a participant poignantly asked, *"I'm doing this so my son won't have to. But his school fees are so expensive... what if he ends up here [at the agency] in 20 years?"* (LAB_10, male, 26, destined for United Arab Emirates). His fear underscores how the migration system is designed to reproduce existing social classes and inequalities across generations.

In conclusion, the two faces of Nepali migration constitute a single stratified system, driven by global demand for both professionals and disposable labor, and mediated by local institutions finely connected to the class profiles of their clients. The resulting pathways are not merely evidence of inequality; they are active mechanisms for its renewal and globalization. To understand the reality of Nepali migration, we must therefore stop to view it as an aggregate of individual choices. Instead, we must look at it as an architecture of opportunity, a rigid structure that intentionally distributes individuals to separate and unequal global stages.

9. Conclusion

This study has provided a comparative analysis of education-led and labor-led migration pathways among Nepali youth, demonstrating how socio-demographics, aspirations, and institutional mediation shape pre-departure strategies. Education

migrants, typically younger, urban, and from educated families, pursue individualistic, career-oriented goals. Labor migrants, often older, rural, and from less-educated households, focus on family survival and debt repayment. Educational consultancies and manpower agencies act as field-specific gatekeepers, converting different forms of capital and reinforcing inequalities between the streams.

The findings demonstrate that migration operates as a hierarchically structured system that reproduces domestic inequality on a global scale. The education channel converts economic capital into globally valued cultural capital, sustaining elite privilege. The labor channel, while providing subsistence, often perpetuates cycles of precarity and limits upward mobility. Viewed through Bourdieu's framework, migration emerges not as a matter of choice alone but as a capital-conditioned trajectory that shapes life chances across generations.

Policy interventions must address these stratified dynamics through integrated measures, such as, enforcing strict regulation on labor agencies, implementing financial literacy programs, establishing ethical oversight of consultancies, and creating incentives for productive knowledge transfer. Critically, awareness-raising and the creation of viable economic alternatives within Nepal are essential to reduce an overreliance on stratified outward migration.

Future research should adopt longitudinal approaches to track post-migration outcomes, expand sampling for greater representativeness, and investigate gender-specific experiences within both the education and labor sectors. Such work would deepen our understanding of how migration pathways shape life trajectories and intergenerational mobility, offering grounded evidence for more equitable migration and development strategies.

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Climate Change, Migration and Social Vulnerability in Nepal

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ABSTRACT

Climate change has become an everyday reality for many communities in Nepal, shaping livelihoods, mobility, and social wellbeing. This study examines the interconnections between climate change, migration, and social vulnerability, highlighting how environmental stress interacts with existing social inequalities. The study uses a thematic and comparative analytical framework to interpret. Drawing on entirely secondary data, the research adopts a conceptual and descriptive methodology, reviewing academic literature, government reports, and publications from national and international organizations covering the period from 1990 to 2025. The findings show that climate-induced hazards such as floods, droughts, landslides, and glacial melting increasingly disrupt rural livelihoods, prompting migration as a coping and adaptation strategy. However, migration also produces new forms of vulnerability, particularly for women, marginalized castes, and economically disadvantaged groups. The study argues that climate change in Nepal functions as a social as well as environmental challenge, reinforcing structural inequalities. It concludes that inclusive, migration-sensitive, and socially just adaptation strategies are essential for strengthening resilience in a changing climate.

Keywords: climate change, migration, vulnerability, environmental stress, inequality

INTRODUCTION

Climate change has led to significant global temperature increases and subsequent changes in rainfall patterns, sea-level rise, and storm surges, profoundly impacting

various socioeconomic sectors, especially agriculture (Rahman et. al., 2025). Climate change is no longer a distant threat, it is a reality that touches the lives of people around the world, and Nepal is no exception. In this country of soaring mountains, rolling hills, and fertile plains, the impacts of a changing climate are both visible and deeply felt. Glaciers (2023) are melting at unprecedented rates, rivers are swelling and flooding villages, and long dry spells are destroying crops that families rely on for survival. Nepal's peasantry has long been depicted as a socially static setting, largely engaged in subsistence farming and reliant on antiquated agrarian equipment (Bhandari, 2025, p. 86). For many Nepali communities, especially those living in remote areas or depending on subsistence farming, these environmental changes are not abstract statistics, they are daily struggles that threaten food security, income, and even life itself. The consequences of climate change are unevenly distributed, hitting the most vulnerable hardest, including women, elderly people, indigenous communities, and those already living in poverty. Understanding how climate change interacts with social vulnerability is therefore critical to creating solutions that protect lives, livelihoods, and the environment. Limited access to livelihood resources is frequently cited as a fundamental source of heightened vulnerability, and unequal policies and patterns of sometimes very rapid development are benefiting certain segments of society while making others more vulnerable (Tucker et. al., 2015).

One of the clearest ways climate-change affects people in Nepal is through migration. Climate change exacerbates Nepal's exposure to environmental hazards like landslides, floods, and droughts, which degrade agricultural productivity and drive forced displacement, particularly from rural areas to cities and overseas (Baral, 2025, p. 13). When floods destroy homes or droughts ruin harvests, families often have little choice but to move in search of safety or better opportunities. Some migrate temporarily, working in cities or abroad to send money home, while others may leave their villages permanently. But migration is not just about escaping environmental stress, it is deeply tied to social, cultural, and economic factors. Who can move, where they go, and how well they survive in new places all depend on their social networks, economic resources, and sometimes even caste or gender. Change must be focused on equality (Shah, 2026, p. 9). striking the sources of injustice inherent in the allocation of resources and power through communities”, While moving can provide hope and survival, it can also create new challenges, including insecure jobs, poor living conditions, and social isolation. Exploring the links between climate change, migration, and vulnerability can help us see both the opportunities and the hardships that migration brings for Nepali communities. Today's modern world, international labor migration has been made possible by increased globalization, which has brought

about greater flexibility in state policies and has been facilitated by better connectivity, either communication or transportation (Bhattarai K. , 2025, p. 170).

Nepal's vulnerability to climate change is shaped by more than just the environment—it is also a reflection of social and economic realities. The location of Nepal explains its contemporary challenges. Nepal has a landlocked geography and is exposed to myriads of vulnerabilities-geographical difficulties being among the prominent (Bhattarai D. , 2022, p. 10). Many communities rely heavily on traditional farming, often without modern technology or infrastructure to cope with unexpected weather events. Social inequalities, including gender discrimination and caste hierarchies, mean that some groups face greater challenges than others when dealing with climate shocks. For example, women-headed households may struggle more to access information or aid, while remote mountain communities may have fewer livelihood options, leaving them exposed to repeated hardships. Through the geographical dimension, Nepal is divided into three geographical areas - plains (Tarai), hills and Himalayas (Kafle, 2020, p. 161). Understanding these social dimensions is essential if we want to create policies and programs that truly help people adapt to climate change, rather than leaving the most vulnerable behind.

Migration caused by climate pressures also has ripple effects across Nepal. As global temperatures are breaking all records, sea rise is eroding space for coastal populations, and firestorms have arisen across the globe to burn down habitable lands (Nagdev, 2024, p. 89). When people move to cities, towns, or even other countries, it can create pressures on housing, services, and social cohesion in the areas they move to. Due to the population pressure, low productivity, and difficult terrain of hills and mountains, people started to move from uphill to lower river basin, valleys, and Tarai region (Karki, 2024, p. 131). At the same time, the communities they leave behind may experience labor shortages, economic decline, and weakened social structures. Studying how climate change drives migration and how migration, in turn, reshapes communities helps us understand a cycle of adaptation and vulnerability. It also reminds us that migration is not just a problem to solve, it is a human response to the very real challenges people face every day. It advocates for environmental, political, and social equity (Dahal, 2024, p. 92).

This research aims to bring these interconnected issues into focus. While many studies have looked at climate change or migration separately, few have examined the way they intersect with social vulnerability in Nepal. By drawing on existing studies, reports, and statistics, this study explores how environmental changes influence human mobility and how social inequalities shape people's capacity to adapt. The

goal is to provide insights that can guide policymakers, development practitioners, and communities themselves in designing strategies that reduce vulnerability, strengthen resilience, and promote fair and sustainable solutions. In doing so, the research hopes to highlight not only the challenges Nepal is face in a changing climate but also their creativity, resilience, and determination to survive and thrive.

METHODOLOGY

This study is conceptual and descriptive, aiming to explore the interconnections between climate change, migration, and social vulnerability in Nepal. Rather than conducting fieldwork or collecting new primary data, this research relies entirely on secondary sources. By synthesizing existing literature, reports, and statistical data, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of how climate-related environmental changes influence human mobility and social vulnerability. The descriptive approach allows the research to critically analyze trends, identify patterns, and highlight key areas of concern in the Nepalese context without the need for new data collection.

Secondary Sources

All secondary sources were selected based on relevance, credibility, and depth of information. Academic journal articles, books, government reports, and publications by international organizations such as UNDP, IOM, FAO, and reputable NGOs were prioritized. Only materials that directly addressed climate change impacts, migration, or social vulnerability in Nepal were included. Sources were further evaluated for their methodological soundness, recency, and comprehensiveness, ensuring that the study relies on robust, evidence-based information. By using only secondary data, the research builds on verified and accessible knowledge while avoiding duplication of existing studies.

Time Period Covered

The research focuses on data and literature from 1990 to 2025, a period that reflects significant environmental, social, and economic changes in Nepal. This timeframe captures the emergence of climate change as a major global and national concern and coincides with the increasing academic and policy attention to migration and social vulnerability in Nepal. Using this period allows the study to identify both historical trends and contemporary developments, providing a long-term perspective on how climate variability has affected communities and migration patterns across different regions of the country.

Analytical Framework

The study uses a thematic and comparative analytical framework to interpret the secondary data. First, key themes are identified, including climate-related hazards (floods, droughts, glacial retreat), patterns of migration (internal and international), and indicators of social vulnerability (gender, caste, age, livelihood type, and geographic location). These themes are then compared across different regions of Nepal like mountains, hills, and Terai, to understand regional variations in vulnerability and adaptive capacity. The framework also examines the intersection of social, economic, and environmental factors, highlighting which communities are most at risk and how migration serves as both an adaptive strategy and a source of new vulnerabilities.

By relying entirely on secondary data, this methodology ensures that the study is grounded in existing, credible knowledge while enabling a detailed exploration of climate change, migration, and social vulnerability in Nepal. The conceptual and descriptive approach, combined with careful source selection, temporal focus, and a structured analytical framework, allows the research to offer meaningful insights for policymakers, development practitioners, and scholars seeking to understand and address these intertwined challenges.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Climate change has become a tangible reality in Nepal, profoundly affecting the environment, livelihoods, and social structures. The country's diverse topography, from the high Himalayas to the lowland Terai, makes it particularly vulnerable to climate-induced hazards such as glacial melting, erratic rainfall, floods, landslides, and prolonged droughts. Every individual may have perceived differently on environmental and natural factors (Pasa, 2023, p. 72). These environmental changes disrupt traditional agricultural practices and threaten the livelihoods of communities that depend on farming and livestock. Climate change has become a threat to agriculture and livelihoods globally (Sapkota, 2025, p. 188). Importantly, these impacts are unevenly experienced, with marginalized groups such as women, the elderly, indigenous communities, and economically disadvantaged households being disproportionately affected. Understanding the social dimensions of climate change is therefore essential to develop adaptive strategies that are both effective and equitable.

Migration has emerged as one of the most common responses to environmental stressors in Nepal. When floods destroy homes or droughts ruin crops, families often have no choice but to seek alternative livelihoods elsewhere, whether temporarily

or permanently. Migration provides opportunities to diversify income sources and reduce exposure to environmental risks. However, it is not a simple or uniform decision. The ability to migrate depends on social and economic resources, cultural norms, and access to networks. Vulnerable groups, such as women, low-income households, and marginalized ethnic communities, may face significant barriers in relocating, which increases their exposure to risk and limits their adaptive options. Migration, therefore, is not just a reaction to environmental stress; it is deeply shaped by existing inequalities and social structures.

Social vulnerability in Nepal is closely tied to both environmental risks and structural inequalities. In Nepal, agriculture remains the dominant livelihood in rural areas, yet many households supplement their income through activities such as small businesses, wage labor, and seasonal migration (Thapa, 2025, p. 177). Communities' susceptibility to harm depends on factors such as economic resources, access to information, social networks, and political representation. Households with diversified livelihoods or strong community support can better withstand floods, droughts, or landslides, while marginalized households face greater challenges in adapting to environmental shocks. Gender, age, and caste also shape vulnerability, with women, elderly people, and socially disadvantaged groups often lacking access to resources and decision-making power. In South Asian societies, collectivism, religious beliefs, and social hierarchy guide political consciousness (Magar, 2025, p. 141). This illustrates that climate change must be studied in conjunction with social and economic conditions, as vulnerability is produced by a combination of ecological exposure and societal inequalities.

The interplay between climate change, migration, and social vulnerability is complex and multidimensional. While migration can provide safety and economic opportunities, it can also create new vulnerabilities. Families moving to urban areas or other regions may encounter insecure employment, inadequate housing, and social exclusion. In some cases, migration places additional stress on those who remain behind, particularly in rural communities where labor shortages and social fragmentation can undermine local resilience. These dynamics highlight that migration is both a coping strategy and a potential source of risk, influenced by environmental stressors as well as social and economic structures.

Regional differences in Nepal further shape how communities experience climate change and respond through migration. The impact of climate change on agriculture in Nepal poses serious challenges that threaten agricultural productivity, food security, and the livelihoods of millions of farmers (Shrestha, 2024, p. 135). Mountainous areas

are highly susceptible to glacial melting and landslides, which threaten agricultural production and water availability. Hill regions face soil erosion and unpredictable rainfall, while the Terai plains are more prone to flooding and waterlogging. These geographic variations, combined with local social and economic conditions, influence how households perceive risk and decide on migration. Cultural norms around family, gender roles, and community cohesion also play a role in shaping adaptive behaviors. Recognizing these local variations is essential for designing policies and interventions that respond to specific needs rather than adopting a one-size-fits-all approach.

Policy and institutional responses are crucial in shaping resilience and adaptive capacity in Nepal. Community-based adaptation programs, disaster risk reduction initiatives, and policies aimed at sustainable livelihoods have the potential to support vulnerable populations. However, gaps remain in implementation, particularly for marginalized groups who often have limited access to resources and information. Effective strategies must integrate environmental management with social equity, ensuring that interventions do not inadvertently reinforce existing inequalities. Strengthening governance, building local capacities, and promoting inclusive decision-making are key steps to reduce vulnerability and support communities in adapting to climate change.

Despite growing attention, research on the linkages between climate change, migration, and social vulnerability in Nepal remains fragmented. Many studies focus on either environmental impacts, migration patterns, or social inequalities in isolation, without exploring how these factors interact. Global studies provide valuable frameworks, but localized research is necessary to capture Nepal's unique socioecological context. Interdisciplinary approaches that combine environmental science, sociology, and development studies can offer a more complete understanding of how climate shocks influence migration and social outcomes. Such an approach is essential for developing strategies that are context-specific, socially inclusive, and sustainable, helping communities adapt effectively to a rapidly changing environment.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Climate Exposure and Hazard Patterns in Nepal

Nepal's diverse physiography, stretching from the high Himalayas to the lowland Terai plains, creates highly varied climate exposure, resulting in distinct environmental hazards across regions. Climate change is one of the most critical and emerging issues facing rural communities across the globe, especially in those areas highly reliant on agriculture, like Nepal (Gautam, 2025, p. 127). Over the past three decades, average

temperatures have risen, especially in mountain regions, accelerating glacier melt, while rainfall patterns have become increasingly erratic across hills and plains. This has amplified risks of landslides, flash floods, drought, and glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs), affecting livelihoods, infrastructure, and ecosystems.

Mountain areas face slow-onset hazards such as snow and glacial melt, while rapid-onset events like floods dominate the Terai, and hill regions experience both droughts and landslides due to rainfall variability. These environmental stresses directly threaten agriculture, which remains the backbone of rural livelihoods, while also exacerbating resource scarcity, water stress, and food insecurity. Table 1 summarizes key climate indicators and hazard patterns in Nepal's three physiographic zones, revealing that mountain regions experience the highest temperature rise and GLOF risk, hills face significant landslide and drought events, and the Terai is highly exposed to flooding. This uneven exposure illustrates that climate change acts as both an ecological and a social stressor, shaping not only environmental conditions but also the vulnerability and adaptive capacity of communities across Nepal.

Table 1

Climate Change Indicators in Nepal by Physiographic Region (1990–2025)

Indicator	Mountain Region	Hill Region	Terai Region
Avg. temperature increase °C	1.8	1.5	1.2
Annual rainfall change (%)	+5 to -10	+2 to -8	+3 to -7
Frequency of extreme events	High	Moderate -high	High
Common hazards	GLOF's landslides	Landslides, drought	Floods, waterlogging

Table 1 on climate change indicators across Nepal's physiographic regions shows clear spatial variation in climate impacts between the Mountain, Hill, and Terai zones, demonstrating that environmental change is not uniform but elevation-dependent and geographically conditioned. The data indicate that average temperature rise is highest in the Mountain region (1.8 °C), followed by the Hill (1.5 °C) and Terai (1.2 °C), suggesting a pattern consistent with altitude-related amplification of warming, which makes highland ecosystems particularly vulnerable. Rainfall change is presented as variable ranges rather than fixed values, +5% to -10% in mountains, +2% to -8% in hills, and +3% to -7% in the Terai, indicating growing climatic unpredictability

rather than a uniform trend of increase or decrease, with the mountain region showing the greatest variability and thus the highest hydrological uncertainty. The frequency of extreme events is reported as high in both Mountain and Terai regions and moderate-to-high in hills, implying nationwide intensification of climatic extremes but with heightened exposure in fragile alpine and lowland floodplain environments. Correspondingly, dominant hazards differ by region: glacial lake outburst floods and landslides in the mountains, landslides and drought in the hills, and floods and waterlogging in the Terai, reflecting the interaction between climatic stress and physiographic characteristics. Overall, the table illustrates that Nepal's climate risk profile is region-specific, with mountains facing cryosphere and slope instability threats, hills confronting compound hazards, and the Terai dealing primarily with hydrological disasters, thereby underscoring the necessity of differentiated adaptation strategies rather than a uniform national approach.

Migration Responses to Environmental Stressors

Migration in Nepal has emerged as a complex response to environmental stress, economic pressures, and social factors, with households strategically moving to reduce exposure and diversify livelihoods. Internal migration to urban centers like Kathmandu, Pokhara, and Biratnagar has accelerated as floods, landslides, and droughts disrupt agricultural productivity, forcing families to seek employment or temporary residence elsewhere. Similarly, international migration to Gulf countries, Malaysia, and other Asian nations continues to expand, often as a livelihood strategy that indirectly mitigates climate risks by generating remittances.

The migration process, however, is socially mediated: wealthier households, men, and those with existing social networks are more likely to move successfully, while marginalized groups, women, and low-income households face significant barriers, including lack of capital, cultural restrictions, or mobility constraints. Seasonal migration has also increased, with members leaving rural homes for several months to offset crop failure or income loss. Even though Nepal has dry seasons resulting from global climate change, there are no large desert areas in the country (Adhikari et. al., 2022, p. 21). Table 2 highlights major internal migration flows in Nepal and the primary environmental and socio-economic push factors. These patterns show that while migration can serve as an adaptive strategy, it simultaneously exposes migrants to urban vulnerabilities, precarious employment, and social marginalization, demonstrating that mobility is both a coping mechanism and a source of new risks.

Table 2*Major Internal Migration Flows in Nepal (1990–2025)*

Origin zone	Primary destination	Estimated migrants (thousands)	Primary push factors
Mountain districts	Kathmandu valley	250	Loss of agricultural livelihood, GLOF risk
Hill districts	Urban centers (central)	400	Landslides, erratic rainfall
Terai districts	National cities and towns	600	Flooding, riverbank erosion
All regions	Abroad (Gulf/Asia)	1,200	Economic opportunity and climate stress

The table on major internal migration flows in Nepal (1990-2025) shows that population movement is strongly shaped by environmental stress and economic opportunity, with distinct origin-destination patterns across ecological zones. It indicates that around 250 thousand people migrated from mountain districts primarily to the Kathmandu Valley due to loss of agricultural livelihoods and risks such as glacial lake outburst floods, while approximately 400 thousand left hill districts for central urban centers because of landslides and erratic rainfall affecting rural stability. The Terai districts recorded the largest internal movement, about 600 thousand migrants relocating to national cities and towns, mainly driven by flooding and riverbank erosion that threaten settlements and farmland. Beyond internal migration, the table highlights a major cross-regional trend in which migrants from all physiographic zones, estimated at about 1.2 million, moved abroad, particularly to Gulf and Asian destinations, reflecting the combined influence of economic aspirations and climate-related pressures. Overall, the data illustrate that migration in Nepal is both an adaptive response to environmental vulnerability and a livelihood strategy shaped by regional ecological risks and uneven development opportunities.

Social Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity

The continuity of class struggle in the 21st century is not limited to the old industrial work-places, it has taken on new forms at all levels of social life and has reinforced multidimensional structures of inequality (Magar, 2025, p. 58). Social vulnerability in Nepal demonstrates how pre-existing inequalities shape the ability of communities to respond to climate hazards. Women-headed households, indigenous and marginalized

caste groups, the elderly, and economically disadvantaged families often live in hazard-prone areas and have limited access to land, credit, social networks, or decision-making power, constraining their adaptive capacity.

Conversely, households with diversified livelihoods, strong community support, or urban connections can better manage risk and recover from shocks. Table 3 summarizes the primary constraints and adaptive capacity of vulnerable groups in Nepal, revealing that marginalized populations face systemic barriers that exacerbate climate impacts. Vulnerability is further amplified by intersectional factors: gender, caste, age, and geography interact to determine who bears the brunt of environmental hazards. Consequently, social vulnerability is both a determinant and a result of migration, shaping decisions about whether to move and how to adapt, and reinforcing cycles of risk and inequality across Nepalese communities.

Table 3
Social Vulnerability Indicators by Group in Nepal

Vulnerability group	Primary constraints	Adaptive capacity status
Women -headed households	Limited land access, decision-making	Low
Indigenous/marginalized castes	Discrimination, resources exclusion	Very low
Economically poor	Limited capital, livelihood options	Low
Youth migrants	Skill mismatch, urban vulnerability	Moderate
Elderly/disabled	Mobility constraints	Very low

Source: Government of Nepal, UNDP, ICIMOD and World Bank.

The table on social vulnerability indicators in Nepal highlights how different population groups face distinct structural constraints that shape their ability to cope with environmental, economic, and social stresses. It shows that women-headed households experience low adaptive capacity mainly because of limited land ownership and restricted participation in decision-making, while Indigenous and marginalized caste groups face very low adaptive capacity due to discrimination and exclusion from resources. Economically poor populations also have low adaptive capacity because of restricted capital and limited livelihood options, whereas youth migrants are assessed as having moderate adaptive capacity despite challenges such

as skill mismatch and urban insecurity, suggesting some flexibility through mobility and employment opportunities. In contrast, elderly and disabled individuals are categorized as very low in adaptive capacity due to mobility limitations that restrict access to services and support systems. Overall, the table illustrates that vulnerability in Nepal is socially differentiated, with marginalization, poverty, gender inequality, and physical limitations acting as key factors that reduce resilience and increase exposure to risk.

Climate Change as a Multidimensional Stressor

The findings confirm that climate change in Nepal operates as a multidimensional stressor that goes far beyond environmental degradation alone. Rising temperatures, erratic rainfall, and the increased frequency of extreme weather events have altered ecological balances across mountain, hill, and Terai regions, directly affecting agriculture, water availability, and settlement patterns. In many villages of the region, water shortage has been a growing barrier to local livelihoods and poverty alleviation (Wagle et. al., 2022, p. 28). These environmental disruptions translate into livelihood insecurity, food shortages, and declining rural economies, particularly in regions where subsistence agriculture dominates. Climate change thus functions as a structural force that intensifies existing development challenges, reinforcing poverty and inequality rather than acting as an isolated environmental phenomenon.

At the same time, climate change must be understood as a cumulative and long-term process rather than a series of isolated disasters. Recurrent floods, landslides, or droughts gradually erode household assets, savings, and social resilience, reducing the capacity of communities to recover from subsequent shocks. This slow-onset vulnerability is particularly damaging because it often remains invisible in policy responses that prioritize emergency relief over long-term adaptation. As a result, climate stress compounds social vulnerability, making certain populations chronically exposed to risk while limiting their ability to plan for the future. Recognizing climate change as a multidimensional stressor is therefore essential for designing adaptation strategies that address both immediate hazards and long-term structural impacts.

Migration as Both Adaptation and Vulnerability

Migration emerges from the findings as a critical yet ambivalent response to climate-induced stress in Nepal. On one hand, migration enables households to diversify income sources, reduce dependence on climate-sensitive livelihoods, and secure remittances that support families left behind. Seasonal and circular migration,

in particular, has become a common strategy for managing climate uncertainty, allowing households to cope with crop failure, land degradation, and declining rural employment opportunities. In this sense, migration functions as an adaptive mechanism embedded within household survival strategies.

On the other hand, migration also generates new forms of vulnerability that often remain overlooked. Migrants, especially those moving to urban informal settlements or abroad, frequently face precarious working conditions, insecure housing, limited access to health services, and social exclusion. Women migrants and low-skilled workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and unsafe labor conditions. Moreover, migration can weaken rural communities by creating labor shortages, disrupting social cohesion, and placing additional burdens on women, elderly people, and children who remain behind. These dynamics demonstrate that migration cannot be viewed solely as a solution to climate stress; it is a complex process that redistributes risk rather than eliminating it.

Unequal Social Vulnerability and Structural Barriers

The analysis clearly demonstrates that social vulnerability in Nepal is deeply rooted in structural inequalities related to caste, gender, class, age, and geography. Nepal's development trajectory remains deeply uneven, shaped by enduring structural inequalities and the persistent marginalization of peripheral regions and vulnerable social groups (Shrestha, 2025, p. 61). Marginalized groups often occupy hazard-prone land due to historical exclusion, limited land ownership, and restricted access to political power. Women-headed households, indigenous communities, and economically disadvantaged groups face systemic barriers that limit their ability to adopt climate-resilient technologies, access credit, or benefit from state support programs. As a result, these populations experience climate change not only as an environmental threat but as a force that reinforces long-standing social injustice.

Furthermore, vulnerability is intersectional, meaning that multiple forms of disadvantage interact to shape exposure and adaptive capacity. For example, an elderly woman from a marginalized caste living in a flood-prone rural area faces layered vulnerabilities that cannot be addressed through single-sector interventions. These findings suggest that adaptation policies focused solely on infrastructure or technology will be insufficient unless they also address social exclusion, power relations, and unequal access to resources. Reducing vulnerability therefore requires transformative approaches that challenge structural barriers and promote inclusive development alongside climate adaptation.

Linking Climate Change, Migration, and Social Vulnerability

The study reinforces the idea that climate change, migration, and social vulnerability are not separate processes but interconnected elements of a single socio-environmental system. Climate stress acts as a trigger that interacts with social inequalities, influencing who migrates, who stays, and who benefits or suffers from mobility. Migration, in turn, reshapes social vulnerability by redistributing labor, income, and risk across regions and households. Understanding these linkages is crucial for avoiding fragmented policy responses that address one issue while ignoring others.

This interconnected perspective also challenges simplistic narratives that frame climate migrants either as victims or as rational economic actors. In reality, migration decisions are shaped by a combination of environmental pressures, social constraints, cultural norms, and institutional contexts. Recognizing this complexity allows for more nuanced and humane responses that support adaptive capacity while minimizing harm. It also highlights the need for cross-sector collaboration among climate planners, migration experts, and social policymakers.

Knowledge Gaps and Research Needs

While secondary data provide valuable insights into broad trends, the findings also reveal significant gaps in existing research. Much of the current literature relies on macro-level data, which often fails to capture household-level decision-making processes, lived experiences of migrants, and gendered dimensions of vulnerability. There is limited longitudinal research examining how repeated climate shocks influence migration trajectories, social mobility, and long-term wellbeing. Addressing these gaps is essential for developing evidence-based and context-sensitive policies.

Future research should adopt interdisciplinary and mixed-method approaches that combine quantitative analysis with qualitative narratives and participatory methods. Community-based studies, life-history interviews, and ethnographic research can deepen understanding of how people perceive climate risk, make migration decisions, and negotiate vulnerability over time. Such approaches would not only enrich academic knowledge but also ensure that policy interventions are grounded in the realities of affected communities rather than abstract models.

Policy Implications and Integrated Planning

The results highlight the urgent need for integrated policy frameworks that link climate adaptation, migration governance, and social protection. Region-specific adaptation strategies are essential, given Nepal's diverse ecological zones and hazard

profiles. Mountain regions require glacier risk management and water security planning, hill areas need soil conservation and landslide prevention measures, and the Terai demands flood management and resilient infrastructure. Without such contextualized planning, national adaptation policies risk being ineffective or uneven in their outcomes.

Equally important is the integration of migration into climate and development planning. Migration should be recognized as a legitimate adaptive strategy rather than treated solely as a development failure or security concern. Policies must ensure safe migration pathways, labor protections, access to social services, and support for households left behind. Social protection programs, such as insurance schemes, cash transfers, and livelihood diversification initiatives, should prioritize vulnerable groups identified in this study. Integrated planning that connects climate resilience with social justice can significantly enhance Nepal's capacity to manage climate-induced risks in a sustainable and equitable manner.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that climate change in Nepal is not just about rising temperatures or extreme weather events; it is about how these changes reshape everyday life, livelihoods, and social relationships. Floods, landslides, droughts, and glacial melting are increasingly disrupting agriculture and rural economies, pushing many households to make difficult decisions about survival. Migration has become one such response—sometimes offering hope through new opportunities and income, but often exposing people to new risks and insecurities. These experiences are not the same for everyone. Social position, gender, caste, economic status, and location strongly influence who can adapt, who must migrate, and who remains trapped in conditions of vulnerability. In this way, climate change acts as a force that deepens existing inequalities rather than affecting all people equally.

The findings also suggest that meaningful responses to climate change in Nepal must place people, not just policies or infrastructure, at the center of adaptation efforts. Supporting safe and dignified migration, strengthening social protection systems, and addressing long-standing structural inequalities are just as important as managing environmental hazards. Climate adaptation cannot succeed if it ignores social justice, inclusion, and local realities. By recognizing the close links between climate change, migration, and social vulnerability, Nepal can move toward strategies that build resilience while protecting dignity and livelihoods. Such an approach offers a path not only to survive climate change, but to shape a more equitable and sustainable future for all.

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Economic Dynamics of Mid-hilly Region of Nepal: A Systematic Review of Development Trends and Challenges

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Abstract

The mid-hilly region of Nepal, with its diverse geography and socio-economic structure, plays a pivotal role in the country's overall economic landscape. However, this region faces several unique challenges that hinder its sustainable development. This systematic review seeks to consolidate existing literature on the economic dynamics of the mid-hilly region, focusing on key sectors such as agriculture, tourism, remittances, and infrastructure. The study critically examines the development trends, identifies the drivers of growth, and highlights the challenges impeding economic advancement. Despite its vast potential, the region remains underdeveloped due to limited access to markets, inadequate infrastructure, climate change, and a heavy reliance on remittances. The review further explores the role of agriculture in sustaining livelihoods, the growing importance of tourism, and the implications of remittance dependency on local economies. Additionally, the study assesses infrastructure gaps, especially in connectivity and energy, and their impact on regional economic activities. The findings suggest that while there are opportunities for sustainable development through integrated approaches such as eco-tourism, climate-smart agriculture, and infrastructure investment, targeted interventions are required to address regional disparities. The results provide essential insights for policymakers, researchers, and development practitioners aiming to formulate strategies that foster inclusive and sustainable development in Nepal's mid-hilly region.

Keywords: Economic, Mid-Hilly, Development, Sustainable, Remittance, Dependency

Introduction

Background of the Study

The mid-hilly region of Nepal, characterized by its unique topographical and socio-economic features, plays a critical role in shaping the nation's economic landscape. This region, situated between the fertile plains of the Terai and the towering Himalayas, is home to a significant proportion of the population and serves as a conduit for various economic activities (Thapa, 2021). The area's economy relies heavily on agriculture, tourism, remittances, and small-scale industries. However, its development is hindered by structural challenges such as inadequate infrastructure, geographic remoteness, and environmental vulnerabilities (Gurung, 2020).

Agriculture remains the primary livelihood source for the majority of households in the mid-hills, employing traditional farming methods often limited by small landholdings and erratic rainfall patterns (Sharma, 2020). While innovative practices like agroforestry and climate-resilient farming have been introduced, their adoption remains inconsistent across communities (Adhikari, J., 2021). The agricultural sector also faces market accessibility issues, exacerbating income disparities (Pradhan, 2022). Tourism has emerged as a prominent sector, leveraging the region's natural beauty, trekking routes, and cultural heritage. Destinations such as Bandipur, Dhulikhel, and Palpa highlight the mid-hills' potential to attract both domestic and international tourists (Nepal Tourism Board, 2021). Despite its promise, tourism development is impeded by infrastructural gaps, lack of investment, and limited promotion of lesser-known destinations (Pandey, R., 2020).

The mid-hills are also significantly influenced by remittances, as a large number of residents seek employment abroad. While remittances contribute to household income and local economic activities, they often create dependency and undermine local labor markets (Nepal Tourism Board, 2021; Bhandari, 2024). Moreover, the absence of adequate vocational training and skill development programs limits opportunities for better employment outcomes (Ghimire, 2020). Infrastructure development is a crucial determinant of economic progress in this region. Although rural electrification and road networks have expanded in recent years, the quality and accessibility of these services remain uneven (Department of Roads, 2022). Additionally, the region's susceptibility to natural disasters, such as landslides and floods, poses significant threats to livelihoods and economic stability (National Planning Commission, 2022).

This systematic review aims to analyze the existing literature on the economic dynamics of Nepal's mid-hilly region, highlighting development trends and

identifying persistent challenges. The review underscores the need for region-specific, inclusive, and sustainable approaches to harness the region's economic potential while addressing its vulnerabilities. By synthesizing evidence from various studies, this work seeks to inform policymakers and stakeholders about pathways to equitable development.

Objectives of the Study

- To identify and evaluate the key development trends in the mid-hilly region of Nepal, focusing on sectors such as agriculture, tourism, remittances, and infrastructure, while assessing their contributions to the regional economy.
- To investigate the socio-economic challenges that hinder sustainable economic growth in the mid-hilly region, including geographic isolation, infrastructure deficits, and vulnerability to natural disasters.
- To synthesize existing evidence and provide actionable policy recommendations for promoting inclusive and sustainable economic development in the mid-hilly region of Nepal.

Significance of the Study

The mid-hilly region of Nepal holds immense socio-economic importance due to its strategic location, diverse population, and contributions to the national economy. However, the region faces persistent development challenges that require a comprehensive understanding to formulate effective solutions. This systematic review is significant as it consolidates fragmented research to provide a holistic perspective on the region's economic dynamics, including its opportunities and vulnerabilities. By examining key sectors such as agriculture, tourism, remittances, and infrastructure, the study highlights both the drivers and barriers to sustainable development. Furthermore, it aligns with Nepal's commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly those related to poverty alleviation, economic growth, and environmental sustainability. The findings of this review are expected to inform policymakers, development practitioners, and researchers by offering evidence-based recommendations to address regional disparities, enhance resilience, and promote inclusive and sustainable development in the mid-hilly region. In doing so, this study not only advances academic understanding but also contributes to the broader discourse on equitable economic development in geographically and socio-economically diverse contexts.

Research Methodology

This study employs a systematic review methodology to explore and synthesize existing literature on the economic dynamics of the mid-hilly region of Nepal. The approach is designed to identify, analyze, and consolidate relevant data, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the development trends and challenges in the region.

1. Research Design

The systematic review process follows a structured and transparent protocol to minimize bias and enhance the reliability of findings. It involves a step-by-step approach, including the identification of research questions, literature search, selection of studies, data extraction, and thematic synthesis.

2. Research Questions

The review is guided by the following research questions:

- What are the key economic trends in Nepal's mid-hilly region?
- What challenges impede sustainable economic development in this region?
- What strategies have been proposed or implemented to address these challenges?

3. Literature Search Strategy

A systematic and transparent literature search strategy was employed to ensure comprehensive coverage of scholarly and policy-based evidence relevant to the economic dynamics of Nepal's mid-hilly region. The review covered publications from January 2010 to December 2024, capturing post-conflict reconstruction, federal restructuring, and post-COVID economic recovery phases.

3.1 Databases and Sources

A systematic literature review was conducted using major academic databases, including Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholar, JSTOR, and NepJOL (Nepal Journals Online) to capture both international and nationally published research. In addition to peer-reviewed articles, grey literature was reviewed from key institutions such as the National Planning Commission, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, Nepal Tourism Board, World Bank, and United Nations Development Program. Government reports, development plans, and macroeconomic surveys were included to ensure policy relevance and contextual accuracy.

3.2 Search Terms and Boolean Strategy

Search terms were organized into three clusters: geographic focus (“mid-hill*,” “hill region*”), economic dimensions (“economic development,” “livelihood*”), and sectoral themes (“agriculture,” “tourism,” “remittance*,” “infrastructure”). Keywords were combined using AND and OR operators, and truncation symbols were applied to capture variations of terms. Reference lists of selected studies were also manually screened (snowballing) to ensure comprehensive coverage.

4. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Studies published between 2010-2024 were included if they focused on Nepal’s mid-hilly region and addressed economic dimensions such as agriculture, tourism, remittances, infrastructure, or regional planning. Empirical, theoretical, and policy-oriented studies in English or Nepali were considered. Studies focusing exclusively on other ecological regions, lacking economic linkage, presenting opinion-only content, or duplicating previous publications were excluded.

5. Data Extraction and Thematic Synthesis

Key information extracted from each study included author, year, location, objectives, methodology, findings, and policy implications. A thematic synthesis approach was used, involving coding of findings, grouping into descriptive themes (e.g., agricultural modernization, remittance dependency, infrastructure expansion), and developing broader analytical insights related to regional economic transformation and sustainability.

6. Quality Assessment

Studies were critically appraised based on research clarity, methodological appropriateness, analytical rigor, relevance, and policy applicability. They were categorized as high, moderate, or low quality, with only high- and moderate-quality studies retained. Measures such as multi-database searches, transparent screening, and cross-verification of data minimized bias and strengthened reliability.

7. Data Analysis

The findings were categorized into thematic areas, such as agricultural practices, tourism development, remittance flows, and infrastructure challenges. Patterns, gaps, and relationships among these themes were analyzed to draw meaningful insights.

8. Ethical Considerations

This study adheres to ethical research practices by ensuring proper attribution of all sources and presenting findings transparently. It does not involve primary data collection or human subjects, thus avoiding ethical dilemmas. By adopting this methodology, the study aims to provide a comprehensive and systematic understanding of the economic dynamics of Nepal's mid-hilly region, contributing to both academic research and policy formulation.

Results and Discussion

The systematic review provides a comprehensive understanding of the economic dynamics of Nepal's mid-hilly region, highlighting key trends, opportunities, and persistent challenges across sectors such as agriculture, tourism, remittances, and infrastructure. The findings are organized into thematic categories, with an emphasis on implications for sustainable development.

1. Results and Trend Analysis

Trend analysis indicates moderate GDP growth, high remittance dependency, and gradual tourism diversification. However, agricultural productivity growth remains limited relative to national averages.

Table 1

GDP Growth Trend (National Indicator, %)

Fiscal Year	GDP Growth Rate (%)
2010/11	4.6
2015/16	0.4
2018/19	7.6
2022/23	2.0

Source: Economic Survey, 2023/24

Table 2

Remittance Share of GDP (%)

Year	Remittance (% of GDP)
2010	22%
2015	29%
2020	25%
2023	26%

Source: Economic Survey, 2023/24

Table 3*Tourist Arrivals (in thousands)*

Year	Tourist Arrivals (000)
2010	602
2018	1173
2020	230
2023	1014

Source: Economic Survey, 2023/24

1.1 Agriculture and Livelihood Trends

Agriculture remains the structural foundation of the mid-hilly region's economy, employing a substantial majority of the rural population. However, trend analysis indicates that while agricultural engagement remains high, productivity growth has been comparatively slow due to land fragmentation, limited irrigation coverage, and dependence on traditional cultivation techniques (Sharma, 2020). Over the past decade, there has been a gradual shift toward diversification into high-value crops, agroforestry, and climate-resilient farming systems. These innovations have demonstrated localized improvements in yield stability and household income (Adhikari, 2021; Pokharel, 2021). Despite these positive developments, adoption rates remain uneven because of inadequate extension services, financial constraints, and weak integration with national and regional markets. The persistence of market-access barriers continues to suppress farm profitability, reinforcing subsistence-oriented production systems. As a result, the agricultural sector shows incremental transformation rather than structural modernization, with productivity gains frequently offset by environmental stress and outmigration-induced labor shortages (Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, 2021).

1.2 Tourism Development Trends

Tourism has emerged as an increasingly important growth sector within the mid-hills, particularly in culturally and scenically attractive settlements. Destinations such as Bandipur and Palpa illustrate how improved accessibility and heritage conservation have stimulated local economic diversification (Nepal Tourism Board, 2021; Pandey, 2020). Trend patterns suggest that tourism growth has generated employment opportunities in hospitality, transport, and small enterprises, thereby contributing to income diversification beyond agriculture. However, growth has been

geographically concentrated in better-connected areas, leaving remote settlements marginally integrated (Nepal Tourism Board, 2021). Environmental degradation, infrastructure limitations, and insufficient destination management pose risks to sustainability (Gurung, 2020). Although eco-tourism and community-based tourism initiatives are expanding and show potential for inclusive growth, their long-term viability depends on strategic planning, environmental safeguards, and improved institutional coordination (Gurung, 2024).

1.3 Remittance and Migration Trends

Remittance inflows have significantly reshaped the economic landscape of the mid-hilly region. Migration to Gulf countries and Southeast Asia has led to sustained increases in household income, enabling improved access to education, healthcare, and housing (Thapa, 2021). Over time, remittances have become a stabilizing source of consumption and local investment, partially compensating for limited domestic employment opportunities. However, trend analysis reveals a growing dependency on external earnings, accompanied by declining participation in agriculture and local enterprises (Ghimire, 2020). This structural reliance has altered demographic patterns, increasing the proportion of elderly and female-headed households in rural communities. While remittances enhance consumption-based growth, limited reinvestment in productive sectors restricts broader regional multiplier effects. Strengthening skills development and channeling remittances toward entrepreneurship remain crucial to enhancing sustainable economic transformation (Gurung, 2020).

1.4 Infrastructure and Connectivity Trends

Infrastructure development has improved progressively, particularly through the expansion of rural roads and electrification programs, reducing geographic isolation and improving service access (Department of Roads, 2022). These developments have facilitated tourism mobility, agricultural market access, and social service delivery. Nevertheless, infrastructure quality and distribution remain uneven, with remote areas continuing to experience limited connectivity and seasonal disruptions. Such disparities contribute to spatial inequality in economic opportunities (National Planning Commission, 2022). Maintenance challenges and institutional capacity limitations further constrain the long-term effectiveness of infrastructure investments. Emerging policy discussions emphasize decentralized governance and public–private partnerships as mechanisms to enhance infrastructure sustainability and regional integration.

1.5 Environmental and Climate-Related Trends

Environmental vulnerability represents an intensifying constraint on economic activities in the mid-hills. Increasing occurrences of landslides, floods, and soil erosion, compounded by climate variability, have disrupted agriculture, damaged infrastructure, and threatened tourism assets (Pokharel, 2021). These climatic pressures reduce production stability and elevate livelihood risks, particularly for subsistence farmers. Trend observations indicate that while climate-smart agriculture and disaster-resilient infrastructure are gaining policy attention, implementation remains uneven due to financial and technical limitations (National Planning Commission, 2022). Long-term regional sustainability depends on integrating resilience-building strategies into sectoral planning.

1.6 Policy and Institutional Trends

Across sectors, literature highlights persistent policy and institutional gaps that moderate economic transformation. Although national development frameworks prioritize balanced regional growth, implementation at the mid-hill level often lacks coordination and contextual adaptation (United Nations Development Program, 2021). Resource constraints, administrative inefficiencies, and fragmented inter-agency collaboration have limited policy effectiveness (Sharma, 2020). International assessments further underscore the importance of improved governance, fiscal decentralization, and integrated regional planning to strengthen inclusive growth trajectories (International Organization for Migration, 2023; World Bank, 2022). Overall, the trend analysis suggests gradual diversification and infrastructural progress, yet structural dependency, environmental fragility, and institutional weaknesses continue to shape the pace and inclusiveness of development in Nepal's mid-hilly region.

2. Discussion

2.1 Evaluation of Key Development Trends and Sectoral Contributions

This review reveals that the mid-hilly region of Nepal is undergoing gradual but uneven economic transformation shaped by agriculture, tourism, remittances, and infrastructure expansion. Agriculture continues to function as the foundational economic sector, sustaining a majority of households; however, its productivity remains constrained by fragmented landholdings, limited commercialization, and weak market integration (Sharma, 2020). Although climate-smart agriculture and agroforestry initiatives demonstrate promising localized outcomes, structural

bottlenecks such as inadequate extension services and financial constraints limit scaling (Adhikari, 2021; Pokharel, 2021). Consequently, agriculture contributes significantly to subsistence and livelihood security but only moderately to structural economic growth.

Tourism, in contrast, has emerged as a dynamic growth sector, especially in culturally rich hill settlements. The expansion of domestic and international visitor flows has stimulated hospitality enterprises, local handicrafts, and service industries (Nepal Tourism Board, 2021; Pandey, 2020). However, growth patterns remain spatially concentrated and vulnerable to infrastructure deficits and environmental degradation (Gurung, 2020). While community-based and eco-tourism initiatives offer inclusive growth pathways, sustainability depends on strategic planning, institutional coordination, and environmental safeguards (Gurung, 2024).

Remittances have become a dominant financial inflow shaping consumption patterns and household welfare. Migration-generated income supports education, healthcare, housing, and small-scale investments, thereby improving short-term living standards (Thapa, 2021). However, excessive reliance on remittances risks reinforcing structural dependency, labor shortages in agriculture, and consumption-driven growth without productive reinvestment (Ghimire, 2020). This dual character highlights remittances as both stabilizers and potential long-term vulnerabilities.

Infrastructure improvements, particularly in rural road expansion and electrification, have enhanced connectivity and reduced geographic isolation (Department of Roads, 2022). Enhanced infrastructure has facilitated tourism mobility and agricultural market access. Yet, regional disparities persist, as remote settlements continue to experience seasonal road blockages and uneven service quality (National Planning Commission, 2022). Overall, sectoral contributions demonstrate gradual diversification, but structural transformation remains incomplete due to institutional and geographic constraints.

2.2 Socio-Economic and Structural Challenges to Sustainable Growth

Despite sectoral progress, the mid-hilly region faces interconnected socio-economic challenges that hinder sustainable growth. Geographic isolation remains a defining structural constraint, with rugged topography increasing the cost of infrastructure development and limiting access to markets, education, and healthcare (Gurung, 2024). Even where roads exist, maintenance challenges and seasonal disruptions reduce economic reliability (National Planning Commission, 2022). Infrastructure

deficits further amplify inequality between accessible growth centers and remote settlements. Limited irrigation facilities, inadequate storage infrastructure, weak digital connectivity, and insufficient energy reliability constrain productivity and entrepreneurship. These gaps restrict the multiplier effects of tourism and agriculture, reinforcing uneven development patterns (Gurung, 2020).

Environmental vulnerability constitutes another major impediment. The mid-hills are highly susceptible to landslides, soil erosion, and erratic rainfall patterns exacerbated by climate change (Pokharel, 2021). These risks undermine agricultural productivity, damage transport networks, and threaten tourism assets. Without resilience-building measures, environmental fragility may offset economic gains. Labor migration, while economically beneficial through remittances, has generated demographic imbalances, including aging rural populations and feminization of agricultural labor (Ghimire, 2020). This structural shift affects productivity and increases social burdens on remaining households. Institutional fragmentation compounds these challenges, as policy implementation often suffers from weak coordination, limited fiscal autonomy at local levels, and capacity constraints (United Nations Development Program, 2021).

Collectively, these structural and socio-economic constraints illustrate that growth in the mid-hilly region is not merely an economic issue but a multi-dimensional development challenge requiring integrated solutions.

2.3 Policy Synthesis and Strategic Recommendations for Inclusive and Sustainable Development

The synthesis of evidence underscores the urgent need for region-specific, integrated policy frameworks to unlock the economic potential of Nepal's mid-hilly region. Agricultural modernization should prioritize climate-smart technologies, improved irrigation systems, cooperative-based marketing, and value-chain integration to enhance productivity and income stability (Adhikari, 2021). Strengthening rural financial systems and technical extension services will be critical to facilitating widespread innovation adoption (Shrestha, 2021).

Tourism policies should focus on sustainable destination management, infrastructure upgrading, and diversification toward eco-tourism and community-based models. Strategic branding of lesser-known destinations, combined with environmental conservation mechanisms, can reduce spatial inequality and ensure long-term viability (Gurung, 2024). Investment in service quality and digital promotion can further

strengthen competitiveness. To transform remittance inflows into productive capital, policies should encourage reinvestment in entrepreneurship, agro-processing, and small-scale industries. Skill development programs aligned with international labor markets can enhance migrant earnings, while financial literacy initiatives can improve household-level investment decisions (Thapa, 2021). Infrastructure development must move beyond road expansion toward integrated connectivity frameworks that include digital infrastructure, renewable energy systems, and resilient transport planning. Public-private partnerships and decentralized governance structures can enhance efficiency and sustainability (Department of Roads, 2022).

Environmental resilience should be embedded across sectors through disaster-resistant infrastructure, sustainable land management, and climate adaptation strategies (Pokharel, 2021). Coordinated governance and inter-agency collaboration remain central to effective implementation (World Bank, 2022).

Overall, achieving inclusive and sustainable economic growth in the mid-hilly region requires an integrated approach that simultaneously strengthens productive sectors, reduces structural disparities, enhances environmental resilience, and improves institutional coordination. Future research should prioritize localized case studies and pilot interventions to test scalable models tailored to the region's unique geographic and socio-economic context.

3. Findings

The systematic review provides consolidated evidence on the evolving economic structure of Nepal's mid-hilly region, revealing gradual sectoral diversification alongside persistent structural and institutional constraints. The findings synthesize empirical trends and analytical insights across agriculture, tourism, remittances, infrastructure, environmental vulnerability, and governance.

First, macro-trend indicators demonstrate economic volatility alongside structural dependence on external income sources. National GDP growth fluctuated significantly between 2010/11 and 2022/23, reflecting broader economic shocks and structural fragility, while remittance inflows consistently accounted for roughly one-quarter of GDP, underscoring high external dependency. Tourism arrivals showed strong growth before the COVID-19 pandemic, sharp contraction during 2020, and gradual recovery by 2023 (Government of Nepal, Ministry of Finance, 2024). These macro-patterns frame the mid-hilly region's development context, where local economies are influenced by national growth instability, migration-driven income, and tourism

recovery cycles. In agriculture, the findings confirm that the sector remains the primary livelihood base, yet productivity growth is limited relative to national modernization goals. Persistent land fragmentation, traditional cultivation systems, limited irrigation, and weak value-chain integration constrain structural transformation (Sharma, 2020). Although climate-smart agriculture, agroforestry, and high-value crop diversification have generated localized income improvements, adoption remains uneven due to financial and technical barriers (Adhikari, 2021; Pokharel, 2021). The review indicates that agriculture contributes more to livelihood security than to dynamic economic growth, with environmental stress and labor migration further moderating gains.

Tourism demonstrates stronger growth dynamism, particularly in accessible heritage and hill-town destinations. Increased visitor flows have supported small enterprises, employment diversification, and local revenue generation (Nepal Tourism Board, 2021; Pandey, 2020). However, tourism expansion is spatially concentrated and infrastructure-dependent, limiting inclusive regional spillovers. Environmental degradation and insufficient destination management pose sustainability risks (Gurung, 2020). Community-based and eco-tourism models show promise for inclusive development, but require institutional strengthening and coordinated planning to scale effectively (Gurung, 2024). Remittances emerge as a transformative yet structurally complex driver. Migration income significantly enhances household welfare, financing education, health services, housing, and consumption (Thapa, 2021). However, findings reveal a growing dependency syndrome characterized by declining local labor participation, feminization of agriculture, and limited productive reinvestment (Ghimire, 2020). While remittances stabilize short-term income, their limited channeling into enterprise development constrains long-term structural transformation.

Infrastructure improvements, particularly road expansion and rural electrification, have reduced geographic isolation and facilitated tourism and market access (Department of Roads, 2022). Nonetheless, infrastructure quality and spatial distribution remain uneven, reinforcing disparities between accessible growth hubs and remote settlements (National Planning Commission, 2022). Maintenance gaps and institutional capacity constraints limit long-term infrastructure sustainability. Environmental vulnerability is identified as a cross-cutting structural risk. Increasing landslides, floods, and climate variability undermine agricultural productivity, damage infrastructure, and threaten tourism assets (Pokharel, 2021). Although resilience-building strategies are recognized in policy frameworks, implementation remains uneven and resource-

constrained (National Planning Commission, 2022). Without integrated climate adaptation, economic gains remain fragile. Institutionally, the findings highlight persistent governance fragmentation. Despite national commitments to balanced regional development, policy implementation in the mid-hills is often constrained by limited coordination, fiscal constraints, and administrative inefficiencies (United Nations Development Program, 2021; World Bank, 2022). This weakens the translation of policy objectives into measurable regional outcomes.

Overall, the findings indicate that the mid-hilly region is experiencing gradual economic diversification driven by tourism growth, remittance inflows, and incremental infrastructure expansion. However, agricultural stagnation, structural remittance dependency, environmental fragility, geographic isolation, and institutional gaps continue to limit inclusive and sustainable development. The evidence suggests that without integrated, region-specific strategies that simultaneously address productivity, connectivity, resilience, and governance capacity, economic transformation in the mid-hills will remain partial and uneven.

Conclusion

This systematic review provides a comprehensive understanding of the economic dynamics shaping Nepal's mid-hilly region. The findings reveal a pattern of gradual economic diversification accompanied by persistent structural and institutional challenges. While agriculture continues to serve as the primary livelihood foundation, its productivity remains constrained by fragmented landholdings, limited modernization, environmental stress, and weak market integration. Incremental improvements are visible, yet structural transformation in the agricultural sector remains slow.

Tourism has emerged as a relatively dynamic growth sector, generating employment opportunities and contributing to local income diversification. However, tourism development remains spatially uneven and infrastructure-dependent, with sustainability concerns related to environmental degradation and limited institutional coordination. Remittances have significantly enhanced household welfare and consumption capacity, but growing dependency on external income sources poses long-term risks, particularly in terms of labor shortages, reduced local productivity, and limited productive investment.

Infrastructure expansion has improved connectivity and access to services, yet disparities between accessible growth centers and remote settlements persist. Environmental

and climatic vulnerabilities further intensify development challenges, undermining gains in agriculture, tourism, and infrastructure. Institutional fragmentation and weak policy implementation capacity continue to limit the effectiveness of development interventions.

Overall, the mid-hilly region stands at a transitional stage of economic development. Progress is evident through diversification and improved connectivity, but growth remains uneven and structurally fragile. Achieving inclusive and sustainable development will require integrated, region-specific strategies that simultaneously strengthen productive sectors, enhance environmental resilience, reduce spatial inequality, and improve governance effectiveness. Without coordinated and context-sensitive interventions, economic transformation in the mid-hills will remain partial rather than comprehensive.

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Exploring Logical-Mathematical Intelligence and Hyperactivity in School-Level Student: A Case Study of Cognitive Profiles and Academic Performance

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ABSTRACT

This case study examines the academic and developmental profile of Siddhartha Himali, a mathematically gifted secondary-level student from Sankhuwasabha District, Nepal. The study explores his personal background, academic trajectory, behavioural characteristics, and exceptional aptitude in logical-mathematical reasoning. Siddhartha demonstrates advanced mastery of higher secondary mathematics while still in Grade 9, reflecting strong intrinsic motivation, self-directed learning habits, and high-level abstract thinking skills. His learning environment, characterized by parental support and academic freedom, has played a significant role in nurturing his intellectual growth. However, the study also identifies key developmental challenges, including limited social engagement, reduced interest in non-mathematical subjects, and potential emotional concerns associated with intense cognitive focus. These findings highlight the need for a balanced educational approach that supports both cognitive acceleration and socio-emotional development. The case emphasizes differentiated instruction, mentorship opportunities, interdisciplinary integration, emotional intelligence development, and collaborative parental-teacher support as essential strategies for holistic growth. Overall, the study underscores the importance of structured yet flexible support systems to sustain gifted learners' talents while ensuring well-rounded personality development and long-term well-being.

Keywords: Giftedness, Intelligence, Mathematics, Acceleration, Motivation, Development

INTRODUCTION

1. Background of the Study

The study of exceptional mathematical talent in school-aged students offers valuable insights into cognitive abilities, learning processes, and the impact of individual traits on academic performance. Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences (1986) emphasizes that individuals possess distinct cognitive strengths, including logical-mathematical intelligence. This intelligence encompasses skills such as problem-solving, abstract reasoning, and recognizing patterns. Gardner's research highlights that individuals have unique cognitive profiles, with some displaying pronounced strengths in specific areas, such as mathematics, while exhibiting varying abilities in other domains. Similarly, Krutetskii's (1976) research on mathematical giftedness identifies traits such as rapid reasoning, innovative problem solving, and intuitive number sense as hallmarks of mathematically gifted individuals. These students often condense complex reasoning into elegant solutions and exhibit a natural curiosity about mathematical patterns and puzzles.

Mr. Siddartha Himali (name changed), a Grade 9 student from an English Medium Secondary Boarding School in Khandbari (name hidden), demonstrates exceptional logical-mathematical intelligence despite having changed four schools between nursery and Grade 9. His ability to independently solve Grade 11-12-level mathematical problems, particularly in calculus, coordinate geometry, and trigonometry, and to integrate mathematical reasoning into unrelated subjects reflects his unique cognitive profile. This case study examines the interplay between his mathematical abilities and hyperactive tendencies, exploring how these traits influence his academic performance, learning style, and overall development while identifying effective strategies to support his potential.

2. Objectives of the Case Study

- To analyse Mr. Siddartha Himali's logical intelligence and mathematical capabilities.
- To identify patterns, traits, and challenges associated with his mathematical talent.
- To explore the influence of his hyperactivity on his academic performance and learning style.
- To recommend strategies to support his learning and talent development.

- To contribute to the broader understanding of mathematical giftedness at the school level.

3. Significance of the Study

This case study holds significance for multiple stakeholders in the field of education and child development. For educators, it offers valuable insights into effective teaching methods, classroom management strategies, and emotional support mechanisms that can be adapted to the distinctive learning styles of mathematically gifted and hyperactive students. It emphasizes the importance of differentiated instruction, enrichment activities, and responsive pedagogy to sustain intellectual curiosity while managing behavioural challenges. For parents, the study provides practical guidance on identifying early signs of mathematical talent and hyperactivity, and on nurturing both cognitive strengths and socio-emotional well-being within a supportive home environment. It encourages balanced development through structured routines, encouragement, and constructive engagement. For researchers, this study contributes to the expanding body of knowledge on mathematical giftedness, logical intelligence, and hyperactivity, offering a contextualized example that may inspire further empirical investigation into the developmental, psychological, and pedagogical needs of such learners. For policy-makers, the findings present actionable recommendations for early identification, targeted support systems, and inclusive integration of mathematically gifted students into mainstream or specialized educational frameworks, particularly in geographically remote or resource-constrained settings such as Khandbari. For curriculum developers, the study underscores the necessity of flexible, enriched, and differentiated curricula designed to challenge and engage mathematically advanced and hyperactive learners. It advocates for the integration of problem-based learning, higher-order mathematical tasks, creative exploration, and interdisciplinary approaches to fully harness students' potential. By highlighting Mr. Siddhartha Himali's case, this study ultimately advances understanding of how to cultivate mathematical excellence while addressing the holistic educational needs of exceptionally gifted and hyperactive students.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences

In *Frames of Mind* (1993), Howard Gardner presents his theory of Multiple Intelligences, proposing that intelligence is not a single, fixed ability but a collection of distinct cognitive domains. He identifies eight intelligences: linguistic, logical-

mathematical, musical, spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalistic. Gardner argues that traditional IQ tests fail to capture the full spectrum of human cognitive abilities and that education should address and cultivate each of these intelligences in students. His theory challenges the conventional understanding of intelligence and advocates for a more personalized, inclusive approach to learning.

Gardner (1993) introduced the theory of multiple intelligences, asserting that individuals exhibit distinct types of intelligence, such as logical-mathematical intelligence, which is vital for mathematical reasoning and problem-solving. His work emphasized the uniqueness of cognitive profiles, explaining that individuals may excel in one intelligence while showing average performance in others. Gardner's theory provides the foundational framework for understanding mathematical giftedness in students like the case subject, highlighting the strength of logical-mathematical intelligence in their cognitive profiles.

2. Krutetskii's Psychological Perspective on Mathematical Abilities

Krutetskii (1976) conducted an extensive study on mathematically gifted school children, concluding that such students demonstrate extraordinary abilities in problem-solving, generalizing, and creating new methods. His findings highlight the cognitive traits specific to mathematical giftedness, such as rapid reasoning and the ability to condense complex reasoning steps. This theoretical lens is essential for analysing the cognitive abilities of hyperactive students excelling in mathematics.

3. Hyperactivity and Cognitive Abilities

Harlson (2005) explored the impact of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) on mathematical achievement, revealing that hyperactivity may sometimes enhance cognitive abilities in mathematics through increased focus on tasks of interest. This perspective supports the understanding of the dual nature of hyperactivity, as seen in students who demonstrate both exceptional mathematical reasoning and restlessness.

4. Perspectives on Mathematical Giftedness

Diezmann and Watters (2002) examined the educational needs of mathematically gifted students, emphasizing the importance of tailored teaching strategies to nurture their potential. They found that mathematically gifted individuals often exhibit unique learning trajectories, requiring adaptive instructional approaches. These findings align with the need to understand how hyperactive mathematical prodigies navigate academic challenges.

5. Educational Strategies for Gifted Students

Bicknell (2009b) analysed various approaches to educating mathematically gifted students, arguing for a multi-faceted identification process that considers behavioural traits, cognitive abilities, and teacher observations. This comprehensive framework is relevant for understanding how hyperactivity interacts with giftedness in school-level students.

6. Giftedness and Cognitive Profiles

Wieczerkowski et al. (2000) explored the relationship between mathematical giftedness and cognitive profiles, identifying traits like high spatial visualization skills and the ability to create innovative problem-solving strategies. Their findings are essential for understanding the distinct cognitive characteristics of students with both hyperactivity and mathematical talent.

7. Neuroscience of Gifted Learning: Practical Strategies for Educators

David A. Sousa's book (2009), *How the Gifted Brain Learns*, provides an insightful examination of the neuroscience behind the learning processes of gifted students. In this updated edition, Sousa translates contemporary neuroscientific findings into practical, brain-compatible strategies for educators working with gifted learners. His approach is based on the premise that understanding how the brain of gifted students' functions can significantly improve teaching practices and student outcomes.

One of the key themes of the book is how the brains of gifted learners differ from those of their peers. Sousa emphasizes the unique neural mechanisms that allow gifted students to process information more quickly, retain it longer, and make connections across disparate concepts with greater ease. He discusses how these cognitive advantages can manifest in different academic areas, such as language, mathematics, and the arts. By delving into these areas, Sousa provides educators with targeted strategies to engage and challenge gifted students in the classroom, ensuring they are provided with the appropriate academic stimulation.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of this case study is grounded in Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences (1986), which posits that individuals possess eight distinct intelligences, each representing different cognitive strengths. These intelligences

include linguistic, logical-mathematical, musical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and naturalistic. Gardner emphasizes that individuals have "jagged cognitive profiles," meaning a child's strengths in one intelligence area, such as mathematics, may not correlate with abilities in other cognitive domains. Logical-mathematical intelligence, one of the eight identified, represents a natural aptitude for reasoning, pattern recognition, problem-solving, and understanding abstract concepts—all of which are evident in mathematically gifted students like Mr. Siddhartha Himali. Gardner's work also highlights the importance of tailoring educational practices to individual strengths, as each child has a unique combination of intelligences that last a lifetime (Checkley, 1997). This study examines how Mr. Himali's logical-mathematical intelligence and hyperactive tendencies interact, influencing his learning experiences, problem-solving approach, and overall academic development.

Additionally, Krutetskii's (1976) Theory of Mathematical Giftedness provides a complementary lens. Krutetskii identified traits of mathematically gifted students, such as rapid generalization, creative problem solving and intuitive number sense. These students demonstrate an ability to condense complex reasoning and generate elegant solutions, often with minimal external guidance. Krutetskii's insights align with the observation of Mr. Sherpa's advanced mathematical abilities, making his theory integral to analysing this case.

2. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this case study integrates Gardner's and Krutetskii's theories to explore the unique interplay between logical-mathematical intelligence and hyperactivity in Mr. Siddhartha Himali's educational journey.

1. Logical-Mathematical Intelligence (Gardner, 1986):

- i. Represents Mr. Himali's exceptional aptitude for mathematics, problem-solving, and logical reasoning.
- ii. Explains his ability to grasp advanced mathematical concepts and solve Grade 12-level problems despite being in Grade 9.

2. Mathematical Giftedness Traits (Krutetskii, 1976):

- i. Highlights Mr. Himali's ability to create unique solutions, condense reasoning steps, and innovate problem-solving strategies.
- ii. Addresses his passion for exploring patterns and mathematical puzzles.

3. Hyperactivity and Cognitive Potential:

- i. Examines how Mr. Himali's hyperactivity influences his learning style, focus, and interactions.
- ii. Considers the potential positive contributions of his hyperactivity, such as high energy levels and creative thinking.

4. Identification and Support for Gifted Students:

- i. Informed by research on early recognition and support for mathematically gifted students (Gross, 2004; Sheffield, 1999).
- ii. Addresses the role of educators, parents, and tailored assessments in fostering Mr. Himali's potential.

3. Integrative Approach

This framework employs a holistic approach to understanding Mr. Himali's abilities by incorporating multiple sources of data-academic records, interviews, observations, and tailored assessments. The study will also explore educational practices and support systems that can enhance his learning experience, aligned with Gardner's emphasis on individualized education and Krutetskii's advocacy for nurturing mathematical talent.

By combining Gardner's and Krutetskii's theories, this study aims to illuminate the dynamic relationship between cognitive strengths and behavioural traits in mathematically gifted students, providing valuable insights into effective educational strategies.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Research Design

This study has employed a case study design to explore the cognitive profile and academic performance of Mr. Siddhartha Himali, a school-level student who has demonstrated hyperactivity and exceptional logical-mathematical intelligence. The case study approach has allowed for an in-depth examination of the interplay between hyperactivity and mathematical intelligence, providing rich insights into how these factors have influenced learning and academic achievement.

2. Data Collection Methods

To gather comprehensive data, a combination of interviews, observations, and academic analysis has been used:

I. Interviews: Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with Mr. Sherpa, his mathematics teachers, and his parents. These interviews have focused on gathering perspectives on his cognitive strengths, academic performance, learning strategies, and hyperactive behaviours.

II. Observations: Direct classroom and home observations have been conducted to assess Mr. Sherpa's behaviour during mathematics-related tasks. The observations have focused on his level of engagement, problem-solving approaches, and any hyperactive behaviours that might have affected his learning process.

III. Academic Analysis: The study has analysed Mr. Sherpa's academic performance in mathematics by reviewing his grades, assignments, and test scores. This analysis has helped evaluate his logical-mathematical abilities and how hyperactivity may have influenced his academic achievements.

3. Data Analysis

The data has been analysed qualitatively, using thematic analysis to identify patterns and themes related to Mr. Sherpa's cognitive abilities and academic performance. This approach has allowed for the exploration of the relationship between hyperactivity and logical-mathematical intelligence.

4. Ethical Considerations

Informed consent has been obtained from all participants, and their confidentiality has been maintained throughout the study. Ethical guidelines have ensured the protection of participants' rights and privacy.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE

This case describes Mr. Siddhartha Himali, a young student from the mid-hilly region of eastern Nepal, whose exceptional inclination toward Mathematics and logical reasoning has distinguished him from his peers. His academic journey reflects not only progressive scholastic improvement but also the emergence of a highly specialized intellectual focus. The case is significant for understanding patterns of mathematical giftedness in rural and semi-urban educational contexts of Nepal.

1. Personal Background

Siddhartha Himali was born on January 25, 2010 (B.S. 2066/10/12). He resides in Gumba Danda, Khandbari Municipality, Sankhuwasabha District, Nepal. He belongs

to a supportive yet moderately structured family environment. His father is engaged in transportation entrepreneurship, which requires regular business engagement outside the home, while his mother is a homemaker who also manages a small-scale household textile business. The family provides emotional stability and freedom but does not impose rigid academic supervision. This balance has created a nurturing environment in which Siddhartha can independently explore his intellectual interests without excessive pressure or constraint. Although his parents are not described as academically specialized, their willingness to allow him educational autonomy has played a crucial role in fostering his self-driven learning habits. The absence of strict academic micromanagement appears to have strengthened his independence and intrinsic motivation.

2. Academic History and Progression

2.1 Early Schooling (Nursery to Grade 2)

Siddhartha began his formal education at Arun Valley Boarding School, Makalu Rural Municipality, Num. During this stage, his performance was described as satisfactory. There were no extraordinary indications of giftedness, but foundational academic skills were developed appropriately.

2.2 Middle Primary Stage (Grades 3-5)

He later attended Arun Valley Secondary Boarding School, Khandbari-7, Nayabazar. During these years, his academic performance remained moderate. However, subtle indicators of logical curiosity and problem-solving interest began to surface, though not yet fully recognized as exceptional.

2.3 Turning Point Stage (Grades 6-7)

A significant shift occurred during his enrolment at Cunina Secondary Boarding School, Khandbari-4, Sekaha. It was during this period that his intellectual capabilities began to stand out. Teachers started observing unusual problem-solving speed, strong numerical reasoning, and the ability to grasp abstract mathematical concepts beyond grade-level expectations.

2.4 Advanced Academic Stage (Grade 8 Onwards)

Since Grade 8, Siddhartha has been studying at Surya Boarding School, an English-medium secondary institution in Khandbari. Here, his academic growth accelerated dramatically, particularly in Mathematics and Computer Science. His upward trajectory demonstrates not only improvement but mastery and depth. By Grade 9,

Siddhartha had self-studied and mastered the entire Grade 11 and 12 Mathematics curriculums. Currently, he is preparing to solve Bachelor's-level mathematical problems, reflecting intellectual advancement far beyond his age group.

3. Demonstration of Mathematical Talent and Logical Intelligence

3.1 Advanced Content Mastery

Siddhartha exhibits an exceptional interest in higher-level mathematics, including: Calculus, Coordinate Geometry and Trigonometry. His understanding is not superficial; rather, it reflects conceptual clarity, procedural accuracy, and analytical depth. Mastering Grades 11 and 12 mathematics while still in Grade 9 indicates accelerated cognitive processing and abstract reasoning ability.

3.2 Self-Directed Learning

One of the most remarkable aspects of Siddhartha's profile is his preference for independent study. He reports needing no external assistance to solve complex mathematical problems. Teachers and parents confirm that he rarely depends on classroom explanations and instead prefers exploring concepts on his own. This self-directed learning behaviour suggests:

- Strong intrinsic motivation
- High metacognitive awareness
- Deep curiosity
- Self-regulated learning skills

He demonstrates the ability to identify problems, explore multiple solution pathways, and evaluate correctness independently.

3.3 Mathematical Environment and Identity Formation

Siddhartha's bedroom has transformed into what observers describe as a "mathematics lab." The walls are covered with:

- Solved mathematical problems
- Conceptual charts
- Formula derivations
- Logical puzzles

His personal diaries are filled with detailed solutions and motivational mathematical quotes. This physical environment reflects not only commitment but identity formation—he does not merely study mathematics; he lives within it. This immersive engagement indicates:

- Strong task commitment
- Emotional attachment to intellectual activity
- Identity alignment with academic excellence

3.4 Cognitive Characteristics

His mathematical behaviour reflects several core features of logical-mathematical intelligence:

- Rapid generalization from specific examples
- Strong pattern recognition
- Comfort with symbolic representation
- Ability to manipulate abstract concepts mentally
- Creative approaches to non-routine problems

He appears comfortable operating under cognitively demanding situations and often enjoys the challenge of complexity rather than routine tasks.

3.5 Social and Emotional Characteristics

Siddhartha is described as introverted and highly focused. He shows limited interest in peer socialization, typical hobbies, or extracurricular engagement. His social behaviour indicates:

- Preference for solitary intellectual work
- Deep concentration capacity
- Selective social interaction

While this intense focus has supported his academic growth, it may also create a risk of social isolation if not balanced carefully. However, there is no indication of maladjustment—rather, it appears to be a personality alignment with intellectual pursuit.

3.6 Educational Significance of the Case

This case illustrates several important educational insights:

1. Giftedness may not always appear early; it can become visible when the learner encounters intellectually stimulating environments.
2. Academic freedom, even without heavy parental academic control, can nurture extraordinary growth.
3. Self-motivation and autonomy can be more powerful than structured tutoring in certain gifted learners.
4. Rural or semi-urban contexts can produce high intellectual talent when psychological space and internal drive exist.

Siddhartha Himali represents a profile of mathematical giftedness characterized by accelerated learning, deep abstraction, independence, and strong intrinsic commitment. His case underscores the importance of recognizing, nurturing, and appropriately challenging gifted learners to ensure both intellectual and holistic development.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The case of Siddhartha reflects a distinctive cognitive and behavioural profile characterized by high academic specialization, intrinsic motivation, and a focused intellectual orientation toward mathematics. His developmental trajectory and behavioural tendencies indicate the presence of advanced logical reasoning abilities combined with disciplined self-regulation. This section analyses observable patterns in his academic performance and explores underlying factors contributing to his exceptional abilities.

1. Patterns observed in his behaviour and academic performance

Siddhartha demonstrates a pronounced intrinsic interest in mathematical problem-solving and abstract reasoning. Rather than relying solely on classroom instruction, he actively engages with complex problems independently, suggesting deep cognitive involvement rather than surface-level learning. His enthusiasm appears internally driven, reflecting genuine curiosity and intellectual satisfaction derived from mathematical exploration. His academic record indicates a clear upward trajectory beginning around Grade 6, where a marked improvement in conceptual mastery becomes evident. This progression suggests not only natural aptitude but also the

consolidation of higher-order thinking skills such as generalization, abstraction, and logical structuring. Over time, his performance transitions from competence to mastery, particularly in mathematical domains, indicating accelerated cognitive development relative to grade-level expectations.

Behaviourally, Siddhartha exhibits strong self-discipline and sustained concentration. He demonstrates the capacity for prolonged engagement with complex tasks, often prioritizing mathematical pursuits over other academic subjects or extracurricular activities. While this single-minded focus enhances his expertise in mathematics, it may also contribute to imbalanced academic engagement, as attention to non-preferred subjects appears comparatively limited.

Socially, Siddhartha presents as introverted and selectively interactive. He shows minimal interest in common peer-oriented activities and social hobbies, preferring solitary intellectual engagement. This pattern does not necessarily indicate maladjustment; rather, it may reflect a personality orientation that values depth of cognitive engagement over broad social participation. However, such tendencies warrant careful educational guidance to ensure balanced socio-emotional development alongside intellectual growth.

2. Factors contributing to his abilities

One primary contributing factor is Siddhartha's natural cognitive aptitude. His thinking patterns strongly align with what Howard Gardner identifies as logical-mathematical intelligence, characterized by sensitivity to patterns, deductive reasoning, symbolic manipulation, and abstract conceptualization. Siddhartha appears to process information analytically, deconstructing problems into logical sequences and identifying underlying structures with relative ease. His rapid pattern recognition and mental flexibility indicate advanced cognitive wiring in quantitative domains.

Equally significant is his high level of self-motivation. Siddhartha demonstrates autonomous learning behaviours, including independent study, sustained effort, and self-initiated problem exploration. These characteristics reflect intrinsic motivation, which research consistently associates with high achievement and long-term expertise development. His internal drive reduces reliance on external reinforcement and enables persistent engagement even when tasks are cognitively demanding. Environmental influence also plays an important role. Although his family may not provide extensive formal academic scaffolding, they offer emotional support and intellectual freedom. This autonomy appears to foster exploratory learning and prevent restrictive pressure,

allowing Siddhartha's natural interests to flourish organically. A supportive yet non-intrusive home environment can be particularly beneficial for gifted learners who thrive on self-directed discovery.

Finally, Siddhartha's profile closely aligns with Krutetskii's theoretical framework on mathematical giftedness. According to this perspective, mathematically gifted learners demonstrate rapid generalization, flexible thinking, intuitive number sense, and creative problem-solving strategies. Siddhartha's ability to grasp abstract principles quickly, identify shortcuts in reasoning, and generate novel solutions under challenging conditions suggests the presence of these hallmark traits. His cognitive processing appears both efficient and innovative, indicating not merely academic diligence but genuine mathematical talent.

Overall, Siddhartha represents a learner with strong domain-specific giftedness supported by intrinsic motivation and a conducive environment. While his focused orientation contributes to exceptional mathematical development, balanced educational guidance will be essential to support holistic growth across social, emotional, and interdisciplinary dimensions.

3. Challenges felt by Siddhartha; his teachers, and parents

3.1 Challenges felt by Siddhartha:

Despite his exceptional mathematical talent, Siddhartha feels emotionally isolated and unsupported when it comes to his passion. His school, teachers, peers, and even his family do not seem to openly encourage or fully recognize the depth of his mathematical interest. Teachers do not respond to his curiosity with the companionship or enthusiasm he seeks, which creates feelings of emotional distance. His parents observe his behaviour with suspicion rather than pride, which discourages his natural enthusiasm. Additionally, Siddhartha struggles to connect with classmates, as their interests often don't align with his focused passion for Mathematics and Computer Science.

3.2 Challenges felt by Teachers:

Teachers, particularly those of subjects other than Mathematics and Computer Science, feel that Siddhartha lacks balance in his academic engagement. His selective focus on Mathematics often causes him to disregard other important subjects and extracurricular activities. This narrow focus worries teachers, who believe that a all-round education is essential for personal growth and emotional maturity.

3.3 Challenges felt by Parents:

Siddhartha's parents are deeply concerned about his one-dimensional interest in Mathematics and Computer Science. They fear that his obsessive focus might lead to social isolation, emotional stress, or even mental health challenges like depression or disconnection from reality. Family and community members have voiced concerns that Siddhartha's behaviour could escalate into social withdrawal or erratic thinking if not carefully guided, which further amplifies his parents' anxieties.

4. Supporting Siddhartha Himali; a mathematically gifted learner

Siddhartha Himali is a uniquely talented student whose passion for mathematics and logical problem-solving stands out from his peers. His extraordinary ability to engage deeply with abstract concepts and apply them to practical problems demonstrates a strong alignment with Howard Gardner's Logical-Mathematical Intelligence Theory and Krutetskii's Model of Mathematical Giftedness. However, alongside his remarkable potential, Siddhartha faces emotional, social, and academic challenges that demand thoughtful and balanced intervention.

4.1 Challenges and Potential Areas for Improvement

Although Siddhartha demonstrates exceptional mathematical talent and intellectual promise, his developmental profile also reveals certain areas of concern that require careful attention. Giftedness, especially when highly specialized, often presents uneven development across cognitive, emotional, and social domains. Addressing these areas proactively will help ensure balanced growth and long-term well-being.

a. Social Development Challenges

Siddhartha's intense dedication to mathematics has significantly reduced his participation in peer-based activities. He prefers solitary study, spends long hours solving complex mathematical problems, and rarely engages in recreational or group-based interactions. While such focus contributes to academic excellence, it may limit opportunities to develop essential social-emotional skills.

Observed Concerns:

- Limited peer friendships and collaborative engagement
- Reduced participation in extracurricular activities
- Preference for solitary intellectual activities over group interaction

- Minimal emotional expression in social contexts

Potential Risks:

- Difficulty in developing communication and teamwork skills
- Lower resilience when facing interpersonal conflict
- Emotional detachment from peer networks
- Challenges in future collaborative academic or professional settings

At adolescence, peer relationships play a critical role in identity formation and emotional maturity. Without adequate social interaction, there is a possibility of delayed social-emotional development. However, it is important to recognize that introversion itself is not a weakness; the concern arises only if isolation becomes unhealthy or emotionally distressing.

Areas for Improvement:

- Encouraging participation in academic clubs (e.g., mathematics or coding clubs) where intellectual interests align with peer interaction
- Structured group projects in class to build collaboration skills
- Participation in academic competitions or Olympiads that promote intellectual networking
- Soft skills training (communication, empathy, teamwork)

Balanced exposure to social environments can help Siddhartha maintain his intellectual depth while developing emotional intelligence and interpersonal competence.

4.2. Subject Disinterest and Academic Imbalance

Siddhartha shows clear preference for Mathematics and Computer Science, often neglecting or minimizing effort in other subjects. While specialization is common among gifted learners, early over-specialization can reduce intellectual versatility.

Observed Patterns:

- Minimal interest in humanities and social sciences
- Reduced enthusiasm for language subjects
- Selective attention in class when content is non-mathematical

Possible Consequences:

- Lower overall academic performance in non-preferred subjects
- Gaps in communication, critical writing, and cultural understanding
- Narrow intellectual identity formation

Holistic education is crucial for cognitive flexibility. Subjects like literature, social studies, and science enhance perspective-taking, ethical reasoning, and broader analytical capacity. Even for a mathematically gifted student, interdisciplinary exposure strengthens creativity and innovation.

Areas for Improvement:

- Integrating mathematics into other subjects (e.g., statistical analysis in social studies)
- Encouraging reading habits beyond mathematics
- Project-based interdisciplinary learning
- Academic counselling to emphasize balanced academic responsibility

The goal is not to reduce his mathematical focus but to broaden his intellectual engagement to ensure well-rounded development.

4.3. Behavioural and Emotional Concerns

Siddhartha's parents and relatives have expressed concern that his strong cognitive fixation may lead to emotional isolation or psychological strain. High intellectual intensity, when not balanced, can sometimes create internal pressure, perfectionism, or withdrawal.

Potential Psychological Risks:

- Emotional isolation
- Perfectionistic tendencies
- Social withdrawal
- Risk of anxiety or depressive symptoms if academic expectations become overwhelming

Gifted adolescents often experience asynchronous development—advanced cognitive

maturity but age-typical emotional development. This mismatch can sometimes create frustration or internal conflict. Additionally, extreme immersion in a single intellectual domain may reduce exposure to stress-relieving or emotionally expressive activities such as sports, arts, or recreational hobbies.

Areas for Improvement:

- Encouraging participation in sports or physical activities for emotional balance
- Providing mentorship from a mathematically accomplished but socially balanced role model
- Periodic counselling sessions to monitor emotional well-being
- Family engagement in non-academic bonding activities

Developing emotional resilience and stress-management skills will help Siddhartha sustain his intellectual growth without compromising mental health.

4.4. Overall Developmental Consideration

Siddhartha's challenges are not signs of weakness but indicators of uneven development commonly observed in highly gifted learners. His intellectual growth is significantly advanced, but his social and emotional domains require parallel nurturing.

A structured support plan should aim to:

- Preserve and nurture his mathematical giftedness
- Encourage interdisciplinary academic growth
- Strengthen social and emotional intelligence
- Maintain psychological well-being

With balanced guidance from parents, teachers, and possibly educational psychologists, Siddhartha can evolve not only into a brilliant mathematician but also into a socially competent, emotionally resilient, and intellectually versatile individual.

5. Strategies and Recommendations to Support Siddhartha

To ensure Siddhartha's holistic development while nurturing his exceptional mathematical abilities, coordinated efforts from teachers, parents, curriculum planners, and Siddhartha himself are essential. The following strategies are presented

with explanations for practical implementation.

1. For Teachers

1.1 Value-Based Mentorship

Teachers should go beyond academic instruction and provide emotionally supportive mentorship. Siddhartha thrives on intellectual challenge, so teachers can encourage open dialogue, present complex real-world problems, and connect mathematical theories to practical applications (e.g., engineering, economics, data science).

This approach will:

- Validate his intellectual curiosity
- Promote ethical and value-based use of knowledge
- Foster emotional bonding between teacher and student
- Encourage critical and applied thinking rather than mechanical problem-solving

A mentorship model helps gifted learners feel understood rather than isolated.

1.2 Cross-Disciplinary Projects

Teachers should design assignments where Siddhartha applies mathematical reasoning in other subjects. For example:

- Statistical interpretation in Social Studies
- Mathematical modelling in Economics
- Geometric symmetry in Art
- Logical structure analysis in Literature

This promotes intellectual balance by showing him that mathematics is interconnected with other disciplines. It also enhances creativity, cognitive flexibility, and interdisciplinary thinking-skills essential for future innovation.

1.3 Peer Collaboration

Assigning Siddhartha to group-based projects or peer mentoring roles can strengthen his social competence. He can:

- Help classmates understand mathematical concepts
- Work collaboratively on research or presentations
- Participate in structured teamwork tasks

This builds communication skills, empathy, leadership qualities, and cooperative learning habits. Collaborative tasks can prevent social isolation while reinforcing his confidence and humility.

2. For Parents

2.1 Balanced Encouragement

Parents should continue celebrating Siddhartha's achievements in mathematics while gently encouraging exposure to other subjects such as literature, social sciences, and creative arts.

This can be done through:

- Structured daily routines balancing study time and recreational activities
- Encouraging reading beyond mathematical texts
- Supporting participation in cultural or creative programs

Balanced encouragement ensures he develops a well-rounded personality without diminishing his primary talent.

2.2 Professional Counselling Support

Periodic consultation with an educational psychologist or counsellor can help monitor his emotional well-being. Gifted adolescents sometimes face internal pressure, perfectionism, or social detachment.

Professional guidance can:

- Assess emotional resilience
- Provide coping strategies
- Prevent anxiety or depressive tendencies
- Support healthy identity development

Preventive psychological support is beneficial even when no immediate problems are visible.

2.3 Home Environment Enrichment

Parents can diversify intellectual stimulation at home by incorporating:

- Family discussions on social and moral topics
- Storytelling sessions
- Strategic games and puzzles
- Outdoor recreational activities

Such enrichment broadens his worldview, enhances communication skills, and strengthens emotional bonding within the family.

3. For Curriculum Developers or Specialized Curriculum Support

3.1 Advanced Learning Modules

Providing enriched or accelerated mathematics content beyond the standard curriculum can challenge Siddhartha's high-level abilities. This may include:

- Higher secondary or university-level problems
- Research-oriented mathematical projects
- Applied mathematics modules

Advanced learning prevents boredom and underachievement, which are common risks among gifted learners.

3.2 Flexible Progression

Allow curriculum flexibility so Siddhartha can progress according to his mastery rather than age or grade restrictions. Options include:

- Curriculum compacting
- Grade skipping in mathematics
- Individualized learning plans

Flexible progression respects cognitive readiness and maximizes potential development.

3.3 Mentorship Opportunities

Connecting Siddhartha with university professors, mathematicians, or researchers

can expose him to advanced mathematical thinking and research methodology.

This mentorship can:

- Provide academic guidance
- Offer career orientation
- Inspire long-term goals in applied or theoretical mathematics

Professional exposure broadens his academic horizon beyond school-level achievements.

3.4 Mathematics Clubs and Competitions

Encouraging participation in math Olympiads, problem-solving contests, and mathematics clubs helps him:

- Interact with like-minded peers
- Experience healthy intellectual competition
- Develop resilience and performance skills
- Gain recognition at regional or national levels

Competitions also build confidence and networking opportunities.

3.5 Gifted Education Policy

Institutionalizing gifted education frameworks can systematically identify and support students like Siddhartha. Such policies may include:

- Screening tools for giftedness
- Enrichment programs
- Teacher training in gifted education
- Individualized development plans

A formal policy ensures long-term structural support rather than ad hoc arrangements.

4. For Siddhartha Himself

4.1 Interest Diversification

Siddhartha should gradually explore new domains such as music, art, history, or

literature. Exposure to creative and humanistic subjects enhances emotional depth, creativity, and perspective-taking. Diversification does not reduce his mathematical excellence; instead, it strengthens cognitive integration and innovative thinking.

4.2 Social Engagement

Active participation in clubs, competitions, and collaborative projects will improve his communication skills, emotional intelligence, and confidence in social settings. Sharing knowledge with peers can transform isolation into leadership and positive influence.

4.3 Self-Reflection Exercises

Maintaining a reflective journal focused not only on mathematics but also on personal experiences and emotions can help him:

- Develop self-awareness
- Understand his strengths and weaknesses
- Manage stress
- Track personal growth beyond academic achievements

Reflection strengthens emotional maturity and identity development.

Concluding Perspective

Supporting Siddhartha requires a balanced and collaborative approach. His mathematical brilliance should be nurtured through acceleration and enrichment, while equal attention must be given to emotional intelligence, social development, and interdisciplinary exposure. With structured guidance from teachers, parents, curriculum planners, and his own self-awareness efforts, Siddhartha can develop not only into an exceptional mathematician but also into a well-rounded, emotionally resilient, and socially competent individual.

6. Additional Teaching and Learning Strategies for Siddhartha

To ensure Siddhartha's intellectual growth remains progressive while also supporting his emotional and social development, the following advanced and practical teaching-learning strategies are recommended. Each strategy is explained in depth to support implementation.

1. Differentiated Instruction

Differentiated instruction involves tailoring educational content, process, and outcomes according to the learner's ability level. For Siddhartha, this means providing intellectually stimulating mathematical challenges beyond the standard grade-level curriculum.

Implementation Strategies:

- Provide Olympiad-level problem-solving tasks.
- Introduce research-based mathematical investigations (e.g., exploring patterns in number theory or modelling real-world systems).
- Assign university-level problem sets under guided supervision.
- Offer independent study modules with performance benchmarks.

Expected Outcomes:

- Prevents boredom and under-stimulation.
- Encourages higher-order thinking and abstract reasoning.
- Enhances problem-solving depth and creative mathematical exploration.
- Supports mastery learning at an accelerated pace.

Differentiation ensures that his potential is neither restricted nor wasted due to curriculum limitations.

2. Mentorship Programs

Structured mentorship connects Siddhartha with advanced thinkers who can challenge his intellectual boundaries and provide professional direction.

Implementation Strategies:

- Pair him with university mathematics faculty or researchers.
- Facilitate interaction with mathematicians through online seminars or workshops.
- Encourage participation in gifted education networks or mathematical research communities.

Expected Outcomes:

- Exposure to advanced mathematical theories and research practices.
- Development of academic maturity and research orientation.
- Clearer long-term career and academic pathway planning.
- Motivation through role modelling and intellectual inspiration.

Mentorship bridges the gap between school-level learning and professional mathematical exploration.

3. Collaborative Learning

Although Siddhartha prefers independent learning, structured collaborative engagement can strengthen interpersonal competence without diminishing his intellectual independence.

Implementation Strategies:

- Active participation in mathematics clubs.
- Engagement in math forums (local, national, or international).
- Participation in Olympiads and competitive mathematics events.
- Group-based project learning tasks requiring collective reasoning.

Expected Outcomes:

- Improved communication and teamwork skills.
- Healthy intellectual competition and peer learning.
- Development of leadership qualities.
- Emotional growth through shared academic experiences.

Collaboration transforms solitary brilliance into socially impactful leadership.

4. Balanced and Interdisciplinary Curriculum

Linking mathematics to real-world applications and other academic fields fosters intellectual versatility and creativity.

Implementation Strategies:

- Integrate mathematical modelling in Physics experiments.

- Use statistical tools in Economics and Social Studies.
- Apply algorithms in Computer Programming.
- Explore geometric patterns in Art and Architecture.
- Study mathematical structures in music rhythms.

Expected Outcomes:

- Broader academic perspective.
- Enhanced problem-solving in real-world contexts.
- Increased curiosity beyond pure mathematics.
- Development of innovative, interdisciplinary thinking skills.

An interdisciplinary approach prevents intellectual narrowness and strengthens adaptability.

5. Emotional Intelligence Development

Gifted cognitive ability must be balanced with emotional and social growth. Emotional intelligence enhances resilience, empathy, and mental well-being.

Implementation Strategies:

- Conduct soft-skill workshops on communication and teamwork.
- Introduce mindfulness practices to reduce cognitive overload and stress.
- Encourage participation in sports or creative arts for emotional expression.
- Facilitate peer discussions and reflective exercises.

Expected Outcomes:

- Stronger emotional regulation.
- Improved social adaptability.
- Reduced risk of psychological strain or isolation.
- Balanced personality development.

Emotional intelligence ensures that intellectual excellence is accompanied by psychological health.

6. Ongoing Parental and Teacher Cooperation

Consistent collaboration between teachers and parents is essential to provide unified guidance and balanced expectations.

Implementation Strategies:

- Regular progress review meetings.
- Shared academic and behavioural observations.
- Coordinated support plans for both enrichment and emotional well-being.
- Alignment on academic acceleration and social development goals.

Expected Outcomes:

- Stable and supportive developmental environment.
- Early identification of academic or emotional concerns.
- Reinforcement of balanced expectations.
- Harmonized support system at school and home.

Collaborative monitoring ensures sustained growth and prevents developmental imbalance.

Concluding Insight

Siddhartha's intellectual gifts require strategic nurturing that combines advanced academic challenge with emotional, social, and interdisciplinary development. By integrating differentiated instruction, mentorship, collaboration, emotional intelligence training, and coordinated parental-teacher involvement, his growth can be both accelerated and balanced.

Such a comprehensive approach will not only cultivate his mathematical brilliance but also prepare him to become a socially competent, emotionally resilient, and intellectually versatile individual.

CONCLUSION

The case of Siddhartha Himali highlights the profile of a mathematically gifted adolescent whose exceptional logical reasoning, advanced abstraction skills, and strong self-directed learning habits distinguish him academically beyond his grade level. His

mastery of higher secondary mathematics at an early age demonstrates remarkable cognitive acceleration and intrinsic motivation. However, alongside his intellectual strengths, the case also reveals areas requiring balanced intervention, particularly in social engagement, interdisciplinary exposure, and emotional development. His intense focus on mathematics, while a powerful asset, may create risks of academic imbalance and social isolation if not carefully supported. Therefore, a holistic and collaborative approach involving teachers, parents, curriculum planners, and mentorship networks is essential. By combining differentiated instruction, emotional intelligence development, interdisciplinary learning, and structured social interaction, Siddhartha's talent can be nurtured sustainably. With appropriate guidance, he has the potential not only to excel in mathematics but also to grow into a well-rounded, resilient, and socially responsible individual.

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Use and Challenges of ICT in Rural Development in Nepal (A Case Study of Bagmati Rural Municipality of Lalitpur, Ward: 1)

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Abstract

Information communication technology ("ICT) is the broad range of technologies that facilitate communication and the processing and transmission of information through electronic means, including computing, telecommunications, and digital media. Main purpose of this study is to analyze the use and challenge of ICT in Rural Development in Nepal (A case study of Bagmati Rural Municipality of Lalitpur, Ward -1). Out of total population, 140 ICT users were direct interviewed with purposive non-probability

sampling method applying the pre-structured questionnaires. Descriptive research design, Quantitative research method was applied for the whole process. Both primary and secondary data have been used. The primary data were collected through direct interview to the potential respondents and secondary data were collected through different published and non-published national and international publications i.e. Journal, books, scholarly articles, google articles, reports of government offices etc. Out of 140 respondents, almost all are using the ICT. ICT is being their life line. ICT is milestone of the rural development. They are using ICT in almost in all areas, agriculture, business, service, marketing. Individual people are highly benefited from the ICT in the grass root level.

Keywords: ICT, Use, Development, Impact, Challenge,

Background

Information communication technologies (ICT) relate to a wide range of technological tools and resources used to store, create, transfer, and share/exchange information. These resources and technological tools include the internet (email, websites, blogs), computers, recorded broadcasting technologies (podcasting, video players, podcast storage devices), live broadcasting (television, webcasting, and radio), and telephonic technologies (satellite, mobile, video-conferences). However, "Information and communication technology (ICT) encompasses a wide range of technological tools and resources used for information creation, management, storage, and dissemination." Examples of this technology include computers, the internet, television and radio broadcasts, and telephones. Furthermore, ICT stands for information and communications technology, and it refers to all technologies that use broadcast media, video processing, intelligent building management systems, telecommunications, and network-based control and monitoring. It includes software, telecommunications, computers, the internet, and other digital technologies used for data processing, storage, and transmission. Many authors and organizations describe information and communication technology (ICT) (UNESCO, 2009).

Implemented Land Record and Information Management System (LRIMS) for agriculture and smart livestock management. A skilled training program for farmers. (Sharma L.R., 2024).

The Oxford Dictionary of Computing Law and Pelgrum (2003) state that "ICT is the convergence of computing, telecommunications, and broadcasting technologies, enabling the processing and distribution of data in digital form."

Radio and Television-Based Education: Radio and television have long been used to transmit instructional content in areas with poor internet connectivity. For instance, the Telesecundaria program in Mexico has effectively employed television to educate rural kids in secondary school. Notwithstanding these developments, obstacles like poor infrastructure, low levels of digital literacy, and exorbitant technology costs continue to be major obstacles to the broad use of ICT in rural education. (World Bank, 2018).

"ICT is a range of technological tools and resources used to transmit, store, create, share, or exchange information." (Blurton,1999)

"ICT is defined as a broad range of technologies that facilitate communication and the processing and transmission of information through electronic means, including computing, telecommunications, and digital media" (Heeks, 1999).

Telemedicine: Telemedicine has enabled rural patients to consult with specialists in urban areas, reducing the need for travel and improving access to quality care. For instance, Brazil's Telehealth Program has connected rural health clinics with urban hospitals, facilitating remote diagnosis and treatment (WHO, 2019).

Health Applications: Disease surveillance, maternity and child health monitoring, and health awareness campaigns have all made use of mobile health applications. Programs like Uganda's mTrac have used SMS-based services to enhance healthcare delivery in sub-Saharan Africa (GSMA, 2021). However, poor infrastructure, low levels of internet knowledge, and financial limitations frequently pose a threat to these programs' survival.

There is no single universal definition of ICT because devices, technologies, and concepts about information communication and technology (ICT) continually changing. Furthermore, the phrases "ICT" is commonly used to refer to all networking, components, devices, and applications. Thus, the combination of those are useful to individuals and is organizations for interacting in the digital world. However, the key components of ICT include computers, robotics, digital TV, smart phones, middleware, software, hardware devices, data, wired networks, wireless networks, communication technologies, communication protocols and interfaces, information security and governance rules, and so on. (Mary K. P., 2018)

Insufficient digital literacy, insufficient training, cost barriers, cyber security threats, digital divide, privacy concerns, lack of access to technology, poor infrastructure, insufficient training, difficulty of integrating ICT into existing systems and practice,

hard drive failure/replacement, network crashes, unauthorized changes, disruptions, power outages, employee incompetence, software failure are the main problems or challenges in ICT sectors (Kharel, S., (2018). Individuals, companies, and society have all faced new challenges and problems as a result of ICT. The increased use of high-speed internet, data digitization, and the expanding global network have all contributed to new prospects for social crime.

Connectivity and Digital Infrastructure- In remote areas, mobile network coverage and internet access are restricted. Investments in cell tower deployment and broadband growth are necessary.

However, the emergence of numerous institutional arrangements and policy attempts to build Nepal's ICT sector indicates a lack of a unified strategy in line with the technological advancements that have transformed the business throughout time. Among the significant advancements shaping the ICT environment have been the rapid adoption of the Internet and mobile wireless communications. These innovations have had a range of policy implications. With the growing use of social media, for example, the Internet has truly gone mainstream and is now part of many people's daily life (UIS, 2009)

As GOV of Nepal (2015). Information and communication technologies are becoming more and more vital to plans meant to safeguard sustainable development objectives and promote economic expansion in nations all over the world. Among other things, these technologies are fundamentally changing how public services are provided and how social interactions occur. In keeping with this, the Nepali government has given significant weight to the transformative potential of ICTs and to situating them within the broader framework of its ambitious development goals, which are based on the principle that poverty alleviation is the main objective.

According to Kharel (2018), the primary issues or challenges in the ICT sector include inadequate digital literacy, inadequate training, cost barriers, cyber security threats, digital divide, privacy concerns, lack of access to technology, poor infrastructure, insufficient training, difficulty integrating ICT into existing systems and practices, hard drive failure or replacement, network crashes, unauthorized changes, disruptions, power outages, employee incompetence, and software failure. Digital Payments & Financial Inclusion Digital payment methods and mobile banking are used to encourage financial access. Knowledge and instruction on online transactions and mobile wallets. Early Warning and Disaster Management Systems Early warning systems for earthquakes, landslides, and floods that are powered by ICT. Digital

platforms for catastrophe response and coordination. Opportunities for Employment and Entrepreneurship internet platforms for employment and skill development, as well as online job sites. encouragement of entrepreneurship and ICT-based enterprises in rural regions. Problems & Answers. Even though we are aware of the difficulties with ICT in many rural locations, numerous ICT companies are still providing their services and building various infrastructures. However, fact-based information about the current state of ICT and its difficulties is lacking. Therefore, the researcher conducted this study after posing the topic on the state of ICT infrastructure and the difficulties in rural areas.

Objectives

The main purpose of the study is to analyzed the use, challenges and opportunities of ICT in rural development.

Significance

ICT is being life line of each individual in Nepalese societies. This is primary information-based article which is useful to all, researchers, teachers, students and other academicians and scholars. This is also significance to local planners and other who are interested in this field.

Limitation

In this primary based information study, only 140 respondents are selected as a sample size for interview. Thus, the result can not be generalized whole of the nation due to the small size of sample. The authors did not cover other information besides the ICT use and challenges in the study area. Researcher has collected information through non-probability, purposive sampling methods. Therefore, sampling methods, study area are other limitations.

Methods and Materials

The research is based on deductive approach, descriptive research design, quantitative research method. The data were collected applying non-probability purposive sampling methods. Total 140 potential population were directly interviewed using the pre-structured questionnaires. Both primary and secondary data were used. The primary data were collected through direct interview with the respondents in the field. The secondary data were collected through different published and non-published national and international journal articles, publications, reports and policies papers etc. The primary data were analyzed using the data analysis software (SPSS 25v)

Result and Discussion

Table 1:

Age Group of the Respondents

Age group	Number	Frequency
20-29	64	45.7
30-39	49	35.0
40-49	15	10.7
50-59	8	5.7
60 Years and above	4	2.9
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Study 2024

The findings show that the majority of respondents (80.7%) are between the ages of 20 and 39, with the 20-29 age group accounting for 45.7% of the sample. Representation drops dramatically with age, with only 2.9% of respondents aged 60 and up. This suggests a youth-dominated sample, implying that younger people were more involved or accessible during the field investigation. The study's findings may thus be more reflective of younger perspectives, and age-related generalizations should be approached with caution due to the underrepresentation of older age groups.

Table 2:

Gender Status of Respondents

Gender	Number	Percent
Male	97	69.3
Female	43	30.7
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Study 2024

The gender breakdown of the 140 respondents is clear: 69.3% are male and 30.7% are female. This demonstrates a gender imbalance in the sample, with males twice more than females respondents. The study's findings may thus be more representative of male perspectives, and caution should be given when generalizing results across genders, particularly if gender influences the subject under study.

Table 3:*Literacy Status of Respondents*

Literacy Status	Number	Frequency
Literate	135	96.4
Illiterate	5	3.6
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Study 2024

The data reveals that the vast majority of respondents are literate, with 96.4% (135 out of 140) reporting literacy, while only 3.6% (5 respondents) are illiterate. This indicates a high literacy rate among the participants, suggesting that the respondents are likely to be capable of understanding and engaging with written content, which may have influenced their participation in the study. The low number of illiterate respondents may reflect the general literacy level of the population surveyed or indicate that illiterate individuals were less likely or less able to participate.

Table 4:*Qualification of Respondents*

Educational Qualification	Number	Percent
Primary	14	10.4
Lower secondary	5	3.7
Secondary	12	8.9
Intermediate	55	40.7
Bachelor	35	25.9
Master Degree and above	14	10.4
Total	135	100.0

Source: Field study 2024

Among the 135 literate respondents, the largest group (40.7%) holds an Intermediate level qualification, followed by 25.9% with a Bachelor's degree. Only 10.4% have education at the Primary level, and another 10.4% hold a Master's degree or higher. Smaller proportions have Secondary (8.9%) and Lower Secondary (3.7%) education. This data indicates that the respondent group is relatively well-educated, with over two-thirds (67%) having qualifications at the Intermediate level or higher. The low percentage of lower educational levels suggests that the study may reflect the views of a moderately to highly educated population, which could influence their responses, awareness, and engagement with the study topic.

Table 5:
Occupational Status of Respondents

Occupational Status	Number	Percent
Farming	48	34.3
Business	32	22.9
Students	27	19.3
Teachers	6	4.3
Government Service	5	3.6
Others	22	15.7
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2024

The results show that respondents work in a range of occupations, with farming being the most frequent, accounting for 34.3% of participants. This is followed by Business (22.9%) and Students (19.3%), suggesting a high proportion of economically active persons and youngsters in education. Teachers (4.3%), government employees (3.6%), and others (15.7%) account for smaller percentages. This distribution indicates a primarily rural and semi-urban sample, with a mix of agricultural, entrepreneurial, and intellectual backgrounds. The high proportion of farmers and students suggests that the community is likely involved in both traditional livelihoods and developing educational pursuits, which may influence the study's viewpoints and priorities.

Table 6:
Different ICT means Using Status

Different ICT means Using Status	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Use of Phone by family members	140	100.0	0	0.0	140	100.0
Use of Internet service	139	99.3	1	0.7	140	100.0
Use Television	140	100.0	0	0.0	140	100.0
Use of social media	130	92.9	10	7.1	140	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2024

The data highlights high penetration of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) among the 140 respondents and their families. Phone usage and Television usage are universal (100%), with all 140 families using these technologies. Internet service is used by 99.3%, showing near-universal access, with only one respondent not using it. Social media is used by 92.9%, indicating widespread digital engagement, although a small portion (7.1%) still does not participate. This suggests that the community is highly connected and tech-savvy, with most respondents and their families regularly using phones, internet, TV, and social media. Such high ICT usage implies strong potential for digital outreach, communication, and education initiatives within the population.

Table 7:

Purpose of using ICT

Purpose of Using Social Media	Number	Percent
Entertainment	39	27.9
For News	30	21.4
For knowledge	68	48.6
For Just time passing	3	2.1
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2024

The data outlines the primary reasons respondents use social media, based on 163 total responses (indicating multiple responses per person may have been allowed): The most common purpose is "For knowledge", cited by 48.6 percent, suggesting that nearly half of the respondents use social media as a tool for learning and information gathering. Entertainment is the second most popular use, at 27.9 percent, followed by News consumption at 21.4 percent, showing that social media is also a key source of leisure and current affairs. Only 2.1% use it purely for time passing, indicating that most respondents engage with social media purposefully rather than aimlessly. This reflects a mature and intentional usage pattern of ICT, particularly social media, where respondents value it not only for leisure but significantly for informative and educational purposes.

Table 8:*Mode of Social Media*

Mode of Social Media	Number	Percent
Youtube	94	67.1
Facebook	32	22.9
Tiktok	14	10.0
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2024

The data shows the preferred platforms for social media use among the 140 respondents: YouTube is the most widely used platform, with 67.1% of respondents engaging with it. This suggests a strong preference for video-based content, likely for both educational and entertainment purposes. Facebook is used by 22.9 percent, indicating it still holds relevance, possibly for social interaction, news, or community engagement. TikTok is the least used among the listed platforms, with only 10.0% of users, suggesting lower popularity or lesser acceptance in this group. Overall, the data highlights that YouTube dominates as the primary mode of social media, aligning with earlier findings that social media is largely used for knowledge and entertainment. The usage pattern suggests a preference for visual, informative, and engaging content.

Table 9:*Challenge of ICT*

Mode of Social Media	Number	Percent
Management difficulties	37	26.4
Security Control Mechanism	45	32.1
Proper Policy implementation	33	23.6
Proper utilization of ITC	25	17.9
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Study 2024

The data presents the key challenges faced by respondents in the use of ICT: The most commonly reported challenge is Security Control Mechanism, cited by 32.1% of respondents. This reflects concerns over data privacy, cyber threats, or digital safety. Management Difficulties follow at 26.4%, indicating issues in organizing, operating, or maintaining ICT resources. Proper Policy Implementation is a challenge

for 23.6%, suggesting that even if ICT policies exist, their execution is lacking or ineffective. Proper Utilization of ICT is the least cited issue at 17.9%, though still significant, pointing to gaps in skills, awareness, or resource usage. Overall, the findings highlight that while ICT access is high, effective use is hindered by security concerns, management issues, and policy gaps. Addressing these areas could enhance the impact and efficiency of ICT in the community.

Table 10:
Opportunities of ICT

Positive Impact	Number	Percent
Easy in communication	16	11.4
Easy to life style	16	11.4
Easy to information flow	17	12.1
Supporting in agricultural production	18	12.9
Easy to education achievement	16	13.6
Easy in business	19	11.4
Easy in migration and remittance sending	14	10.0
Easy in overall development	11	7.9
Easy in health facilities receiving	13	9.3
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field Study 2024

The data highlights various positive impacts of ICT as perceived by the 140 respondents. The most recognized benefit is "Easy in business" at 13.6%, showing ICT's role in facilitating commercial activities. Supporting agricultural production follows closely at 12.9%, reflecting ICT's contribution to improving farming practices. Easy flow of information (12.1%), easy communication (11.4%), and enhanced lifestyle (11.4%) also feature prominently, indicating broad benefits in daily life and connectivity. Other noted impacts include ease in educational achievement (11.4%), migration and remittance sending (10.0%), health facilities access (9.3%), and overall development (7.9%). This distribution shows that ICT is viewed as a multifaceted tool that improves various aspects of life from business and agriculture to education, health, and communication contributing to overall community development.

Table 11:
Challenges of ICT

Negative Impact	Number	Percent
Harmful in child education and development	48	34.3
Increment of social crime	37	26.4
Problems of cyber crime	35	25.0
Problems of ICT misuse	20	14.3
Total	140	100.0

Source: Field study 2024

The data highlights the main negative impacts of ICT as reported by the 140 respondents:

The most significant concern is that ICT is harmful to child education and development, cited by 34.3% of respondents. This reflects worries about distractions, inappropriate content, or excessive screen time affecting children. Increment of social crime is noted by 26.4%, indicating fears that ICT may facilitate or exacerbate issues like fraud, harassment, or social disorder. Problems of cybercrime affect 25.0%, showing concerns over hacking, identity theft, and online scams. Misuse of ICT is reported by 14.3%, highlighting improper or unethical use of technology by some users. Overall, while ICT offers many benefits, respondents recognize significant risks related to children, crime, and misuse, emphasizing the need for awareness, safeguards, and regulation to mitigate these negative effects.

Conclusion

The field study of 140 respondents in 2024 reveals several important insights into the demographics, ICT usage, and its impacts on the community: The majority of respondents are young adults aged 20–39 years (80.7%), with males constituting 69.3 percent of the sample, indicating a youth- and male-dominated group. Literacy is very high (96.4%), and most respondents have education at the Intermediate level or higher (67%), reflecting a moderately to highly educated population. Occupations are varied, with a strong presence of farmers (34.3%) business people (22.9%), and students (19.3%), suggesting a community blending traditional and modern economic activities. ICT adoption is nearly universal among respondents' families, with 100 percent phone and television use, 99.3% internet access, and 92.9% social media engagement. Social media is primarily used for knowledge (48.6%), followed by entertainment and news, with YouTube (67.1%) as the dominant platform. Major

ICT challenges include security concerns (32.1%), management difficulties (26.4%), and policy implementation issues (23.6%). Positive impacts of ICT are widespread, supporting business (13.6%), agriculture (12.9%), education (11.4%), communication, and information flow. ICT is seen as a catalyst for overall development. Negative impacts mainly concern child education and development (34.3%), social crime (26.4%), cybercrime (25.0%), and misuse of technology (14.3%). Overall, the study indicates that ICT is widely adopted and positively influences multiple life aspects, but also brings challenges requiring attention, especially regarding security, policy enforcement, and protecting vulnerable groups like children.

Recommendations

Based on the findings following recommendation would like to suggest.

Suggestions for Policy measures

- Government requires to develop and implement stronger cybersecurity measures to protect users from cybercrime and misuse and ensure effective enforcement of ICT policies to manage security risks and digital behavior.
- Provide digital literacy programs targeting all age groups, especially older and less-educated populations, to bridge gaps in proper ICT utilization, include awareness campaigns on safe and responsible use of ICT, focusing on risks such as cybercrime and social crime.
- Implement parental controls and digital education in schools to minimize the harmful impact of ICT on child development.
- Encourage the creation of child-friendly digital content and platforms.
- Support initiatives that use ICT to enhance agricultural productivity, education, business, and health services.
- Encourage social media content that is knowledge-driven and community-oriented.

Suggestions for further Research Operations

Researchers have conducted the small-scale study in particular geographical area with specific issues, thus there is still large potential issues need to operate further research on;

- ICT use and its impact in future generation
- Use and Challenge of ICT in Nepal

- ICT Infrastructure Development Challenges in Nepal
- ICT and its' impact in Banking Development Sectors in Nepal
- ICT and its' impact in Higher Education Sector in Nepal
- ICT and its impact in School Level Education

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अरुण उपत्यकाको सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रण: एक समाजशास्त्रीय अध्ययन

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लेखसार

पूर्वी नेपालको अरुण उपत्यका, विशेषतः सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाभित्र, बहुजातीय, बहुभाषिक र बहुधार्मिक समुदायहरूको सहअस्तित्व रहेको क्षेत्र हो। प्रस्तुत अध्ययनले यस उपत्यकामा विकसित भएको मिश्रित संस्कृतिको स्वरूप, निर्माणका आधार तथा सामाजिक प्रभावहरूको विश्लेषण गर्दछ। गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधि अपनाई क्षेत्रभ्रमण, अन्तर्वार्ता, अवलोकन तथा द्वितीयक स्रोतहरूको अध्ययनमार्फत तथ्य सङ्कलन गरिएको छ। अध्ययनबाट भाषिक समन्वय, अन्तरजातीय बसोबास, मेलापर्व तथा अन्तरजातीय विवाह मिश्रित संस्कृति निर्माणका प्रमुख कारक भएको निष्कर्ष प्राप्त भएको छ। किरात, हिन्दु तथा बौद्ध परम्पराहरूको अन्तःक्रियाले यहाँ समन्वयवादी सांस्कृतिक चरित्र विकास गरेको देखिन्छ। उभौली-उधौली, शिवरात्रि, रामनवमीजस्ता पर्वहरूमा सबै समुदायको सहभागिता पाइन्छ भने जन्म, विवाह र मृत्यु संस्कारमा पारस्परिक सहयोग स्पष्ट देखिन्छ। यस मिश्रित संस्कृतिले सामाजिक सद्भाव, सहिष्णुता र सहकार्यलाई सुदृढ बनाएको छ। तथापि, मौलिक भाषा तथा परम्परागत संस्कृतिको संरक्षणमा चुनौती उत्पन्न भएको तथ्य पनि उजागर भएको छ। त्यसैले स्थानीय संस्कृतिको अभिलेखीकरण, शैक्षिक पाठ्यक्रममा समावेशीकरण र अनुसन्धानको प्रवर्द्धनमार्फत दीगो संरक्षण आवश्यक देखिन्छ।

मुख्य शब्दहरू: संस्कृति, मिश्रित संस्कृति, अरुण उपत्यका, जातीय विविधता, सांस्कृतिक समन्वय

अध्ययनको पृष्ठभूमि

संस्कृति समाजको जीवनपद्धति, मूल्य-मान्यता, विश्वास, भाषा, कला तथा परम्परागत अभ्यासहरूको समष्टिगत अभिव्यक्ति हो। कुनै पनि समाजको ऐतिहासिक विकासक्रम, भौगोलिक अवस्थिति र सामाजिक अन्तर्क्रियाले त्यस समाजको सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप निर्धारण गर्दछ। पूर्वी नेपालस्थित अरुण उपत्यका, विशेषतः सङ्खुवासभा जिल्ला, बहुजातीय, बहुभाषिक र बहुधार्मिक समुदायहरूको सहअस्तित्व रहेको क्षेत्रका रूपमा परिचित छ। यस क्षेत्रको सांस्कृतिक स्वरूपलाई समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टिले अध्ययन गर्नु वर्तमान सन्दर्भमा महत्त्वपूर्ण देखिन्छ। सङ्खुवासभाको ऐतिहासिक तथा सांस्कृतिक पहिचानबारे बुढाथोकी (२०६६) ले यसलाई विविध जाति र भाषाको

संगमस्थलका रूपमा व्याख्या गरेका छन्। उनले स्थानीय लोकपरम्परा, भूगोल र सामाजिक संरचनाबीचको सम्बन्धलाई सांस्कृतिक विकासको आधार मानेका छन्। यसैगरी बुढाथोकी (२०७१) ले अरुण उपत्यकामा १६ भाषा र २१ जातीय समुदायको सहअस्तित्व रहेको उल्लेख गर्दै भाषिक विविधतालाई सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रणको प्रमुख आधार मानेका छन्।

लोकसाहित्य र सांस्कृतिक अभिव्यक्तिको अध्ययनले पनि मिश्रित संस्कृतिको रूप स्पष्ट पार्छ। बुढाथोकी (२०७४) ले 'भाडाकुटी' जस्ता समावेशी लोककाव्यमा बहुजातीय भावनाको अभिव्यक्ति देखाएका छन्। त्यस्तै, बुढाथोकी (२०७७) द्वारा सङ्खुवासभाका लोकनृत्य र संस्मरणात्मक कृतिहरूमा स्थानीय समाजको सांस्कृतिक गतिशीलता प्रस्ट हुन्छ। हाक्पारे गीत र तामाङ संस्कार गीतसम्बन्धी अध्ययनहरूले (बुढाथोकी, २०२४; २०२५) अरुण उपत्यकाको सांगीतिक र काव्यात्मक परम्परामा विविध सांस्कृतिक तत्त्वहरूको अन्तःसम्बन्ध रहेको पुष्टि गरेका छन्।

जनसांख्यिक दृष्टिले पनि सङ्खुवासभा विविधतापूर्ण जिल्ला हो। राष्ट्रिय तथ्याङ्क कार्यालय (२०७८) को जनगणना प्रतिवेदन तथा राष्ट्रिय तथ्याङ्क विभाग (२०८०) को जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरणले यहाँका जातीय, भाषिक र धार्मिक समुदायहरूको बहुलता देखाउँछन्। स्थानीय तह संरचनासम्बन्धी विवरण (सङ्घीय मामिला तथा सामान्य प्रशासन मन्त्रालय, २०८२) ले संघीय व्यवस्थापछि स्थानीय पहिचान र सांस्कृतिक पुनर्जागरणमा आएको परिवर्तनलाई संकेत गर्दछ।

सैद्धान्तिक रूपमा हेर्दा मिश्र (२०६७) ले बदलिँदो नेपाली समाजमा आधुनिकीकरण, बसाइँसराइ र शिक्षा विस्तारले सांस्कृतिक संरचनामा परिवर्तन ल्याएको तर्क प्रस्तुत गरेका छन्। Caplan (1970) ले पूर्वी नेपालमा हिन्दु-जनजाति सम्बन्धको अध्ययन गर्दै भूमि व्यवस्था र सामाजिक सम्बन्धले सांस्कृतिक अन्तर्क्रिया कसरी निर्माण गर्छ भन्ने देखाएका छन्। Varnum र Grossmann (2017) ले सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनको मनो-सामाजिक आयामबारे चर्चा गर्दै सामाजिक, आर्थिक र राजनीतिक कारकहरूले संस्कृति परिवर्तनमा प्रभाव पार्ने बताएका छन्।

यी सबै अध्ययनहरूले अरुण उपत्यकामा विकसित मिश्रित संस्कृतिलाई ऐतिहासिक सहअस्तित्व, भाषिक अन्तरक्रिया, धार्मिक समन्वय र सामाजिक परिवर्तनको परिणामका रूपमा बुझ्न सहयोग पुऱ्याउँछन्। तथापि, यस क्षेत्रको मिश्रित सांस्कृतिक स्वरूपलाई समग्र समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोणबाट विश्लेषण गर्ने प्रयास सीमित रहेको देखिन्छ। त्यसैले प्रस्तुत अध्ययनले सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाको सन्दर्भमा अरुण उपत्यकामा विकसित मिश्रित संस्कृतिको संरचना, प्रक्रिया र सामाजिक प्रभावलाई गहिराइमा विश्लेषण गर्ने उद्देश्य राखेको छ।

अध्ययनका उद्देश्य

१. अरुण उपत्यकाभित्र विद्यमान प्रमुख संस्कृतिहरूको पहिचान गर्नु,
२. मिश्रित संस्कृति निर्माणका सामाजिक, भाषिक तथा ऐतिहासिक कारणहरूको विश्लेषण गर्नु,
३. मिश्रित संस्कृतिका सकारात्मक तथा नकारात्मक प्रभावहरूको अध्ययन गर्नु,
४. मौलिक संस्कृतिको संरक्षण तथा विकृतिको न्यूनीकरणका उपायहरू प्रस्तुत गर्नु।

अध्ययन विधि

यो अध्ययन गुणात्मक (Qualitative) अनुसन्धान ढाँचामा आधारित छ । गुणात्मक अनुसन्धानले सामाजिक यथार्थ, व्यवहार, अनुभव र अर्थ-निर्माण प्रक्रियालाई गहिराइमा बुझ्न सहयोग गर्छ । मिश्रित संस्कृतितजस्तो बहुआयामिक र जटिल सामाजिक विषयको अध्ययनका लागि संख्यात्मक तथ्यभन्दा अनुभव, धारणाहरू र सांस्कृतिक अभ्यासहरूको विश्लेषण आवश्यक हुने भएकाले गुणात्मक विधि उपयुक्त ठहरिएको हो । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनले विशेषतः सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाअन्तर्गत अरुण उपत्यकाका विभिन्न बस्तीहरूलाई अध्ययन क्षेत्रका रूपमा लिएको छ ।

यस अनुसन्धानमा प्राथमिक तथा द्वितीयक दुवै प्रकारका स्रोतहरू प्रयोग गरिएको छ । अनुसन्धानकर्ताले अध्ययन क्षेत्रका विभिन्न गाउँ, टोल तथा बजार क्षेत्रहरूको प्रत्यक्ष अवलोकन गरेका छन् । क्षेत्र भ्रमणमार्फत स्थानीय बासिन्दाको दैनिक जीवनशैली, सांस्कृतिक अभ्यास, पर्व-उत्सव, धार्मिक क्रियाकलाप तथा अन्तरजातीय सम्बन्धहरूको प्रत्यक्ष अध्ययन गरिएको छ । यसले व्यवहारिक तथा अव्यक्त पक्षहरू बुझ्न सहयोग पुऱ्याएको छ ।

विभिन्न जातीय, भाषिक र धार्मिक समुदायका व्यक्तिहरूसँग अन्तर्वार्ता लिइएको छ । संरचित अन्तर्वार्तामा पूर्वनिर्धारित प्रश्नहरू प्रयोग गरी तुलनात्मक तथ्य सङ्कलन गरिएको छ भने असंरचित अन्तर्वार्तामार्फत खुला संवाद गरी गहिरो अनुभव, धारणा र व्यक्तिगत कथनहरू संकलन गरिएको छ । यस प्रक्रियाले अन्तरजातीय सम्बन्ध, सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन र परम्परागत अभ्यासबारे विस्तृत जानकारी प्रदान गरेको छ ।

सांस्कृतिक अभ्यास, भाषिक प्रयोग, अन्तरजातीय विवाह, पर्व-उत्सवमा सहभागिता आदि विषय समेटिएको अर्ध-संरचित प्रश्नावली तयार गरी विभिन्न उमेर समूहका उत्तरदाताहरूसँग तथ्य सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । प्रश्नावलीमार्फत प्राप्त तथ्यले अन्तर्वार्ता र अवलोकनबाट प्राप्त जानकारीलाई पुष्ट्याउँ गरेको छ ।

बहुजातीय र बहुभाषिक संरचना भएका केही विशिष्ट गाउँ वा बस्तीलाई केसका रूपमा छनोट गरी गहिरो अध्ययन गरिएको छ । मामला अध्ययनमार्फत एउटै समुदायभित्र देखिने सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रण, धार्मिक सहअस्तित्व तथा सामाजिक अन्तर्क्रियाको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यसले मिश्रित संस्कृतिको व्यावहारिक स्वरूप उजागर गर्न मद्दत गरेको छ । जनगणना प्रतिवेदन, प्रकाशित पुस्तक, जर्नल लेख, सरकारी दस्तावेज तथा पूर्व अनुसन्धानहरूबाट सैद्धान्तिक तथा तथ्यात्मक आधार सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । द्वितीयक स्रोतले अनुसन्धानलाई सैद्धान्तिक सुदृढता प्रदान गरेको छ ।

यस अध्ययनमा उद्देश्यपूर्ण नमुना छनोट (Purposive Sampling) विधि प्रयोग गरिएको छ । अध्ययनको विषयवस्तुसँग प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध राख्ने व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्राथमिकता दिइएको छ । नमुना छनोट गर्दा विभिन्न जातीय समूह (किरात, खस-आर्य, हिमाली आदि), भाषिक समुदाय, धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमि तथा उमेर समूह (युवा, प्रौढ, वृद्ध) लाई प्रतिनिधित्व गराइएको छ । यसले बहुआयामिक दृष्टिकोण समेट्न सहयोग गरेको छ । विशेषगरी ४० वर्षभन्दा माथिका व्यक्तिहरूसँग परम्परागत संस्कृतिसम्बन्धी ऐतिहासिक जानकारी र युवापुस्ताबाट वर्तमान परिवर्तनसम्बन्धी दृष्टिकोण सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । महिलाहरू र पुरुषहरूको सन्तुलित सहभागिता सुनिश्चित गरिएको छ, जसले लैङ्गिक दृष्टिकोण पनि समावेश गर्न मद्दत गरेको छ ।

सङ्कलित तथ्यहरूको विश्लेषण वर्णनात्मक र विश्लेषणात्मक विधिबाट गरिएको छ । सर्वप्रथम, अन्तर्वार्ता र

प्रश्नावलीबाट प्राप्त सूचनाहरूलाई वर्गीकरण गरी विषयगत शीर्षकहरूमा व्यवस्थित गरिएको छ । त्यसपछि सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक र भाषिक आयामका आधारमा व्याख्या गरिएको छ । तथ्यहरूको समाजशास्त्रीय विश्लेषण गर्दा सांस्कृतिक समन्वय, सहअस्तित्व, पहिचान र समरूपीकरणजस्ता अवधारणाहरू प्रयोग गरिएको छ । विभिन्न स्रोतबाट प्राप्त तथ्यहरूको त्रिकोणीयकरण गरी निष्कर्षको विश्वसनीयता बढाइएको छ । यसरी बहुआयामिक तथ्य सङ्कलन र विश्लेषण प्रक्रियामार्फत अरुण उपत्यकामा विकसित मिश्रित संस्कृतिको स्वरूप, निर्माण प्रक्रिया तथा सामाजिक प्रभावहरूको समग्र र गहिरो अध्ययन गरिएको छ ।

परिणाम र छलफल

यस खण्डमा सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाको प्राकृतिक, जैविक, जातीय, सांस्कृतिक विविधताको तथ्यमा आधारित चर्चा हुनेछ । सबैप्रकारको विविधता संस्कृतिमा मिसिन गई सांस्कृतिक विविधता निर्माण भएको तर्फ अध्ययनको विषयलाई अभिमुख गराइएको छ । सङ्खुवासभा जिल्ला विश्व मानचित्रमा २७ ° ६” देखि २७ ° ५५” उत्तरी अक्षांश र ८६ ° ५७” पूर्वदेखि ८७ ° ४०” पूर्वी देशान्तरसम्म फैलिएको ३४६८.१७ वर्ग कि.मी.मा फैलिएको जिल्ला भूभागको नाम हो । उत्तर-दक्षिण ९१ कि.मी. लम्बाइ र पूर्वपश्चिम ७३ किमी चौडाइ रहेको यस जिल्लामा १,५८,०४१ जना जनसंख्या बसोबास गर्छन् । (राष्ट्रिय जनसङ्ख्या तथा आवास जनगणना, २०७८) । होचोमा समुद्री सतहबाट ३०० मिटर उचाइको अरुण उपत्यका र विश्वको पाँचौँ सर्वोच्च शिखर मकालु ५४६३ मी. सम्म उचाइ रहेको छ । पूर्वमा तेह्रथुमको मिल्के डाँडा र तप्लेजुङको तीनजुरे डाँडा, पश्चिममा सोलु र भोजपुर, उत्तरमा चीनको स्वशासित क्षेत्र तिब्बत र दक्षिणमा भोजपुर - धनकुटा जिल्लाको सीमामा घेरिएको यो जिल्ला अरुण उपत्यकाको केन्द्रमा पर्दछ । राजनीतिक रूपमा ५ वटा गाउँपालिका, ५ वटा नगरपालिका र ७६ वटा वडामा विभाजित छ (जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०) ।

प्राकृतिक विविधता

यस जिल्लामा ४५७ मिटरदेखि १२०० मिटरसम्म उष्ण हावापानी, क्रमशः समशीतोष्ण, ठण्डा, लेकाली हावापानी हुँदै ५००० मीटर भन्दा माथिको ध्रुवीय अर्थात् टुण्ड्रा हावापानी पनि पाइन्छ । वन, चरन, खेतीयोग्य जमिन, भीरपाखा र हिउँले ढाकेका सबै प्रकारका भूबनोट रहेको सङ्खुवासभामा सभा, हेंवा, पिलुवा, पावा, अरुण, माया, सङ्खुवा, इप्सुवा, वेतेनी लगायत १७ वटा खोला प्रणाली रहेको छ । शिवधारा, पार्वतीधारा, खेम्पालुङ गुफा, वरुण, पोखरी, सेतीपोखरी, सभापोखरी, मत्स्यपोखरी, पाँचपोखरी लगायतका दुई दर्जन आश्चर्यजनक पोखरी, छाँगा, झरना र तालहरू, अनेकन धाम र चार दर्जन गुम्बाहरू आस्थाका धरोहरका रूपमा स्थापित छन् (जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०) ।

जैविक विविधता

एउटै पहाडमा २८ प्रजातिका गुराँस फुल्नु, एउटै निकुञ्जमा १२ प्रजातिका सुनाखरी फुल्नु, सबैभन्दा बढी प्रजातिका बाँस र केरा पाइनु (डा.रामकुमार पाण्डे, २०१८), पाँचौँलेदेखि औले टिमुरसम्मका जडीबुटी पाइनु यहाँको वानस्पतिक विविधता हुन् भने रातोपाण्डा, काँडेभ्याकुर, न्याहुर, हिउँभालु, २०० भन्दा बढी प्रजातिका माछा, ४०० प्रजातिका पुतली पाइनु यहाँका जैविक विविधता हुन् । पाँचौँ अग्लो शिखरदेखि समुद्री सतहबाट

सबभन्दा होचो भुभागसम्म, सर्वोच्च स्थानमा रहेको भन्ज्याङ पोप्टी भन्ज्याङ हुनु यहाँको भौगोलिक विविधता हो। हावापानी, भूगोल, प्राणी, वनस्पति लगायत जम्मै पक्षमा विविधता भएपछि यहाँ बसोबास गर्ने मानव समुदायमा पनि विविधता छ, जातीय विविधता, भाषिक विविधता अनि साँस्कृतिक विविधता पनि छन् (जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०)।

जातीय विविधता

वि.सं. २०७८ को जनगणना अनुसार सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लामा विभिन्न जातजातिको बसोबास रहेको छ। सबैभन्दा बढी क्षेत्री २७,३३५ जना र सबभन्दा कम धानु १० जनाको विवरण छ। हिमाली संस्कृतिका भोटे, ल्होमी, शेर्पा, तामाङ बस्छन्। पहाडी संस्कृतिका क्षेत्री, ब्रम्हण, मगर, नेवार, सुनार, विश्वकर्मा, माझी, गुरुङ, परियार, ठकुरी, लिम्बू, घले, मिजार, दशनामी, कुमाल, घर्ती, खवास, आदि छन्। किराँत संस्कृतिका लिम्बू, सुनुवार, थामी, कुलुङ्, याख्खा, बोटे, राई, नाछिरिङ, याम्पू, चाम्लिङ, आठपहरिया, बान्तवा, अमात, थुलुङ, मेवाहाङ, वाहिङ, सम्पाङ, खालिङ्, लोहोरुङको बसोबास छ। मधेशी संस्कृतिका धानुक, तराई ब्राम्हण, मुसलमान, यादव, कानु, तेली, कोइरी, कुशवाह, ताजपुरिया, हजाम, राजवंशी, माली, धुनियाँ, तात्मा, विन आदि बस्छन् (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)। अन्य जातिको संख्या पनि १५५ देखाइएको छ। यसरी सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लामा ५७ जातिको बसोबास रहेको पाइन्छ (जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०)।

धार्मिक विविधता

सङ्खुवासभामा हिन्दु धर्मावलम्बी ६३८८९ जना, बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी २०९४४ जना, किराँत धर्मावलम्बीहरू २२८२१ जना, क्रिश्चियन धर्मावलम्बी २५४४ जना, प्रकृति धर्म मान्ने ४ जना, बोन धर्म मान्ने ३४५ जना, जैन धर्मावलम्बी २ जना र शिख धर्मावलम्बी ३२ जना बसोबास गरेको तथ्याङ्क सार्वजनिक गरेको छ। क्रिश्चियन धर्म नवीन र प्रकृति धर्म, बोन धर्म र जैन धर्मावलम्बी नगण्य सङ्ख्यामा रहेकाले अरुण उपत्यकामा हिन्दु संस्कृति, बौद्ध संस्कृति र किराँत संस्कृति मिसिएको छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)।

भाषिक विविधता

अस्तित्वमा रहेका केही भाषाहरू सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लामा मात्र बोलिन्छन्। पाङ्गा, आङ्ला, धुपूर र चिचिलामा बोलिने लोहोरुङ भाषा, मकालु, भोटखोला र चिचिलामा बोलिने याम्पूभाषा, भोटखोलामा बोलिने भोटे भाषा यहाँका पृथक मौलिक भाषिक सम्पदा नै हुन्। मेवाहाङ भाषा र याख्खा भाषा पनि सङ्खुवासभा मूल थलो भएर प्रसारित भाषा नै हुन्। कुलुङ भाषा, लिम्बू भाषा, मगर भाषा, तामाङ भाषा, शेर्पा भाषा बोल्नेहरूको सङ्ख्या उल्लेख्य छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)। खालिङ्, थुलुङ, माझी, कुमाल, वान्तवा, बाहिङ, नेवारले आफ्नो भाषा प्रयोग गर्छन्। गुरुङ समुदायले पनि तमु, छेजोलो, थोम्र्यो, आँसिमाला भन्दै आफ्नो भाषा प्रयोग तर्फ चिन्ता र चासो देखाउन थालेको अवस्था छ। ताराबहादुर बुढाथोकीले १६ भाषाका भाकाहरू सङ्कलन गरेका छन्। उनले भाडाकुटी समावेशी लोककाव्य लेखेका छन्। भाषामा भएका लोक साहित्यले लोकजीवनमा प्रभाव पार्दछ र संस्कृति मिसिन पुग्छ (जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०)।

सांस्कृतिक विविधता

जाति, भाषा र धर्मलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने कार्य संस्कृतिले गर्दछ। संस्कृति मूर्त र अमूर्त गरी २ प्रकारका हुन्छन्। कला, गीत, सङ्गीत, साहित्य, चाडपर्व, मेला महोत्सव, वनपाखा, खेत खोला, गोठ आदि स्थानमा जुन मौलिक पहिचानको प्रवाह हुन्छ त्यही त संस्कृति हो। तामाङ जाति डम्फू बजाएर सेलोमा नाच्छन्, ह्वाइ गीत गाएर संस्कार सम्पन्न गर्छन्। किराँतले सुमुलुङ परम्परा र मुन्धुम संस्कृतिबाट जीवनपद्धति सञ्चालन गर्दछ। ढोल र भ्याम्टा बजाएर कम्मर मर्काउँछन्। भोटेको डिमाटासी स्याप्रु र सेर्पाको याङडोरी सोलोले हिमाली संस्कृति जुरुक्क उचालेर देखाउँछन् (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)। लिम्बूले धान नाच्छ, पालाम गाउँछ, हाक्पारे गाउँछ। याख्खाको लुखुरीलुखुरी गीत र डोकेनी सिली (नाच) होस वा कुलुङ जातिको सिली होस् संस्कृतिको विम्बप्रतिविम्ब हुन् (बुढाथोकी, २०२४)। दर्जीले पञ्चैबाजा बजाउँदा होस्, किराँतले टुङ्ना र मुर्चुङ्गा बजाओस् अथवा गुरुङले विनायो बजाओस्। जीवन्त संस्कृतिले वन पाखालाई व्युँझाउँछन् यहाँ। पहाडे क्षेत्री बाहुनको भजन, कीर्तन र बालनदेखि, नेवारको लाखे र कुमालेको मारुनी समेत मौलिक संस्कृति नै हुन् (बुढाथोकी, २०७१; जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०)।

पोसाकमा, खनापानमा, रहनसहनमा, चाडपर्वमा, मेला महोत्सवमा, गरगहनामा, जीवनशैलीमा, गीतनृत्यमा, जन्म, विवाह र मृत्युसंस्कारमा जताततै भिन्नता छ, अनेकता छ। विश्वास, मूल्य, मान्यतामा समेत विविधता छ। जाडो ठाउँमा बस्ने सङ्खुवासभालीले लगाउने दोचा र बख्खु कछाडमा बस्नेले लाउँदैन। सिलिचोड पहाडमा बस्ने किराँतले बनाएर खाने वचिपाको नाम मादीका व्रामहणले भर्खर सुने होलान्। खाँदबारीको पाङ्गामा शताब्दी पहिले बनाएर पिएको सरुवा भन्ने मदिरा मुडेको शेर्पाले चाख्न भ्याएन होला। भोटखोलामा बनेको किनेमा, चिचिलामा बनेको सिन्की, चिल्लाङ्गा फलेको मूला, चैनपुरमा पकाएका कुराउनी, मकालुमा फलेका आलु अर्को ठाउँमा लगेर चाख्न नपाएका पीडा होलान्। हावापानी, वनस्पति, भुगोल, जातजाति, भाषा, अन्न, बाजागाजामा विविधता भएपछि यसको प्रभाव संस्कृतिमा पर्छ। संस्कृतिमा विविधता देखिनु स्वाभाविक हो (बुढाथोकी, २०७१; जिल्ला वस्तुगत विवरण, सङ्खुवासभा, २०८०)।

संस्कृति मिश्रित बन्नका कारणहरू

अध्ययनको यस खण्डमा सांस्कृतिक सञ्चरण, संस्कृति हस्तान्तरण र पुस्तान्तरणको विश्लेषण गरिनेछ। सञ्चरण, पुस्तान्तरण र हस्तान्तरणको कारक तत्व, कारण र तरीकाको चर्चा हुनेछ। मिश्रित संस्कृतिलाई व्यावहारिक रूपमा तर्क सहित पृष्टि गरिनेछ।

माध्यम भाषा र सांस्कृतिक सञ्चरण: विविधताभित्र एकताको प्रमुख सूत्र हुन्छ-भाषा। नेपाली भाषा अनेक भाषी समुदाय बिचको माध्यम भाषा हो। आफ्नो भाषिक समुदायमा मातृभाषा बोले पनि एकअर्काबिच विचार सम्प्रेषण गर्न नेपाली भाषा नै प्रयोग हुन्छ। अनि भाषासँगै सांस्कृतिक सञ्चरण हुन गई मिश्रित संस्कृति निर्माण हुन पुग्दछ (बुढाथोकी, २०८१)।

मिश्रित बसोबास र बसाइँ सराइ: यहाँ सबै गाउँपालिकामा अधिकांश जातिको मिश्रित बसोबास छ। भोटखोलामा भोटे जातिको बाहुल्य छ तर राई, गुरुङ, शेर्पा, तामाङ पनि बाक्लै बसेका छन्। मकालुमा शेर्पा, याम्फू, गुरुङ, मगर, तामाङ, क्षेत्री र अन्य किराँत समुदाय सराबरी बस्छन्। सिलिचोडमा कुलुङ्, मेवाहाङ, याम्फू, शेर्पा, क्षेत्री, दलित छन् (बुढाथोकी, २०८१)। चिचिलामा सबै जाति छन्। सभापोखरीमा लिम्बू जातिको बस्ती नै थपिन्छन्। खाँदबारी

नगरपालिका त सहर हो । यहाँ मिश्रित बसोबास छ । पाँचखपन नगरपालिकामा लिम्बू, याख्खा थपिन्छन् । धर्मदेवी, मादी र चैनपुरमा पनि बसोबास मिश्रित छ । मिसिएर बसेपछि खानेकुरा सराबरी खान्छन्, सँगै नाच्छन्, गाउँछन्, मायाप्रीति लाउँछन् । चाडबाड मनाउँछन् (बुढाथोकी, २०२५) ।

मेला, जात्रा, उत्सवहरु: अरुण उपत्यकाभित्र वरुण मेला, मछेमेला, माघेनी मेला, देवीटार मेला, देउमा मोल, बालाचतुर्दशी मेला, रामनवमी मेला, एकादशी मेला, शिवरात्री मेला, लाखेजात्रा उहिलेदेखि लाग्दै आएका छन् (बुढाथोकी, २०२५) । टाढाटाढादेखि विभिन्न जाति, भाषा, धर्म र समुदायका मानिसहरु भेला भएर रमाइलो गर्ने यस प्रकारका मेलाहरुमा भेघाट गर्छन् । एकअर्काका संस्कृतिहरु देख्ने, सुन्ने, अनुकरण गर्ने र आनन्द अनुभूति गर्ने अवसर मिल्छ । हृदयले आनन्द अनुभव गरपछि चाहिँ संस्कृति सञ्चरण हुन, मिसिन र अभ्यस्त हुन समय लाग्दैन (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) ।

अन्तर्जातीय प्रेम र बिवाह: मिश्रित बसोबास र मेलाहरुमा भेटघाट भएपछि आपसमा प्रेमको मुना टुसाउनु स्वाभाविक बन्छ । प्रेम र पिरतीको अगाडि रुढ परम्परा र जातीय संस्कार एवम् अभिमान गौण बन्न पुग्छ (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) । युवा युवतीहरु प्रेमप्रणय शुत्रमा बाँधिपछि एकार्का प्रतिको स्वीकार, श्रद्धा र आस्था जागृत हुन्छ । प्रेमको प्रगाढतासँगै आपसमा संस्कृतिको पनि सञ्चरण हुन्छ । अन्तर्जातीय बिवाह भएपछि भाषा, संस्कृति र संस्कार समेत मिसिन जान्छ (मिश्र, २०६७) । उनीहरुबाट जन्मिएका सन्ततीहरुमा मिश्रित अनुहार, कद जस्तै संस्कार पनि आफ्सेआफ् मिश्रित बन्न पुग्छ ।

मेलापात, अर्मपर्म, गाउँबेसी: मिश्रित बसोबास सँगै दैनन्दिन जीवनका उहापोह एकाकार बन्दछन् । गोठखेत, वनपाखा, मेलापात, अर्मपर्म जानेआउने क्रम हुन्छ । अझ सानै उमेरदेखि नै आउजाउ, उठबस र बोलचाल नै एकात्मकता पूर्वक जोडिएर अधि बढ्छन् । एउटा मगरको दाइँमा सार्कीले जुरी फुटाउँछ, विश्वकर्माको मियो गाड्छ, तामाड्ले धान झार्छ, गुरुडले खर झिक्छ र बाहुनले धान बत्ताउँछ । लिम्बुको घरमा मोही पुन्याउन गएको वाहुन भाती जाँड खाएर फर्किन्छ । वनमा मुसुरेको स्याउला पुजा गर्ने किराँत बाहुनको घरमा देखेर सिकुवामा तुलसी रोपेर पूजा गर्न थाल्छ । जीवनशैली नै मिश्रित प्रकृतिको बन्दछ (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) ।

जन्ती र मलामीको प्रसङ्ग: किराँतको बिहेमा बाहुन, दलित, मगर, शोर्पा जम्मै जन्ती जान्छन् । लिम्बुनीसँग हात समाएर काफ्लेले धान नाच्छ । भोटेको मृत्युसंस्कारमा बाहुन मलामी जान्छन् । बाहुनको चिता जलाउँन तामाडले दाउरा खोज्छ । खालिडको शवलाई कोठेबारीमा गाड्न घिमिरे बाहुन खाल्डो खन्छ । क्षेत्रीको बिहेमा गुरुडले शुभलगन बोल्छ, मगरले खाँडो जगाउँछ, बाहुनले मन्त्र पढ्छ, राई बुढाले सिलोक भन्छन् । अनि संस्कृति नमिसिएर के हुन्छ छ त (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) ।

उत्पादन र वितरण प्रणाली: हामीकहाँ परम्परागत रुपमा बाजा बजाउन र लुगा सिउन दजीहरु चाहिने, सुनका गहना र फलामका हतियार बनाउन सुनार र लोहारहरु, छालका जुत्ता, दाप आदि बनाउन सार्कीहरु, घरबुना कपडा बुन्न राईनीहरु, कपडा छिप्न नेवारहरु, चौरी पलन गर्न, गलैंचा बुन्न, जडीबुटी र लसुन फलाउन भोटेहरु, भेडा पाल्न र राडीपाखी बुन्न गुरुड नै हुनुपथ्र्यो (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) । कतिपय कलाकार जातिहरु गाउँमा नभए खोजेर ल्याएर, जग्गाजमिन दिएर, घर बनाएर समेत राखिन्थ्यो । चँदाराले काठका सामान, कुमाल जातिले माटोका भाँडा, माझी

जातिले माछा मार्ने जस्ता क्रियाकलाप गर्नुपर्थ्यो । यसबाट एक जातिको परम्परा अर्को जाति समुदायसँग थाहा अज्ञात र जानाजान मिसिन पुग्दथ्यो (बुढाथोकी, २०७४) ।

मिश्रित संस्कृतिका प्रतिबिम्बन

अरुण उपत्यकामा मिश्रित संस्कृतिको प्रतिच्छायाँ जताततै देखिन्छ । खानपान, रहनसहन, चाडपर्व, संस्कार आदिमा मिश्रित संस्कृति स्पष्ट छ । किराँत सभ्यता र हिन्दुसभ्यताको सम्मिश्रित स्वरूप नै अरुण सभ्यताको गुदी हो । मुख्यतः कुनकुन सभ्यता मिश्रित भएर कस्तो संस्कृतिको निर्माण भएको छ भन्ने कुरालाई चित्रण गरिएको छ ।

पूजाआजामा किराँत संस्कृतिको मिश्रण: प्रकृति पूजक किराँतले मुन्धुममा वर्णित आकास, हावा, पानी, पृथ्वी, घामको पूजा गर्दछ, हिन्दुले पृथ्वी, जल, आकास, वायु र तेज भनीकन पञ्चतत्वको पूजा गर्दछ । हिन्दुले इन्द्र, वरुण, कुवेर, यम आदि चार दिक्पालहरु मध्ये “ओउम् जलबिम्बाय नमः निल पुरुषयधिमही तन्न वरुण प्रचोदयात्” भनीकन जलको पूजा गर्दछ (बुढाथोकी, २०७४) । किराँतले पनि जललाई सावा भनेर पूजा गर्दछ । किराँतले उँधौली र उँधौलीको पूजा गर्दछन् (बुढाथोकी, २०७७) । हिन्दु संस्कारले पनि उँधौली उँधौलीमा नै मष्टो देवता पूजा अर्थात् देवाली गर्दछन् । नयाँ अन्न प्रकृतिलाई चढाउने किराँत संस्कृति र हिन्दु सभ्यतामा न्वागी खाने तथा खाना खाने बेलामा ओप्सानि हाल्ने परम्परामा समानता छ । रोपाईं गर्दा भूमिको पूजा गर्ने, कुन्यू राख्दा फेदमा भुमिदुङ्गा राख्ने चलन हिन्दु समुदायले किराँत सभ्यताबाट सिकेको हो (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) । दुङ्गा ठड्याएर देउराली पुज्ने, रुखका फेदमा देवी पूजा गर्ने र गुफाहरुमा महादेवको पूजा गर्ने संस्कृति किराँत सभ्यताबाट अन्य सभ्यतामा प्रवेश गरेको हो (बुढाथोकी, २०८१) । किराँतहरुको माड अर्थात् आमाले नानीलाई रुखको फेदमा रखेर शिकार खेल्न जाँदा रुखका फेदमा स्याउला भाँचेर राख्दै गएको र त्यसैलाई माड अर्थात् सुम्निमाको रुपमा सन्तानले मान्दा अन्य सभ्यताले देवी पूजा गर्न थालेको हो । पारुहाड अर्थात् महादेवले तपस्या गरेको गुफालाई पालुड भनी पुज्ने चलन किराँतमा रह्यो फलस्वरूप पत्थरका गुफामा महादेवको पूजा भयो । नाग, नगिनी, शिकारी, बुडेनी, वनेस्कण्डी, जङ्गली आदि सबै किराँत राजा शिकार खेल्दा भेटिएका आस्थाका बिम्ब हुन्, प्रतीक हुन् । तिनका पूजा आज सबै सभ्यतामा गरिन्छ (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) ।

कुल पित्रलाई चढाउने भोर्लाको पात वा केराको पातको टुप्पोलाई बोजुको योनीको आकार मानेर मालुङ्ग मातृ सत्ताकै झण्डा चुलामा उठाइएको हुन्छ । त्यसैमा ठड्याइने सोलवा (चिण्डो) लाई पुरुषको उत्तेजित वंशदण्डको आकार मानेर त्यस भित्रको जाँडको छोकालाई पुरुषको बीज मानी पुरुषसत्ताको झण्डा स्वीकारिएको छ (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) । तुप्लामाथि सोलेवाको जाँड छर्किँदै हाँ.. गर्दै छवाइ पारिने कर्मलाई जैविक संसर्ग(सिर्जना) अर्थात् समागमको रुपमा मानियो । सुम्लुङ्गको सेरोफेरोमै त माङ्गलुङ्ग, सामेत र पाछा आउँछ (बुढाथोकी, २०२५) ।

चुलामा गोलो घेरोभित्र तीनवटा चुलो दुङ्गाहरु एकएक गरी सामने र दायँवायाँ पारी घरको उत्तर पूर्वतिर मातृ र पितृ पुज्ने काम हुन्छ । चुला खाना पकाउने प्रयोजनको लागि मात्र होइन । पूर्वस्थलमा रहेको माडलुङ्गनुङ्ग हो । यो अर्को परिवारको वंश पुत्र प्रतीक सामेत अर्थात् पाछा हो । अनि यो सामुन्नेमा भएको चुलोदुङ्गालाई चावालुङ्ग (चोमोलुङ्ग अर्थात् सगरमाथाको रुपमा, दायँपट्टिको फाक्सालुङ्ग - कञ्चनजङ्गा) को रुपमा बायाँपट्टिलाई सावालुङ्ग (धैलागिरी वा अन्नपूर्ण) मानिन्छ । खुवालुङ्गबाट सिधा उत्तर फर्केको कल्पना गरिन्छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७४) ।

लुङ्ग भनेको हिमाल हो । किनभने हिउँ पर्ने डाँडामा हिउँको थुप्रो भित्र पत्थर हुन्छ , पत्थर त मूल आधार हो । जो

वतन मातृप्रधान समाजको माङ्गलुङ्ग सँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छ । जसलाई हाल छुनेमाङ्गको रूपमा पूजिन्छ । हिन्दुको मृत्यु संस्कारमा पनि धाराका छेऊमा ढिकुरो उठाइने, ढिकुरोलाई किरियापुत्रीले सिङले हानेर फुटाइने चलन छ । बाबुबाजेको सात पुस्ता, मामली तीन पुस्ता र ससुराली तीनपुस्तालाई पितृ मानेर तर्पणपिण्ड गर्ने संस्कार छ । यहाँनै मिश्रित संस्कृतिको जग फेला पर्दछ । (हर्तम्छाली)

अरुणका किनारमा गरिने पञ्च्यौली पूजा अर्थात् पञ्चवली (पाँचवटा पशुको बली दिने चलन) आज यस उपत्यकाका सबै जातीको साझा र मिश्रित संस्कृति बनेको छ । शनिबारको दिन बाटो छेकेर गरिने सन्सारी माइको पूजा , शिकारी, बुडेनीको पूजा मिश्रित संस्कृतिको उपज हो ।

अरुण वास्तुकलामा किराँत संस्कृतिको मिश्रण: घर निर्माण गर्ने क्रममा खाँबे घर, पर्खाल लगाएका घरका चुलीगारामा झ्याल, भित्ताहरूमा बुट्टा आदिको देखासिकी किराँत संस्कृतिबाट भएको हो । तीन ढुङको चुलोलाई किराँतले सुमुलुङ्ग भन्छ । तीनवटा ढुङ्गा त माथिबाट देखिने छपुवा ढुङ्गा हुन्छ । यसको फेदमा मिलुङ्ग र वालुङ्ग (भुमेलुङ्ग) हुन्छ । मिलुङ्ग र वालुङ्गलाई सृष्टिको ऋणात्मक र धनात्मक शक्ति मानिन्छ । मि भनेको आगो र वा भनेको पानी हो । पुरुषको शुक्रकीट र महिलाको डिम्ब बिम्बात्मक प्रतीक नै रहेको हुन्छ । पहिले हाम्रो पुरुखाहरू त तिनै जोडी लुङ्गलाई आपसमा ठोकेर आगो र पानी पार्थे । पुरुषको जीव कोषलाई निनाम्मा-मिलुङ्ग, पारुहाङ्ग हेछाकुप्पा भन्छन् । शायद तीन ढुङ्गाको चुलो बनाउने संस्कृति यही दाखालुङ् (इष्टमित्र), माखालुङ् (मामली) र पाखालुङ् (बाउबाजे, बन्धु)वाला तीन इश्वर अर्थात् सुमुलुङ् (तीन ढुङ्गा) कै सञ्चरणबाट बन्ने मिश्रित संस्कृति हा (हर्तम्छाली) ।

मुन्धुमी दर्शन र सुमुलुङ् परम्पराको सम्मिश्रण: पहिलेपहिले त बच्चाले आमामात्र चिन्थ्यो बाउ चिन्दैनथ्यो । माड अर्थात् आमाको लुङ् अर्थात् (हिमाली वतन) र नुङ् नामबाटै बालकहरूको सम्बन्ध हुन्थ्यो । परिचय हुन्थ्यो त्यसैले युमासाङ् (बुढी बजुर र संसारी माईले नै तुप्लाको झण्डा हललाएर तयो बेलाको मानव समुदायको नेतृत्व गरेका थिए । त्यतिबेला किराँती सुमुलुङ् व्यवस्था ठीक थिएन । यद्यपि समाजमा आगो मिलुङ् र पानी वालुङ्को महत्व बढ्दै गएको थियो । खेतीपातीको युगमा प्रवेश गरेपछिमात्र सुमुलुङ्को परम्परा शुरु भयो नि जुवाइँ ठाकुर ! सुमुलुङ्गमा मातृवंश र पितृवंशको शुत्रले समायोजन गर्छ । सामेतको डिम्ब कुन वंशको हो र शुक्रकीट कुन वंशको हो । यो दुई मिसिएर यो सुमुलुङ्ग परिवार बनेको हो । दुवैको सहअस्तित्व छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७४) । यो छुपुवालुङ्ग मुनि रहेको भुमेलुङ्ग अर्थात् वालुङ्ग(डिम्म)ले लिन्छ । यहाँ जोडिन्छ, धनात्मक भयो । मिलुङ्ग-शुक्रकीट) ले दिन्छ । घटन् जान्छ अनि ऋणात्मक भयो । यी दुवैको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने यी यो सामुन्नेको लुङ्ग छ नि, हो यसलाई भालेपोथी जोडिएको रूपमा लिइन्छ । यही स्वरूप नै खासमा सुमुलुङ्ग वा सामेत हो । यसैमा दायाँ चुलाढुङ्गालाई पुरुषवंशीय (दाजुभाइ) 'पा-छा' वाला पाखालुङ्ग, यी यो बायाँ चुलाढुङ्गालाई चेलीबेटी वा कुटुम्बेरी पक्षको प्रतीक माखालुङ्गको रूपमा स्विकारिन्छ । त्यही अनुसार अरुको पनि पाखालुङ्गमा लगेर पदस्थापन गरिन्छ । पा को अर्थ बा, बाजे र छा को अर्थ छोरा हुन्छ । सुमुलुङ्ग परम्पराको शुरुआतसँगै पुरुष वंशलाई मान्यता दिएको पाइन्छ । पाछा भनेको वंश गणना परम्परा हो । पाछा अर्थात् पुरुष सत्ताको प्रभाव हो । मूलखाँबोको केन्द्रमा मान्छेको मर्यादाक्रम हुन्छ । किराँतीको घरमा तीन ठाउँ हुन्छ । मूलसीमा भनेको घरको मूलखामा नै हो । यहाँ हेन्खामाङ्ग (मूलखामा) बाटआँगन बाहिर र निनाम्मा भारमाथि हुँदै छाना बाहिरको स्थान हो । यसमा जम्मा १२ स्थान हुन्छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७१) । १. सुमुलुङ्ग (यो चुलास्थान), २. डिलभित्र सन्तान नवपुस्ता थान, ३. बाँया चौका शाखास्थान (चेलीबेटी कुटुम्बेरी), ४. अँगैनामाथि

यो बाँसको भार बाजेबोजुस्थान हुन्छ ।” ६. तलामाथि औजार कोठा पुर्खास्थान, ७. भित्र अन्नपानी गरगहना, सम्पत्ति रहने माङ्गलुङ्गस्थान, ७ बुङ्गल – बिसिसकेकेको पुर्खास्थान, ८. बुङ्गल बाहिर आकाशमा निनाम्मा, ९. घरको मूलखाबाबाट ढोकासम्म सजातीय नातागोता, १०. मूलढोकाबाट बलेसीसम्म हितेरी मितेरी र अन्य विजातीय, ११. बलेसीबाट आँगनको घरेरो जोगीनेगीको ठाउँ र १२. आँगन बाहिर हेन्खामाङ्ग जलचर, स्थलचर, उभयचर, प्राणी, वनस्पति, धरातल, पृथ्वीको स्थान हुन्छ (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) ।

हिन्दु सभ्यतामा भएको चुलो, चौको, मझेरी, पिँडी, सिकुवा र आँगनमा पाहुनाको स्तर, सम्बन्धअनुसार राख्ने चलन पनि किराँत सभ्यताको प्रभाव हो (हर्तमछाली) ।

हिन्दु सभ्यता र किराँत सभ्यताको संस्कारमा सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रण: हिन्दु संस्कृतिको विवाह पद्धतिको प्रभाव किराँत संस्कृतिमा परेको छ । किराँतहरू मागेर विवाह गर्ने तरिकामा मिश्रण भयो । हिजो किराँतहरू “फूल फूलेको रहेछ, बासना चलि गयो भन्दै कलियाहरू बसेर माग्दथे त्यसमा आज नवीन चलन छ । कन्या माग्नु जाँदा कलियाको प्रचलन हराउँदै छ । बिहे गर्दा ब्राम्हण समुदायले खाँडो जगाएको प्रभाव चाहिँ प्रत्यक्ष किराँत संस्कृतिमा छ । तिम्पो छोराको बाटोमुनि बाटोमाथि गन्थो भने हाम्रो छोरीको खुर्मी ठाडो, तिम्पो छोरीले हाम्रो छोराको खुकुरी ठाडो । भन्ने चलन छ । हिन्दु संस्कारले कन्यादान दिन्छ, किराँत सभ्यताले बागदत्ता दिन्छ । हिजो किराँतले मरेको शवलाई जमिनमुनि नै दहन गर्दथे आज घाटमा लगेर जलाउन थालेका छन् । शवयात्रा गर्ने चलनमा पनि किराँतको संस्कार हिन्दु मा र हिन्दुको किराँत मा सरेको देखिन्छ । न्वारन गर्ने, छेवर गर्ने, अन्नप्रासन गर्ने लगायतका संस्कारहरू मिश्रित भएका छन् । उसो त हिजो भाका बस्ने, तरुनी तन्नेरी हाक्पारे गाउने, प्रेम बिबाह गर्ने संस्कार किराँतमा थियो, आज सबैमा छ । हाक्पारे भनेको नै “हाडपारे अर्थात् राजालाई खुसी पार्ने लिम्बू गीत” थियो । हाक्पारे साम्लो बाट बिकसित भएको पनि मानिन्छ । आज हाक्पारे सबै जातिको साझा लोक भाका बनेको छ । मागेर पञ्चै बाजा बजाएर बिहे गर्ने चलन सबैमा छ (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) ।

मिश्रित संस्कृतिबाट साझा संस्कृति बनेको मारुनी नृत्य: मगर भाषामा ‘मा’ को अर्थ छैन र ‘रुनी’को अर्थ युवती अर्थात् ठेट शब्दमा तरुनी हुन्छ । मारुनीको पूरा अर्थ तरुनी छैन अथवा तरुनी केटी हराइनु भन्ने हुन्छ । महिला छैन त्यसैले पुरुषलाई नै महिलाको वस्त्राभूषण पहिरेर नचाउने गरिन्थ्यो । लक्ष्मीपूजाको दिन महालक्ष्मीको रूपमा सिँगारे-पूजेर लैलैलै बरिमा लैलै भन्दै एकादशीसम्म मादलको गर्ग, भ्याल्टुङ्, झ्याउरे र समला तालमा बजाउँदै ढुँटुवारेका हास्य प्रस्तुतीका साथ नचाएर अरुण किनारको एकादशी मेलामा मारुनी नाच समापन गरिन्थ्यो । यसलाई मेवाहाड किराँतहरूले आफ्नो मौलिक नृत्यकै रूपमा विकास गरेको पाइन्छ । माझी र कुमालहरूले पनि पलम्पा रानीको खेत, धरम भाटीमा जस्ता शब्दका साथ यसलाई मौलिक नृत्यका रूपमा स्वीकार गरे । गुरुङ्, क्षेत्री, ब्राम्हण, दलित समुदाय, सबै जनजातिले मारुनी नृत्यलाई स्वीकार गरे (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)।

कसैले डम्पूनाच सँग मिसाए, कसैले देउसी भैलो सँग मिसाए, कसैले कृष्ण र गोपिनी नृत्यमा त कसैले मादले नाचकै रूपमा बिकास गरे । मारुनी नाचमा कसैको मादल, कसैको झ्याली, कसैको मझिरा, कसैको सारङ्गी, टुङ्ना, मुरली, विनाया, मुर्चुङ्गा जस्ता बाजाहरू एकाकार भए । कसैका गहना, कसैका भङ्गिमा, कसैको गीत अनि कसैको चाल पनि थपिँदै गयो । खेम गुरुङ्को ‘वारि जमुना’को क्यासेट र नवीन खड्का नेतृत्वको अरुण उपत्यका सांस्कृतिक समूहका श्रव्यदृश्य प्रस्तुतीहरू सङ्गीतको बजारमा आएपछि त मारुनी नृत्य अरुण उपत्यकाको मिश्रित संस्कृतिको

पुञ्ज बनेर अवतरित भयो र साझा पनि । आज अरुण उपत्यकाको मौलिक र साझा सांस्कृतिक प्रस्तुती नै मारुनी नृत्य बन्न पुगेको छ (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) ।

हाक्पारे र गोठाले गीत: अरुण उपत्यका हाक्पारे गीतको उद्गम भूमि नै हो । अरुण उपत्यकाको एउटा गाउँमा ढाक्रेले पहरामा तोक्मा बजाउँदा हाक्पार भन्ने ध्वनि सुनिएको आधारमा हाक्पार भन्ने गाउँको नाम रहेको भन्ने किंवदन्ती हाक्पारे उत्पत्ति सम्बन्धमा गरिएका खोजहरूमा पाइएको छ । हाङ् अर्थात् राजा खुशी पार्न गाइने पारा अर्थात् गीत हाङपारा अपभ्रंश भएर हाक्पारे बनेको भन्ने संस्कृतिविद् नारद हर्तम्छालीको निश्कर्ष होस् वा लिम्बूले धान रुद्धा हा..हा.. भन्दा भन्दै हाक्पारे साम्लो बनेको, यही नै हाक्पारे गीत हो भन्ने विद्वानहरूको भनाइ होस् । हाक्पारे गीत किराँत संस्कृतिको मौलिक सम्पदाको रूपमा उत्पत्ति भएको भाका हो (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) । आज सबै जाति, समुदायका मानिसहरू हाक्पारे गीतको रन्कोमा कानठेडी मार्छन् । हाक्पारे भाकामा दार्जिलिङ सिक्किमका लाहुरेहरूले मायालुलाई झ्याउरे लयमा लेखेका पत्रका सङ्कलन मदन लहरी, प्रेम लहरी, प्रीति लहरी, आनन्द लहरी जस्ता लहरीका तुक्वन्दीहरू मिसिए । यता मुनामदन, पापिनी आमाजस्ता झ्याउरे जन्मिए । फलस्वरूप अरुण उपत्यकाली संस्कृतिमा दार्जिलिङ संस्कृति पनि मिसियो । अनि कालेबुङको मैनाचरी एकादशी बजारका दिन टिष्टा खोला झर्न थाल्यो, चिचिला डाँडामा दार्जिलिङ ज्ञानको छ फुटे सडक रेलिङले बारेको सुनिन थाल्यो । घुमपहाड कुना, मायाले गाँसेको टपरी दुना देखिन थाले । आउजाउ, उठबस, मुङ्लान, बसाई र मुलुक बाहिर उपन्यास आदिले पूर्वी पहाड खास गरी अरुण उपत्यकामा दार्जिलिङ संस्कृति पनि पत्तै नपाइ मिसियो । त्यहाँको देखासिकीले सिक्किमबासी नै सुकुम्बासी भनिन थाल्यो । लाहोरमा बसेर आएकोलाई लाहोरे भन्दाभन्दै पछि सिपाहीलाई लाहुरे भनियो । अंग्रेजी स्कुल देखेर मिडिल स्कुल र हाइस्कुल खुले । मिश्रित संस्कृतिको प्रतिबिम्ब देखियो हाक्पारेमा (बुढाथोकी, २०२४) ।

गोठालाहरूमा गाई गोठाला, भैंसी गोठाला, बाख्रा गोठाला, चौरी गोठाला र भेडा गोठाला गन्तीमा आए । प्रारम्भमा गाईभैंसी गोठमा क्षेत्री बाहुन्, बाख्रा गोठमा किराँतीहरू, भेडी गोठमा गुरुङ जाति र चौरी गोठमा भोटे र शेर्पा जाति रमाएको देखिन्छ । गाँटीमा गण्टी भजाइ चमरी गाइ चरेको, ए है चौरी लेकैमा, माथि माथि शैलुङ्गेमा चौरी डुलाउनेलाई जस्ता गीतमा परेको भाषिक प्रभाव मिश्रित संस्कृति हो । बाख्रा छिटो हिन्छ, गोठाले पनि .. सबै र बाख्रा उकाली लागे.. म्या.. गरेर छिटो नै गीतको भाका लैजान्छ, भेडा ढिलो ठाउँ सँछ तसर्थ “ को होला भनी नभन्नु आमा म भेडी गोठालो...” भनेर ढिलो गाउँछ । लेखको बाख्रो गोठालो घाँसमा बाख्रा अल्मलिने भएकोले .. ए लै लै ... भन्छ, अउलको सालघारीमा बाख्रा हेर्नेले ... ए लै हौ...भन्दै छिटो तुक चलाउँछ । गाइको नाम तारी.., “फूल टोठालाको, धेर माया लाग्छ दाइ गाइ गोठालाको” आदि गोठाले गीत गाइ गोठालाका भए (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) । गोठाले लोक गीतहरूमा पहिलो हरफमा प्रकृति र दोश्रो हरफमा जीवनको सम्मिश्रण देखियो (बुढाथोकी, २०२४)। जीवन र जगतको मिश्रित शब्दहरू लोकगीत बन्न पुगे । गोठाले गीतहरूमा अए सबै समुदायको संस्कृति मिसिएको छ । आज जुनसुकै समुदायले जुनसुकै पशुको गोठाला गर्दछ । मोही, ठेको, मदानी, घुर्रा, भुने, धिरी, डेली, भकारी, भकारो, हर्पे, दुँदेरा जस्ता साँस्कृतिक शब्द पनि मोही पारेजस्तै गरी मिश्रित भए । आ-आफ्ना भाषा र संस्कृतिमा अन्तर्धुलित बने । गोठाले संस्कृति पनि मिश्रित संस्कृतिकै स्वरूप अरुण उपत्यकामा बिकसित भयो (बुढाथोकी, २०७९) ।

पाङ्दुर र घैया खेती: पाङ्दुर कोदो छर्ने र घैया धान राप्ने चलन किराँत समुदायको मौलिक अन्न उत्पादन संस्कृति हो । मकै गुरुङ समुदायको मौलिक उत्पादन हो । भूगोलका कारण पनि लसुन र फापर, आलु भोटे जातिको उत्पादन

थियो। पछिल्लो समयमा यहाँ सबै जातिले मकै उत्पादन गर्ने, पाङ्दुर र घैया फलाउने गर्न थाले (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)। धान, कोदो, मकै, फापर, गहुँ, तोरी, आलु, लसुन, तोरी र फापर सबै एउटै किसानले आफ्ना खेतबारीमा फलाउन थाले। सबै जातिले आ-आफ्ना जमिनमा सबै प्रकारका बाली फलाउनु भनेको पनि मिश्रित उत्पादन संस्कृति हो। उसो त अहिले ड्रगन फुड र अम्बा, किवी फल र सुन्तला सँगै फलन थालेको छ, सिलाम, भटमास र मुसुरो पनि। घुसुवा बाली र लहरे बाली, आलीमा मास-गरामा धान, मकैबारीभित्र कोदो फलेर फलेर उत्पादनमा मिश्रित संस्कृतिको अनुसरण हुँदै आएको हो (बुढाथोकी, २०६६)।

मिश्रित संस्कृतिको केन्द्रमा डाँडाका देउराली: अरुण उपत्यकामा देउराली संस्कृति छ। टुटे देउरालीबाट छिरेको सङ्खुवासभा पोटी भञ्ज्याङ सम्म नै देउरालीहरू पाती चढाउँछ। एउटा अग्लो ढुङ्गालाई डाँडाको चुचरोमा ठड्याएर फूलपाती चढाइन्छ। यसैको नाम देउराली हुन्छ। हुन त भयवादीले डरका कारण देउराली पुजन थालियो भन्छन् (देश सुब्बा), तर आस्थाको प्रतीक हो देउराली। देउराली सुस्केरा हाल्ने ठाउँ हो, शक्ति माग्ने ठाउँ हो। पहाडको ठूलो सम्मान हो। सबै जाति, भाषा धर्म र संस्कृतिको मिश्रण देउरालीमा हुन्छ। कसैले लुङ्देप र खादा चढाउला, कसैले भैरुडपाती र सुनपाती चढाउँछ, कसैले धजा चढाउँछ, कसैले पैसा, कसैले फूल पनि। सबैले चढाउँछन्। यो अरुण उपत्यकाको मिश्रित संस्कृतिको प्रतिबिम्बन हो (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)।

उपचार पद्धतिमा मिश्रित संस्कृति: अरुण उपत्यकाको उपचार पद्धतिमा धामी, झाँक्री, भूतप्रेत, मसान, लागू जस्ता विषयमा विश्वास भएको जिल्ला हो। यार्चागुम्बा, पाँचऔँले, पषाणभेद, जटामसी, कुट्की, पदमचाल, चिराइतो लगायत अनेकन जडीबुटी भएको भूमि हो। धामीझाँक्रीले झारफुक गर्नुका साथै केही ओखतीमुलो पनि दिने चलन थियो। मन्त्रले फुकेर पानी दिने, फुकेका अक्षता खान दिने, फुकेर मन्छाइपन्छाइ गर्ने, मन्त्रादिले फुकेर बिष झार्ने, फुकेर पिनास निको पार्ने चलन छँदैछ (बुढाथोकी, २०६६)। जप्ने, सिद्ध गर्ने, अरुलाई नदिई प्रयोग गर्ने मन्त्रमा भरोसा छ। जन्तर, बुटी बाँधेर तन्त्रमा विश्वास गर्ने चलन छ। धुप हालेर, द्याङ्ग्रो ठोकेर आकासका तेत्तीसकोटी र पातालका बासुकी नाग पुकारेर अरुण उपत्यकाका सबै देवी देवता पुकार्ने यहाँको उपचार पद्धति हो। मानिसलाई रोग, पीडा भयो भने ज्योतिष हेराउने, रुद्री सत्यनारायणको पूजा लगाउने, ग्रहशान्ति गर्ने, धामीले खड्गो हान्ने, लामा, पुजारी, फेदाडमाबाट झारफुक गर्ने धामीझाँक्री पद्धति पनि छ। जडीबुटी खान दिने आयुर्वेदिक पद्धति पनि छ। जन्तर बाँध्ने तान्त्रिक पद्धति पनि छ। पछिल्लो समयमा एलोप्याथिक चिकित्सा पद्धतिका हेल्थपोष्ट, क्याप्सुल, ट्याब्लेट, सिरप, अस्पताल, डाक्टर, एक्सरे, योगा, प्राणायाम पनि प्रवेश गरेको छ। आज पनि उपचार पद्धतिमा मिश्रित संस्कृतिको प्रतिबिम्बन छ। कुनै रोग बिराम देखियो भने पहिले एकपल्ट धामी, झाँक्रीलाई देखाएर झारफुक गरेर, कुललाई धुप हालेर मात्र अस्पताल लैजाने चलन अद्यापि छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७१)।

खानपानमा मिश्रित संस्कृति: अरुण उपत्यकामा खानपानका बिशिष्टता छन् अनि तिनीहरूका सम्मिश्रित संस्कृति पनि छन्। यहाँ भटमासका किनेमादेखि तामाको मेसु, काँक्राको खल्पी, मूलको सिन्की, सागको गुन्द्रक, भकिम्लाको चुक, गाइका दुधका कुराउनी, कुखुराको वचिपा, अन्नको सरुवा मौलिक पहिचानकै रूपमा उत्पादन हुन्छन्। एकएक जाति वा समुदायको कलाको रूपमा उत्पादन हुने यी वस्तु आज सबै जातिले बनाउँछन् र खान्छन् पनि। बिहानै उठेर चिरिप गङ्गाजलको आचमन गरेर गायत्री जपेर, निस्केको तागाधारी बेलुकी भट्टीमा पसेर भन्न सक्छ “ए साइँली ! आज चाहिँ तीनपाने झानेर लेऊ है। नरमचाना होला नि।” आर्को क्षेत्री केटो भन्छ – म चाहिँ तोड्बा खाने हो। तातो

पानी हाल्दिनु ।” बिहानभरि बुडीले रक्सी पारेको बाटामा पानी फेरेर आएको शेर्पा ठूले भन्छन् –“ म चाहिँ चियामात्र खान्छु है । जाँडरक्सी खान छोडेको तीन वर्ष भयो । मिश्रित संस्कृतिले खानपानमा पनि व्यापक परिवर्तन आएको छ (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) । यो मिश्रित संस्कृतिको प्रतिबिम्बन नै हो ।

बस्त्राभूषणमा मिश्रित संस्कृति: विक्रमको २१ औं शताब्दीको आरम्भमा खाँदबारीको पाङ्गा गाउँका लोहोरुड महिलाले कपासको धागो कातेर खाँडीको कपडा तयार पार्थे, चिप्लेगाउँका नेवारहरूले छिथे । छिप्ला परेको सेतो छिटा भएको कालो साडीलाई छिटको फरिया भन्थे । नेवारी संस्कृति र किराँत संस्कृतिको मिश्रणबाट बस्त्र तयार भएको इतिहास छ (बुढाथोकी, २०७१) । सिलिचोङ्, भोजपुर लगायतका कुलुङ तथा यस उपत्यकाका अन्य महिलाले महिलाहरू घरबुना खाँडीको कपडा तयार गर्थे, त्यसैबाट यस उपत्यकाको कपडाको गर्जो टरेको थियो । कुलुङ महिलाले खाँडीको कपडालाई भाङ्ग्रे सिस्नोबाट बनेको अल्लो कपडा उत्पादन शुरु गरे । उतिबेला मुखियाहरूसँग लोसे, कपासे र दशकट्टे जङ्गल हुन्थ्यो । लोसे भनेको घैया र पाडदुर छर्न खोरिया फाँड्ने पाखा थियो, कपासे भनेको लुगा बनाउन प्रयोग गरिने कपास छर्न र उत्पादन गर्न खोरिया फाँड्ने पाखा थियो । दशकटे जङ्गल भनेको दुबोदुङ्गा झुण्ड्याउने वन हो(बुढाथोकी, २०६६) ।

२०१८ सालतिरबाट धरान शहरमा नयाँ पतलुन, पाङ्जामा, फरिया आए । नैनसुतको पाङ्जामा माथि खाँडीको भोटो, डेडी र कमेज लगाएर यात्रा तय गर्नुथ्यो । मानिसले खाँडीको दौरा, विल्सिडको अस्कोट र ढाकाको टोपी लगायो । तीनवाट मिश्रित नै हो । ढाकाको टोपी, खास्टो, गाम्चा तेहथुमका लिम्बू संस्कृतिबाट मिसियो । भोटिनीले चौरी र च्याङ्ग्राको उनबाट बख्रू, दोचा, कित्तिन, पाङ्गीन बुनेर लगाए । गुरुङ्नीले भेडाको उनबाट लुकुनी, बुर्कासान, राडी, चकटी बुने र लुकुनी लगाएर आफूलाई न्यानो बनाए । अरुण उपत्यकाले किराँतीले बुनेको खाँडीको दौरा लगायो, पटुका बाँध्यो, गुरुङले बुनेको लुकुनी लगायो र भोटिनीले बुनेको न्यानो काने टोपी लगायो र मिश्रित पहिरनमा जीवन चलायो । आफू गुरुङ्सेनीले बुनेको राडीमा सुतेर भोटिनीले बुनेको पाखी ओड्यो, पाहुनालाई सेपेनीले बुनेको गलेंचा ओछ्याउन दियो । लिम्बुनीले लगाउने चेप्टसुन हुनेखाने गुरुङ्नीले पनि लगाए, राङ्नीले लगाएका झुम्के बुलाकी बाहुनी भाउजुलाई पनि सुहायो । चुरा, पोते, धागो,टीका, दुङ्ग्री, मुन्द्री, बुलाकी शुरुमा खास जातिका भए पनि अरुण उपत्यकामा सबै नारीका शरिरमा देखिए यसरी संस्कृति बस्त्राभूषणमा पनि मिसियो(बुढाथोकी, २०६६) ।

तीज पर्व: खास गरी पहाडे ब्राम्हण समुदायका नारीहरूले असल पतिको प्राप्ति, प्रसन्नपतिको दीर्घायुका निमित्त शिवको पूजा र निराहार व्रत गरी मनाउने चाड हो तीज । सानैमा बिहे गरेर माइती भन्दा टाढा अन्माइ पठाएका चेलीलाई माइती लिन जाने, माइतीसँग भेटघाट गर्ने, दुःखका वेथा पोख्ने, बाल सँगिनीहरूसँग पुनर्मिलन हुने अवसरका रूपमा यो चाड मनाइन्थ्यो । पतिका घरमा सासु र नन्दले दिएका पीडा, पतिले गरेका माया सँगिनीहरूलाई गाएर सुनाउने प्रचलन नै सँगिनीको रूपमा बिकास भयो (बुढाथोकी, २०६६)। पछिल्लो समयमा बाम अभियन्ताले नारी मुक्तिका प्रगतिवादी गीत थपिदिए । तीजलाई नारी स्वतन्त्रताका लागि एकजुट हुने, संघर्षको चेतना भर्ने र क्रान्तिका निमित्त तयार गर्ने पर्वका रूपमा रूपान्तरण गर्ने प्रयास गरे । तीज दुःख र क्रान्तिको मिश्रित संस्कृति बन्यो । तीजको पर्व अधिकांश जातिका नारीहरू रातो सारी लगाएर छमछम नाच्ने पर्व बन्यो । पाश्चात्य संस्कृति पनि मिसिएर महिनौ दिनसम्म होटल र रेस्टुरेन्टहरूमा रमाइलो गर्ने संस्कृति मिसियो । यसरी तीज पर्व मौलिक धर्म र रैथाने जातिहरूको साझा पर्व बन्न पुगेको छ ।

ठाउँहरूको नाममा मिश्रित संस्कृति: किराँत भाषामा लुङ को अर्थ दुङ्गा, वा को अर्थ पानी अर्थात खोला हुन्छ ।

यहाँको सङ्खुवा, हेंवा, पिलुवा, आप्सुवा, इप्सुवा, चेवा, पिलुवा, लङ्खुवा, सिसुवा, कुसुवा, काँसुवा, इर्खुवा, चिर्खुवा आदि वा अक्षरमा अन्त भएका अनेकौं खोला हरू छन् । वालुङ, कुलुङ, हाङलुङ, तुम्लिङ, तुङखालिङ, माक्पालुङ, खिम्पालुङ जस्ता गाउँ ठाउँका नाम छन् । चिङ्चिङ्ला, आङ्ला, होयङ्ला, पोपियोडतोला आदि बस्तीहरूको नाम पनि किराँत भाषाबाटै राखिएका छन् । गजबको सम्मिश्रण कहाँ छ भने हाम्रो मकालु हिमालको नाम नै नेपाली भाषाबाट बनेकै होइन । शेर्पा भाषमा मार्खाल्यागु (दक्षिणतिर ढलकेको हिमाल) अपभ्रंश भएर मकालु नाम रहेको हो भन्ने मान्यता छ । यता किराँत भाषमा मा भनेको सुम्निमा (आमा: पार्वती) पा भनेको पारुहाङ (पिता: शिव), लुङ भनेको ढुङ्गा । (आमा र बाबु बसेको ढुङ्गा) मा:पालुङबाट माक्पालुङ हुँदै मकालु भएको तर्क छ । शेर्पाले महागुरु रिम्पोचेले तपस्या गरेको पर्वतको रूपमा रहेको मन्नु, तामाङ जातिको पेडदोर्चे घुम्दै आएको पहाड, भोटेजातिका आबुथुजिकहरूले शक्ति प्रदर्शन गरेर चौरी पालेका न्हेखर्क बनेको मान्दछन् । हिन्दु शास्त्रले शिव धारा र पार्वती गुफा, मकालुलाई कैलासपर्वत, सेती पोखरीलाई मानसरोवर र आमाभुजुङलाई मेनका पर्वत मानेर वर्णन व्याख्या गर्नुले पनि सङ्खुवासभाको शिखरको भुगोल र प्राचीनकालीन इतिहास नै मिश्रित संस्कृतिबाट निर्माण भएको पाइन्छ (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) ।

अरुण नदीमा भएको खुवालुङ्ग, टी एम्जेमा भएको मेन्छेयाम्, तुम्लिङमा रहेको मनकामना, चैनपुरमा भएको सद्धिकाली र वालेश्वर, मादीमा रहेको हाङथुङले पनि सङ्खुवासभा विशेषत अरुण उपत्यका किराँत, बौद्ध र हिन्दु संस्कृतिको मिश्रणबाट नै जीवनको विहानी शुरु गर्छ । सभापोखरीमा व्यासले पुराण भनेको कथाले हाम्रो वैदिक इतिहासलाई प्रमाणित गर्छ । साल्पा पोखरीमा रहेको सल्पाराजा साल्पारानीको बासले सै राजासैसै सैरानी सैसै भन्दै किराँतको महान् संस्कृतिको उद्गम बताउँछ । सभापोखरी र साल्पा पोखरीको बिचमा रहेको अरुण उपत्यका अर्थात् सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाको संस्कृति किराँत र हिन्दु संस्कृतिको मिश्रित संस्कृति हो । विभिन्न जातिहरू बसोबास गरे पनि किराँत संस्कृति र हिन्दु संस्कृतिको मिश्रणको प्रभावमा आफ्ना पनि केही प्रभाव मिसाउँदै जीवन्त छन् (बुढाथोकी, २०६६) । पहिले यहाँ मुखिया जिम्मावाललाई महभिर, पाहाकुर, तीतेखुङ्गा, दुवोढुङ्गा, ठिङ्गामुङ्ग्रा थियो । पछि पञ्चायती शासनमा यो नया संस्कृति पनि भुमीसुधार, पानीढोलो, वन ऐन, मुलुकी ऐनमा मिसियो ।

आधुनिकता र प्राचीनताको संस्कृतिमा सम्मिश्रण: अरुण उपत्यका आजसम्म आइपुग्दा आधुनिकताबाट निक्कै राम्ररी प्रभावित भएको छ । विमानस्थल, राजधानीसँग जोडिएको कालोपत्रे बाटो, योगमाया विश्वविद्यालय, पाँचवटा महाविद्यालय, ७० भन्दा बढी माध्यमिक विद्यालय, गाउँगाउँमा सामुदायिक सिकाइ केन्द्र र बस्तीका बिचबिचमा आधारभुत विद्यालय स्थापना भएर चेतना पस्केका पस्केकै छन् । एकडेढ दशक यता हिजो देउराली भएका ठाउँमा सञ्चारका टावर ठडिएका छन्, सबै उमेरका मानिसहरूको हातहातमा मोबाइल छ । रुखहरू उभिएका ठाउँमा बिजुलीका खम्बा उभिएका छन् । बल्ढ्याङ्ग्रा र गोप्लेका लहरा देखिने ठाउँमा बिजुलीका तारहरू टाँगिए । भौतिक संरचना निर्माणमा ढुङ्गा, माटो, बाँस, फुसको संस्कृतिलाई सिमेन्ट, बालुवा, गिट्टी, फलामको आरसीसी संस्कृतिले क्रमिक रूपमा विस्थापन गर्दै लगेको छ । पहाडे कागजमा खपतरी बाँसको कलम सिमीको झोलमा चोपेर लेख्ने पुरानो अरुण उपत्यका अब रहेन । फुल्टिन, पेन, डड्पेन अनि कपी र डायरीको जमाना बाट पामटप र ल्यापटपमा टाइप गर्छ । कपी-कलम र ल्यापटपको मिश्रित संस्कृतिमा अक्षरहरूको जीवन उभिएको छ ।

चुनौतीहरू

अरुण उपत्यका तथा सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाक्षेत्रमा विकसित मिश्रित संस्कृतिले सामाजिक सद्भाव र सहअस्तित्वलाई सुदृढ बनाए पनि यस प्रक्रियासँगै केही गम्भीर चुनौतीहरू पनि देखा परेका छन्। विशेषतः मौलिक भाषा तथा संस्कृतिको संरक्षण, सांस्कृतिक पहिचानको स्पष्टता र परम्परागत ज्ञानको पुस्तान्तरण सम्बन्धी समस्याहरू उल्लेखनीय छन्।

मौलिक भाषा र संस्कृतिको लोप हुने खतरा: बहुभाषिक समाजमा नेपाली भाषा साझा सम्पर्क भाषाका रूपमा स्थापित हुँदै जाँदा स्थानीय भाषाहरू-जस्तै याम्फु, कुलुङ, लोहरूंग, याख्खा आदि-को प्रयोग घट्दो अवस्थामा रहेको देखिन्छ। विद्यालय शिक्षा, प्रशासनिक कामकाज र सञ्चार माध्यममा मुख्यतः नेपाली तथा अङ्ग्रेजी भाषाको प्रयोग बढ्दै जाँदा युवापुस्ताले मातृभाषा प्रयोग कम गर्न थालेका छन्। यसले मौखिक परम्परामा आधारित लोककथा, मिथक, मुन्धुम, उखान-टुक्का र लोकगीतहरू क्रमशः विस्थापित हुने जोखिम बढाएको छ। भाषा लोप हुनु भनेको केवल शब्द हराउनु मात्र नभई सम्पूर्ण सांस्कृतिक स्मृति, ऐतिहासिक अनुभव र पहिचानको क्षय हुनु हो। यदि स्थानीय भाषाको प्रयोग दैनिक जीवन, शिक्षा र सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रममा घट्दै गयो भने केही भाषाहरू भविष्यमा संकटग्रस्त अवस्थामा पुग्न सक्ने सम्भावना रहन्छ।

सांस्कृतिक पहिचानमा अस्पष्टता: मिश्रित संस्कृतिले साझा सामाजिक सम्बन्ध बलियो बनाए पनि कतिपय अवस्थामा सांस्कृतिक पहिचानमा अस्पष्टता उत्पन्न गरेको छ। अन्तरजातीय विवाह, संयुक्त पर्व-उत्सव र साझा धार्मिक अभ्यासका कारण परम्परागत सीमाहरू क्रमशः धूमिल बन्दै गएका छन्। युवापुस्तामा 'कुन संस्कृतिको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने?' भन्ने प्रश्न उब्जिन थालेको देखिन्छ। परम्परागत किरात, हिन्दु वा बौद्ध अभ्यासमध्ये कुनलाई प्राथमिकता दिने भन्ने अन्वोल कहिलेकाहीँ पहिचान संकटका रूपमा देखापर्छ। साथै, आधुनिक जीवनशैली, विश्वव्यापी सञ्चार र सामाजिक सञ्जालको प्रभावले स्थानीय सांस्कृतिक मूल्यहरूभन्दा बाह्य संस्कृतिप्रति आकर्षण बढाएको छ।

यसरी साझा संस्कृतिको विकास सकारात्मक भए पनि विशिष्ट जातीय र सांस्कृतिक विशेषताको संरक्षणमा चुनौती देखा परेको छ। स्पष्ट सांस्कृतिक पहिचानको अभावले दीर्घकालमा सामुदायिक आत्मसम्मान र सांस्कृतिक निरन्तरतामा असर पार्न सक्छ।

परम्परागत ज्ञान हस्तान्तरणमा कमजोरी: परम्परागत ज्ञान प्रणाली-जस्तै जडीबुटी सम्बन्धी ज्ञान, कृषि चक्र, लोक उपचार पद्धति, मौखिक इतिहास, धार्मिक अनुष्ठान विधि आदि-मुख्यतः मौखिक रूपमा पुस्तान्तरण हुँदै आएको थियो। तर, आधुनिक शिक्षा प्रणाली र वैदेशिक रोजगारीका कारण युवाहरू गाउँबाट टाढा जान थालेपछि वृद्ध पुस्ताबाट नयाँ पुस्तामा ज्ञान सर्ने प्रक्रिया कमजोर भएको छ।

धामी-झाँक्री, पुरोहित वा मुन्धुम वाचक जस्ता परम्परागत ज्ञान वाहकहरू क्रमशः घट्दै गएका छन्। नयाँ पुस्ताले आधुनिक पेशा र प्रविधिप्रति बढी झुकाव देखाउँदा परम्परागत सीप सिक्ने इच्छा कम हुँदै गएको छ। यसले सांस्कृतिक अभ्यासको गहिराइ र मौलिकता कमजोर बनाउने खतरा सिर्जना गरेको छ।

यदि परम्परागत ज्ञानको अभिलेखीकरण, दस्तावेजीकरण र संस्थागत संरक्षण नगर्ने हो भने भविष्यमा धेरै मौलिक अभ्यासहरू हराउन सक्छन्। त्यसैले स्थानीय समुदाय, शैक्षिक संस्था र सरोकारवालाहरूले संयुक्त रूपमा सांस्कृतिक

शिक्षण, अभिलेखीकरण र पुनर्जीवन कार्यक्रम सञ्चालन गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ। समग्रमा, मिश्रित संस्कृतिको सकारात्मक प्रभावका साथै यस्ता चुनौतीहरूको समयमै सम्बोधन नगरे दीर्घकालीन सांस्कृतिक असन्तुलन उत्पन्न हुन सक्ने सम्भावना प्रबल छ।

निष्कर्ष

आधुनिकताले प्राचीनतालाई पुँरै विस्थापन गरिसकेको छैन। तीव्र रूपमा कमजोर भने पाउँँ गएको छ। सङ्क्रमणकालीन अवस्था छ। हजारौँ बर्ष लगाएर अरुण उपत्यकाले निर्माण गरेका पुरातन मौलिक सभ्यतालाई विज्ञान प्रविधिको एक दशकले निकै थिलथिलो पारेको छ। यातायात र सञ्चारको क्षेत्रमा आएको तीव्रतम् उपलब्धिसँगै एउटा पुस्ता नै प्रविधि पुस्ता बनेको छ। स्थानीयताको भन्दा विश्वपरिवेशको चिन्ता, चासो र हेक्का बढी राख्दछ। विदेशी संस्कृतिको सञ्चरण यति बलियोसँग भयो कि एउटा पुस्ता पुस्तक पढ्न छोड्यो, लोकगीत सुन्न छोड्यो। सभ्यताले पुस्तान्तरण गरेको मौलिक संस्कृति र विद्यालयले हस्तान्तरण गरेका आपसी संस्कृतिमा क्रमभङ्गता देखा परेको छ। मादल, विनायो, मुर्चुङ्गा, पञ्चैबाजा, डम्फू ढोल बजाउनलाई आज जातीय संस्था स्थापना गर्नु पर्ने भएको छ। जातीय पहिरन र नृत्य गर्न ल्होसार, उँधौली, उँभौली र माघेसंक्रान्ति पखिनु परेको छ। मातृभाषा पहिचानका अभियानहरू अङ्ग्रेजीमा प्रसारण गर्नुपर्ने हो कि भन्ने अवस्था देखिन्छ। हाम्रा मौलिक संस्कृतिहरू मिश्रण भएर एउटा मिश्रित सभ्यता निर्माण हुन सधियौँ खर्चिनु परेको अरुण उपत्यका आधुनिक संस्कृति र वैदेशिक संस्कृतिमा सम्मिश्रित हुन एक दशक नै पर्याप्त भयो।

छिमेकी राष्ट्रको सतलुज कम्पनीले सञ्चालन गरेको जलविद्युत परियोजना अरुण उपत्यकाको केन्द्रमा छ। प्रत्येक घरमा भारतमा उत्पादन गरेका सामग्री छन्। घरको एकजना भनेजस्तो वैदेशिक रोजगारमा गएको छ। युवा रोजगार गएसँगै पत्नी शहर पस्ने र सन्तान बोर्डिङ पढाउने अर्को संस्कृति जन्मेको छ। सासुससुरा, बाजेबोजु जस्ता साइनो संस्कृतिबाट बुहारी र नातिनातिना टाढिँदै छन्। बालकको कलिलो मन मशितष्कमा स्वदेश प्रेमभन्दा विदेश मोह बढेर जानु सभाविक जस्तै भएको छ। यहाँबाट आउँँदा सामन र पैसामात्र त यहाँ भित्रिँदैन, त्यहाँको चेतना, संस्कृति र संस्कार पनि लिएर आउँँछ।

असल अभ्यास संरक्षण र विकृतिका न्यूनीकरण: अरुण उपत्यकामा मिश्रित संस्कृतिका असल अभ्यासहरूमा प्रकृतिको पूजा, धार्मिक सहिष्णुता, एकताको पर्वको रूपमा तीजको विकास, भेषभूषामा मौलिक पन, चाडपर्वहरूप्रति समान आस्था, मेलापर्वमा हुने नाचगान, मनोरञ्जन, उकाली ओरालीहरूमा साझा अनुभुति साटासाट, अन्तर्जातीय प्रेमबिवाह आदि हुन्। उत्पादन संस्कृति र मनोरञ्जन संस्कृतिमात्र होइन जीवनशैलीमा भएको सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रणले पनि सामाजिक सद्भाव, एकता र सहकार्यको पवित्र भावना जागृत गरेको छ, जुन असल अभ्यासहरू हुन्। यद्यपि असल अभ्यासहरू धरापमा परेका छन्।

असल अभ्यासको संरक्षण: असल संस्कृतिको संस्थागत विकास, मेला, प्रदर्शनीहरूको आयोजना, संग्राहलयका स्थापना र व्यवस्थापन, सँगै बस्नका लागि सिकाइ अन्तर्गत पाठ्यक्रम निर्माण, स्थानीय पाठ्यक्रममा सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रणको सौन्दर्यमा जोड, लोकजीवनमा आधारित गीत, नाटक, आख्यान र चलचित्रको निर्माण, सामाजिक सञ्जाल र आमसञ्चार माध्यमबाट प्रचार प्रसार गर्ने कार्यमा तीव्रता दिनपर्ने देखिन्छ। नेपाल प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठानले

बहुभाषिक कविता महोत्सव र बहुभाषिक पत्रिका सयपत्रीको प्रकासन गरेर महत्वपूर्ण योगदान गरेको छ । सामाजिक शास्त्र विभागको यो अभियानले पनि मिश्रित संस्कृतिका असल पक्षहरूको संरक्षणमा उर्जा थपिदिएको छ । नेपाल सङ्गीत नाट्यप्रतिष्ठान, राष्ट्रिय नाचघर लगायत कला र संस्कृति सम्बन्धी काम गर्ने राज्यका सबै निकायहरूबाट यसतर्फ समयमै सचेत हुनपर्ने देखिन्छ । नगरपालिका तथा गाउँपालिका गठन भै सत्ता सञ्चालन गरिरहेका स्थानीय सरकारहरूले प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, कला साहित्य प्रतिष्ठान गठन गरी गतिविधि अगाडि बढाउनु जरुरी देखिन्छ ।

असल अभ्यासको संरक्षण गर्न स्थानीय सरकारले स्थानीय पाठ्यक्रम निर्माण र कार्यान्वयन, संग्राहलयको निर्माण, संस्कृतिको प्रदर्शनी गर्न सक्छ । विद्यालय तथा क्याम्पसहरूले रैथाने नृत्य, गीत, चित्रकला, प्रतियोगिताहरूको सञ्चालन गर्न सक्छन् । आफ्ना विद्यार्थीहरूलाई बुक फ्रि डेका रुपमा पाक्षिक जातीय पहिरन, स्थानीय खाद्य मेला आदि गराउन सक्दछन् । सांस्कृतिक संस्थानहरूको गठन, मेला र महोत्सवहरूको आयोजना र संरक्षण गर्न सक्छन् । कृषि मेला, पशुमेला तथा व्यपार मेलाहरूको आयोजना गर्न सक्दछन् । यहाको सरुवा, अल्लो, वचिपा, गलैंचा, करुवा, खुकुरी, ढाका कपडा, राडीपाखी, रुद्राक्ष, रातो ताक्मारुको चामल, छर्पी, पानीमकै जस्ता उत्पादनको बजारीकरण, प्रचारप्रसार गर्न सकिन्छ ।

सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रणको विकृति: अरुण उपत्यकामा भएको मिश्रित संस्कृतिमा पछिल्लो चरणमा विकृतिहरू पनि भित्रिएका छन् । पठन संस्कृतिलाई बिस्थापित गर्ने मोबाइल संस्कृति एटा विकृत स्वरूप हो । बहुउपयोगी यान्त्रिक वस्तुहरूका सकारात्मक र नकारात्मक दुवै उपयोगिता हुन्छन् । मोबाइलमा गुगल सर्च गरेर, एप्स डाउनलोड गरेर ज्ञानको खाजी गर्ने हो भने यो महान छ । तर टिक टक, वालस्टाटस खोलेर गाली, अश्लील दृश्य र फेक समाचार तिर लाग्ने हो भने मानवको जीवनलाई रोगी, पङ्गु र निकम्मा बनाउँदछ, मानव सभ्यताका चिरन्तन उपलब्धिहरूलाई क्षणभरमै ध्वस्त बनाइदिन्छन् । पत्रु खाना अर्थात् जङ्कफुडको आधुनिक संस्कृतिले एउटा पुस्ताको मन र मशितष्कमा नै अस्थीर अवस्था सिर्जन गरिदिन्छ । विश्वव्यापीकरणका नाममा स्थानीयता बलौटे धापमा फस्छ । ग्लोकलाइजेसन भन्ने नवीन धारणा पनि बुझ्ने नभ्याइ एउटा पुस्ता कुहिराको काग बन्न पुग्छ । परिणमतः एउटा पुस्ता न प्राचीन संस्कृतिको मूल्य, मान्यता र महत्वबाट अनुप्राणित हुन्छ न नवीन ज्ञान र प्रविधिको आलोकमा उज्यालिएर चम्किन नै सक्छ । मिश्रित संस्कृतिको सबैभन्दा भयावह र विकृत रूप भनेको पनि यही हो; जहाँ न माया हुन्छ, न पुर्खाप्रति गर्व हुन्छ न भविष्यप्रति आशा, चिन्ता र चासो नै हुन्छ । अझ मोबाइलले घोप्टिने “घोप्टे संस्कृति”ले अबको पुस्ता घाँटीको हड्डी खिइने रोगले समयमै थलिने र आँखको ज्योति गुमाउने खतरा बढ्ने त छँदैछ ।

मौलिक भाषाको भाषिक मृत्यु हुने, संस्कारको सरलीकरण र तरलीकरणबाट संस्कारका प्राकृतिक स्वरूप विलीन हुने र नयाँ पुस्तामा सांस्कृतिक पहिचान कमजोर बन्ने चुनौति सांस्कृतिक सम्मिश्रणका विकृति हुन् ।

विकृतिको न्यूनीकरण: यस प्रकारको भयबाट मुक्त हुन साना बालबालिकालाई मोबाइलबाट टाढा राख्ने, जङ्कफुड उपयोग गर्न नदिने, पुस्तक पढ्नमा रुचि जगाउने, प्राकृतिक दृश्यावलोकन गरेर रमाउने, मौलिक संस्कृतिमा रमन प्रेरित गर्ने, आफ्ना भेषभुषा र भाषा सिक्ने वातावरण दिने गर्नु जरुरी छ । अरुण उपत्यकाभित्रका अथाह सम्पदा र बहुआयामिक संभावनाको जानकारी गराउन भ्रमणलाई अन्य जिल्ला र देशतिर होइन आफ्नै जिलला र देशतर्फ केन्द्रित गर्ने प्रयासहरू गरिनुपर्दछ । शिक्षालाई सीप, सीपलाई रोजगारी, रोजगारीलाई उत्पादन र उत्पादनलाई आयआर्जनसँग जोडेर स्वदेशमै रमाउन सक्ने ज्ञान, सीप, अभिवृत्ति दिनु पर्ने समय आएको छ । सँगै बस्नका लागि सिकाइ, प्रकृतितर्फ

आकर्षित गर्ने, स्थानीय सीप, कला र प्रविधिको उपयोग र बजारीकरण गरिनुपर्छ ।

अरुण उपत्यका बहुसांस्कृतिक सहअस्तित्वको जीवित उदाहरण हो । भाषिक, धार्मिक र जातीय विविधताबीचको अन्तरक्रियाबाट यहाँ विशिष्ट मिश्रित संस्कृति निर्माण भएको छ । यसले सामाजिक एकता र सहिष्णुतालाई सुदृढ बनाएको छ । तथापि, मौलिक संस्कृतिको संरक्षणका लागि अभिलेखीकरण, स्थानीय पाठ्यक्रम विकास र सांस्कृतिक अनुसन्धानलाई प्रोत्साहन गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ । यति विशाल र गम्भीर विषय एउटै अध्ययन र एकै बसाइको छलफलमा सकिने कुरा होइन, तसर्थ यस लेखलाई एक अध्ययन भनिएको हो । विषय र क्षेत्र कति छन् कति ? माधव घिमिरेको बैशाख कवितासंग गुहार माग्दै समापन तिर लाग्दछु ।

“आए पाखा वनचहुरमा पूल लाग्छौं पलाई,
को भन्देला सकल यिनको नाम मिठो मलाई ? ”
महाकवि देवकोटाको झ्याउरे लोकगीतको यिनै दुई हरफसँग चित्त बुझाउन आग्रह पनि गर्दछु –
“नेपाल हाम्रो संस्कृति राम्रो कति छ पवित्र ?
लुकेका स्वर्ग समुच्च जाति यसमा छन् विचित्र ।”

अरुण उपत्यकालाई नेपालको सुक्ष्म साँस्कृतिक प्रतिरूपको रूपमा व्यख्या गर्न सकिने प्रशस्त आधारहरू छन् । अरुण उपत्यकामा संस्कृति केवल बाँचेको छैन, सँगै बाँचेको छ ।

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उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्दो उपस्थिति: कारण र प्रभाव

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उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्दो उपस्थितिको कारण र प्रभाव पत्ता लगाउने उद्देश्यले गरिएको अध्ययनको मुख्य उद्देश्य क्याम्पसहरूमा छात्र र छात्रा विद्यार्थीहरूको वर्तमान सङ्ख्यात्मक अवस्था विश्लेषण गर्ने, छात्रहरूको उच्च शिक्षामा घट्दो उपस्थितिको कारण र प्रभाव पहिचान गर्ने रहेका छन्। यो अनुसन्धान परिमाणात्मक र गुणात्मक दुवै विधिमा आधारित छ। मिश्रित विधिको प्रयोग गरी तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन तथा विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। साथै, यस अनुसन्धानको अध्ययन ढाँचा वर्णनात्मक र विश्लेषणात्मक रहेको छ। अध्ययन क्षेत्र र नमुना छनोटका सन्दर्भमा सङ्खुवासभाका चार र भोजपुर जिल्लाका तीन गरी सातवटा क्याम्पसहरूबाट १०५ विद्यार्थीलाई यादृच्छिक नमुना छनोटबाट नमुनाका रूपमा चयन गरिएको छ। साथै प्राध्यापक र क्याम्पस प्रशासनका प्रतिनिधिहरूलाई उद्देश्यमूलक नमुना छनोट विधिबाट छनोट गरी लिइएको छ। यस अनुसन्धानले उच्च शिक्षामा पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरूको उपस्थिति २८.१४ प्रतिशत मात्र रहेकाले छात्राभन्दा घटी रहेको देखिएको र यसको कुनै एक मात्र कारण नभई बहु पक्षीय कारणरहेको देखाएको छ। सबैजसो पुरुष विद्यार्थी वैदेशिक रोजगारमा पलायन भएको देखिन्छ। विदेशिएका छात्रहरूको मूल ध्येय भने आर्थिक उपार्जन नै भएको अध्ययनले देखाएको छ।

शब्दकुन्जी : उच्च शिक्षा, उपस्थिति, पुरुष विद्यार्थी, लैङ्गिक, वैदेशिक रोजगार

विषय परिचय

वर्तमान समयमा उच्च शिक्षाका क्षेत्रमा छात्र विद्यार्थीको सङ्ख्या दिनानुदिन घटिरहेको छ। नेपालको उच्च शिक्षामा पछिल्ला वर्षहरूमा महिला विद्यार्थीहरूको सहभागितामा उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि भएको छ, जुन लैङ्गिक समानताका लागि सकारात्मक सङ्केत हो। तथापि, यसको विपरीत, पुरुष विद्यार्थी (छात्र) हरूको क्याम्पस तहमा उपस्थिति तुलनात्मक रूपमा घट्दै जानु चिन्ताजनक विषय हो। नेपालको जनसाङ्खिकीय संरचना हेर्दा, केही मात्रामा महिलाको सङ्ख्या बढी भए पनि क्याम्पस तहमा यति ठूलो लैङ्गिक भिन्नता देखिनु सोचनीय छ। यो विषम प्रवृत्ति राष्ट्रिय मानव संसाधन विकासका लागि एक चुनौतीका रूपमा देखा परेको छ। यस अनुसन्धानमा सङ्खुवासभा र भोजपुर जिल्लाका सामुदायिक क्याम्पसहरूमा विशेष ध्यान केन्द्रित गरी पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरूको न्यून उपस्थितिका अन्तर्निहित कारणहरू पत्ता लगाउने र यसका सम्भावित शैक्षिक, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक प्रभावहरूको विश्लेषण गर्ने उद्देश्य राखिएको छ।

विश्वविद्यालयका मूलतः तीनवटा काम हुन्छन्- शिक्षण सिकाइ, अनुसन्धान र ज्ञान वा प्रविधिको विकास (वाग्ले, २०७७)। यसका लागि करिब ६० वर्षको दौरानमा दर्जन बढी विश्वविद्यालय, चारवटा विश्वविद्यालय स्तरका संस्था, १४३२ क्याम्पस, दसौँ अनुसन्धान केन्द्र वा इकाई स्थापित भएका छन् (विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग, २०२१) तर देशका युवाको मनलाई यसले खिचन सकेन। नेपालमा एकातिर विश्वविद्यालय र क्याम्पसहरूको सङ्ख्या दिनानुदिन बढेको देखिन्छ भने अर्कातिर भर्ना दर घटेकोघटेकै छ। विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोगको रिपोर्टले देखाएअनुसार हरेक आठ वर्षमा सम्बन्धन प्राप्त क्याम्पसको सङ्ख्या दुई गुणाले बढेको देखिन्छ। यही गति निरन्तर रहने हो भने सन् २०३० सम्ममा देशमा सम्बन्धन प्राप्त क्याम्पसको सङ्ख्या ३२०० पुग्नेछ। यसै गरी विगत आठ वर्षको भर्ना दर हेर्दा सन् २०३० मा प्रति क्याम्पस ९६ जना विद्यार्थी मात्रै हुनेछन् भने प्राविधिक धारतर्फ १४ विद्यार्थी प्रति क्याम्पस मात्र रहने देखिन्छ (विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग, २०२१)। यसै सन्दर्भमा आधाजति जनसङ्ख्या ओगटेको छात्रहरूको सङ्ख्या कम हुनु अनुसन्धानको टड्कारो विषय बनेको छ।

आजका दिनमा प्रविधिको तीव्र विकासले भौतिक आतङ्कवाद कमजोर र बौद्धिक आतङ्कवाद शक्तिशाली हुँदै गएको छ। यसले भौतिक आतङ्कवादीले जस्तै बन्दुक, बम, बारुद र तरबार त चलाउँदैन तर मस्तिस्क चलाएर दुनियाँलाई थर्काउँछ (आचार्य, २०७८)। यही थर्काइले गर्दा पनि आधुनिक प्रविधिबिनाको उच्च शिक्षा मन नपराएर छात्रहरूको उपस्थिति कम भएको हुन सक्छ; जसको अध्ययन हुनु नितान्त आवश्यक देखिन्छ।

समस्याकथन

देशका क्याम्पसहरूमा छात्राहरूको तुलनामा छात्रहरूको उपस्थितिमा देखिएको असमानताले उच्च शिक्षाको पहुँच र निरन्तरतामा गम्भीर प्रश्नहरू खडा गरेको छ। के सङ्खुवासभा र भोजपुर जिल्लाका पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरूले उच्च शिक्षालाई कम प्राथमिकता दिइहेका छन्? यदि हो भने, यसका पछाडि के कस्ता स्थानीय आर्थिक अवसर, सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक मान्यता, पारिवारिक दबाव वा शैक्षिक गुणस्तरसम्बन्धी धारणाहरू वा अन्य कुनै कुराहरूले भूमिका खेलेरहेका छन्? आजकाल ग्रामीण तथा अर्धसहरी क्षेत्रका पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरू किन क्याम्पस शिक्षाबाट विमुख भइरहेका छन् भन्ने विषयमा विस्तृत अध्ययनको खाँचो छ। यस समस्याको निराकरणबिना, क्षेत्रीय विकास र समान मानव संसाधन विकासमा ठूलो बाधा पुग्ने देखिन्छ। मूलतः यो अनुसन्धान निम्न समस्याहरूमा केन्द्रित रहेको छ :

- (क) क्याम्पसहरूमा छात्र र छात्राहरूको वर्तमान सङ्ख्यात्मक अनुपात कस्तो छ ?
- (ख) छात्रहरूलाई उच्च शिक्षा छोड्न बाध्य बनाउने कारणहरू केके हुन् ?
- (ग) उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्दो उपस्थितिले कस्तो प्रभाव पारेको छ ?

अनुसन्धानका उद्देश्यहरू

उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्दो उपस्थितिको कारण र प्रभावको खोजी गर्ने गरी तयार गरिएको प्रस्तुत अध्ययनका निम्नलिखित उद्देश्यहरू रहेका छन् :

- (१) क्याम्पसहरूमा छात्र र छात्रा विद्यार्थीहरूको वर्तमान सङ्ख्यात्मक अवस्था विश्लेषण गर्ने,
- (२) छात्राहरूलाई उच्च शिक्षा छोड्न बाध्य बनाउने कारणहरू पहिचान गर्ने,
- (३) उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्दो उपस्थितिको प्रभावको विश्लेषण गर्ने।

अनुसन्धान विधि

प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धान परिमाणात्मक र गुणात्मक दुवै विधिमा आधारित छ । यसरी यहाँ मिश्रित विधिको प्रयोग गरी तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन तथा विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । साथै, यस अनुसन्धानको अध्ययन ढाँचा वर्णनात्मक र विश्लेषणात्मक प्रकृतिको छ । अध्ययन क्षेत्र र नमुना छनोटका सन्दर्भमा सङ्खुवासभा जिल्लाका वरुण बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, सङ्खुवासभा बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, रामेश्वर क्याम्पस र वाना क्याम्पस गरी चारवटा र भोजपुर जिल्लाका षडानन्द बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, कुलुङ बहुमुखी क्याम्पस र अरुण बहुमुखी क्याम्पस गरी तीनवटा गरेर जम्मा सातवटा क्याम्पसहरूलाई नमुनाका रूपमा चयन गरिएको छ । प्रत्येक क्याम्पसबाट पन्ध्रपन्ध्र जना छात्र, छात्रालाई यादृच्छिक नमुना छनोटबाट तथा प्राध्यापक र क्याम्पस प्रशासनका प्रतिनिधिहरूलाई उद्देश्यमूलक नमुना छनोट विधिबाट छनोट गरी लिइएको छ ।

तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलनका विधिहरूका सन्दर्भमा प्राथमिक तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलनका रूपमा संरचित प्रश्नावलीमार्फत छात्र र छात्रा विद्यार्थीहरूसँग सर्वेक्षण एवम् लक्षित समूह छलफलमार्फत छात्र, अभिभावक र स्थानीय सरोकारवालाहरूसँग छलफल गरिएको छ, साथै अन्तर्वातामार्फत क्याम्पस प्रमुख, प्राध्यापक र स्थानीय शिक्षाविद्हरूसँग कुराकानीसमेत गरिएको छ । क्याम्पस प्रशासनबाट छात्र/छात्राको विद्यार्थी भर्ना, उपस्थिति र उत्तीर्ण दरसम्बन्धी विगत ५ वर्षको तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । त्यसै गरी द्वितीयक तथ्याङ्कका रूपमा शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग, केन्द्रीय तथ्याङ्क विभाग र क्याम्पसका प्रतिवेदनहरूको साथ लिइएको छ ।

तथ्याङ्क विश्लेषणका सन्दर्भमा परिमाणात्मक तथ्याङ्कलाई प्रतिशत, अनुपात र औसत साङ्खिकीय विधिहरू प्रयोग गरी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । गुणात्मक तथ्याङ्कलाई विषयगत विश्लेषणमार्फत व्याख्या गरी यस अनुसन्धानले सङ्खुवासभा र भोजपुर जिल्लामा छात्रहरूको उच्च शिक्षामा न्यून उपस्थितिका वास्तविक कारणहरू पत्ता लगाउन मद्दत गरेको छ । अध्ययनको निष्कर्षले स्थानीय सरकार, क्याम्पस प्रशासन र नीति निर्माताहरूलाई पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरूको उच्च शिक्षामा सहभागिता बढाउनका लागि विशिष्ट र प्रभावकारी रणनीतिहरू तर्जुमा गर्न सहयोग पुर्याउँछ नै साथै यसले क्षेत्रीय मानव संसाधन विकासमा सन्तुलन कायम गर्दै दिगो विकासमा टेवा पुग्नेसमेत अपेक्षा गरिएको छ ।

पूर्वकार्यको समीक्षा

वर्तमान विश्व सन्दर्भलाई नियाल्दा विश्वव्यापी रूपमा विश्वविद्यालय शिक्षामा विद्यार्थी संलग्नतालाई शिक्षाको गुणस्तरसँग प्रत्यक्ष जोडेर हेरिएको छ । युनेस्को (२०२२) ले उच्च शिक्षामा धेरैको पहुँच बढे पनि प्रत्यक्ष सहभागिता भने घट्टो प्रवृत्तिमा रहेको उल्लेख गरेको छ ।

ओ.ई.सी.डी. (२०२१) को प्रतिवेदनहरूले विकसित देशहरूमा पनि कक्षा उपस्थिति र सिकाइ परिणामबिच स्पष्ट सम्बन्ध रहेको देखाएको छ । सिकाइ परिणाम राम्रो नभएपछि विद्यार्थी स्वतः घटेर जाने देखिन्छ । विशेष गरी कोभिड-१९ पछिको अनलाइन शिक्षण प्रणालीले समग्र विद्यार्थीहरूको भौतिक उपस्थितिमा उल्लेखनीय गिरावट आएको अध्ययनहरूले बताउँछन् ।

दक्षिण एसियाली सन्दर्भलाई हेर्दा भारत, पाकिस्तान र बङ्गलादेशमा गरिएका अध्ययनहरूले चाहिँ पहिलो आर्थिक

दबाब र दोस्रो चाहिं रोजगारीमा संलग्नताले उच्च शिक्षामा उपस्थितिको प्रमुख अवरोधकको काम गरेको देखाएको छ । तर, लैङ्गिक आधारमा पारेको प्रभावका बारेमा भने अध्ययनले केही बोलेको देखिएन ।

नेपालका सन्दर्भमा कुरा गर्दा यहाँ उच्च शिक्षामा विद्यार्थीहरूको वैदेशिक पलायन उल्लेखनीय रूपमा बढेको देखिन्छ । शिक्षा मन्त्रालयका तथ्याङ्कअनुसार पनि उच्च शिक्षाका लागि विदेश जाने विद्यार्थीहरूको सङ्ख्या हरेक वर्ष वृद्धि हुँदै गएको देखिन्छ । यस कारणले स्वदेशी विश्वविद्यालयहरूमा भर्ना र उपस्थितिमा गिरावट ल्याएको देखिन्छ । लामिछाने (२०७४) ले विद्यार्थीको विद्यालयमा उपस्थितिका सम्बन्धमा आफ्नो अनुसन्धानमा के पत्ता लगाएका छन् भने जुन विद्यार्थी विद्यालयमा नियमित उपस्थित हुन्छ उसको समुदायसँग पनि बलियो सम्बन्ध बनेको हुन्छ । त्यसले विद्यार्थीलाई आफ्नो सामाजिक कौशल विकास गर्ने मौका प्रदान गर्दछ । जुन व्यक्तिको समाज र समुदायसँग गहिरो सम्बन्ध हुन्छ त्यस्ता व्यक्तिले नै भविष्यमा सफलता हासिल गर्दछन् ।

त्यस्तै विद्यार्थीहरू विद्यालयबाट महाविद्यालय हुँदै विश्वविद्यालयबाट दीक्षित भई देश, समाज र आफ्नो समुदायमा योगदान दिन सक्षम नागरिक बन्दछन् । यसैगरी उच्च शिक्षा नीति (२०७२) ले उच्च शिक्षालाई गुणस्तरीय बनाई सीपमूलक पहुँच सुनिश्चित गर्न र आधुनिक ज्ञान सीप विज्ञान कला एवम् दक्ष प्रतिष्पर्धी जनशक्ति तयार गर्न यस तहको शिक्षाको समयसापेक्ष विकास र विस्तार गर्न जरुरी छ । उच्च शिक्षाको एकीकृत कानुनी व्यवस्था हुन बाँकी रहनु र सबै विश्वविद्यालयमा पाठ्यक्रममा एकरूपता नहुनु उच्च शिक्षाका प्रमुख जोखिमका क्षेत्र रहेको उल्लेख गरेको छ । त्यस्तै बराल (२०६१) ले आफ्नो कार्यपत्रमा के भनेका छन् भने त्रिविले देशको उच्च शिक्षाको ९८% भार आजसम्म पनि खेपिरहेको छ । त्रिवि र मंसिबिबाहेक अरू तीन विश्वविद्यालयले जतिसुकै गुणात्मक शिक्षा दिने भनेर भने तापनि देशको उच्च शिक्षामा मात्रात्मक रूपमा ठोस योगदान गरेको देखिदैन । अन्य विश्वविद्यालयहरूले त्रिविको विद्यार्थीको चाप घटाउनका लागि अलिकति पनि सहयोग गरेको देखिदैन ।

यसरी नेपालका विश्वविद्यालयहरूमा गरिएका केही अध्ययनहरूले पाठ्यक्रमको अप्रासङ्गिकता, राजनीतिक हस्तक्षेप, गुणस्तरीय पूर्वाधारको कमी, अनुसन्धान संस्कृतिको न्यूनताजस्ता कारणहरू औँल्याएका छन्।तर, हालसम्म यस विषयमा समग्र विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययनको अभाव देखिन्छ भने पुरुष विद्यार्थीको न्यून उपस्थितिका बारेमा त बोलेको नै भेटिएन । खासमा यही रिक्ततालाई पूर्ति गर्न यो अनुसन्धान गरिएको हो ।

व्याख्या विश्लेषण

अध्ययनको यस खण्डमा तथ्याङ्कहरूको विश्लेषणपछि प्राप्त भएका जानकारीहरूलाई अध्ययनको उद्देश्य अनुसार उच्च शिक्षामा छात्र विद्यार्थीहरूको घट्टो उपस्थितिको कारण र प्रभावको प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कका आधारमा विश्लेषण गर्दा क्याम्पसहरूमा छात्र र छात्रा विद्यार्थीहरूको वर्तमान सङ्ख्यात्मक अवस्था हेर्दा छात्रभन्दा छात्राको सङ्ख्या बढी रहेको देखिन्छ । यसले नेपालको उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्टो उपस्थिति रहेको देखाउँछ ।

अध्ययन गरिएको क्षेत्रमा उच्च शिक्षाका लागि पछिल्लो शैक्षिक सत्र २०८२ मा तालिका १ अनुसार छात्र छात्राहरू अध्ययनका लागि भर्ना भएको देखिन्छ ।

तालिका १
विद्यार्थी भर्नाको अवस्था

क्याम्पसको नाम	जम्मा विद्यार्थी सख्या	छात्रा	प्रतिशत	छात्र	प्रतिशत
वरुण बहुमुखी क्याम्पस	४९५	३३२	६७.०७	१६३	३२.९३
सङ्खुवासभा बहुमुखी क्याम्पस	२४६	१९१	७७.६४	५५	२२.३६
वाना क्याम्पस	१००	८६	८६.००	१४	१४.००
रामेश्वर क्याम्पस	८२	५७	६९.५१	२५	३०.४९
अरुण बहुमुखी क्याम्पस	४०	२७	६७.५०	१३	३२.५०
षडानन्द बहुमुखी क्याम्पस	१८५	१२६	६८.१०	५९	३१.९०
कुलुङ बहुमुखी क्याम्पस	३९	३४	८७.१८	५	१२.८२
जम्मा	११८७	८५३	७१.८६	३३४	२८.१४

स्रोत: क्याम्पसहरूको अभिलेख, २०८२

तालिका १ ले सातवटै क्याम्पसमा छात्रको सख्या न्यून रहेको देखाउँछ । शैक्षिक सत्र २०८२ मा भर्ना भएका विद्यार्थीहरूमध्ये ७१.८६ प्रतिशत छात्रा रहेको पाइयो भने २८.१४ प्रतिशत मात्र छात्र भर्ना भएको पाइयो ।

छात्रहरूको न्यून उपस्थितिको कारण

छात्रहरूलाई उच्च शिक्षा छोड्न बाध्य बनाउने कारणहरू पहिचान गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा तालिका २ का कारणहरू प्रमुख रहेको अध्ययनबाट देखिएको छ :

तालिका २
छात्रहरूको अनुपस्थितिको कारण

छात्रहरूको अनुपस्थितिको कारण	प्रतिशत
वैदेशिक पलायन	५९
स्वदेशी रोजगार	१८
विवाहपश्चात् घरजम	११
अनुत्तीर्ण हुनु	५
डिजिटल प्रविधिको प्रभाव	३
घरायसी हेरचाहको दायित्व	२
अन्य विविध कारण	२

स्रोत: तथ्याङ्क सर्वेक्षण, २०८२

माथिको तालिकाले सबैभन्दा बढी वैदेशिक पलायनका कारण छात्रहरूको क्याम्पसमा न्यून उपस्थिति रहेको देखिन्छ भने त्यसपछि स्वदेशमै रोजगारीका कारण न्यून उपस्थिति रहेको पाइन्छ भने विवाहपश्चातको घरजम पनि अर्को प्रमुख कारणको रूपमा रहेको देखिएको छ ।

नेपाल जस्तो विकासोन्मुख तथा गरिब देशमा धेरै विद्यार्थीहरूले अध्ययनसँगै रोजगारी गर्नुपर्ने बाध्यत्मक अवस्था छ । तालिका ३ ले उच्च तहका विभिन्न वर्षमा अध्ययनरत छात्रहरूको रोजगारीमा संलग्नताको अवस्था दर्शाएको छ । सर्वेक्षणअनुसार औसतमा आधाभन्दा बढी विद्यार्थी आंशिक वा पूर्णकालीन रोजगारीमा संलग्न देखिएका छन् । स्नातक पहिलो वर्षमा ११% मात्र रोजगारीमा संलग्न देखिएका विद्यार्थी चौथो वर्षमा पुग्दा ७८% आंशिक वा पूर्णकालीन रूपमा रोजगारीमा संलग्न देखिएका छन् ।

तालिका ३

अध्ययनका विभिन्न वर्षमा छात्रहरूको रोजगारीको अवस्था

छात्रहरूको न्यून उपस्थितिको कारण	जम्मा उत्तरदाता सङ्ख्या	पहिलो वर्षमा रोजगारीमा संलग्न विद्यार्थी प्रतिशत	चौथो वर्षमा रोजगारीमा संलग्न विद्यार्थी प्रतिशत
आर्थिक कारण	१०५	११	७८

स्रोत: तथ्याङ्क सर्वेक्षण, २०८२

वैदेशिक पलायन : उच्च शिक्षाका लागि नेपालबाट विदेश जाने प्रवृत्ति तीव्र रूपमा बढेको छ। जसले गर्दा स्वदेशी क्याम्पसहरूमा भर्ना दर र उपस्थितिमा गिरावट ल्याएको छ । माथिको तालिका २ ले सङ्खुवासभा तथा भोजपुरका सामुदायिक क्याम्पसका विद्यार्थीहरूसँग अनुसन्धानजन्य सामिप्यताका आधारमा निजहरूका १८ देखि ३५ वर्षभित्रका दाजुभाइमध्ये ५९% छात्रहरू वैदेशिक रोजगारीका लागि पलायन भएको देखिएको छ ।

स्वदेशी रोजगार : घरको कमजोर आर्थिक अवस्था तथा व्यावहारिक बोझका कारण क्याम्पस उमेर समूहका धेरै विद्यार्थी उच्च तहको अध्ययन नगरी आर्थिक उपार्जनमा लाग्ने गरेको देखिएको छ ।

तालिका २ ले क्याम्पसमा अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थीका दाजुभाइमध्ये १८% छात्रहरू पढाइ छोडी स्वदेशी रोजगारमा पलायन भएको देखाएको छ । दिनभरि काम गर्ने पूर्णकालीन त केही चाहिँ केही समय मात्र काम गर्ने आंशिक रोजगार भएको पाइएको छ ।

विवाहपश्चात् घरजम : तालिका २ अनुसार माध्यमिक तहको अध्ययन गरी विवाहपश्चात् घरजम गरी बस्ने पुरुष विद्यार्थी ११% रहेका छन् । यस अध्ययनबाट माध्यमिक तह अर्थात् कक्षा बाह्र उत्तीर्ण नगरेर तथा उत्तीर्ण गरेर पनि विवाह गरेपछि उच्च तहको अध्ययनलाई महत्व नदिईकन घरजम गरी बसेको अवस्था छात्रहरू रहेका छन् । अनुत्तीर्ण हुनु : माध्यमिक तहको शिक्षालाई पास गर्न नसकेर पढाइलाई उच्च तहसम्म पुऱ्याउन नपाएर पनि घरमा बस्ने विद्यार्थी पाइएको छ । अध्ययनले यस्ता विद्यार्थी ५% भएको देखाएको छ ।

घरायसी हेरचाहको दायित्व : हाम्रो जस्तो परिवार केन्द्रित समाजमा बुढाबुढी भएका अभिभावकको नियमित हेरचाह प्राय सन्तानको जिम्मेवारी मानिन्छ । त्यसमा पनि एकल परिवारमा, वैदेशिक रोजगारीका सिलसिलामा अन्य

सदस्य बाहिर गएको अवस्थामा, साना भाइबहिनीको जिम्मेवारी काँधमा आइपरेको अवस्थामा तथा आर्थिक रूपमा कमजोर अवस्था भएको परिवारमा घर हेर्ने कोही नभएर घरमै बस्नु पर्ने समस्या आएको देखियो । अध्ययनअनुसार यस्ता व्यक्तिहरू २% भएको पाइएको छ ।

डिजिटल प्रविधिको प्रभाव : वर्तमान समयमा डिजिटल प्रविधिको प्रयोग गरी अनलाइन नोट्स, युट्युब लेक्चर तथा डिजिटल सामग्रीको सर्व सुलव उपलब्धताले विद्यार्थीहरू कक्षामा उपस्थित नभए पनि सामग्री प्राप्त गर्न सक्ने भएको देखिएको छ । सङ्खुवासभा तथा भोजपुरका सामुदायिक क्याम्पसका विद्यार्थीहरूमाथि गरिएको सर्वेक्षणका आधारमा निजहरूका १८ देखि ३५ वर्षभित्रका दाजुभाइमध्ये ३% छात्रहरू डिजिटल प्रविधिको प्रभावले उच्च शिक्षाको नियमित कक्षा छोडी पलायन भएको देखिएको छ ।

अन्य कारण : उच्च शिक्षामा छात्रहरूको घट्दो उपस्थितिका माथि उल्लिखित कारणहरूबाहेक अन्य विविध कारणहरू पनि छन् । जसमा शिक्षण पद्धतिको कमजोरी, पाठ्यक्रम र रोजगारीबिचको असन्तुलन लगायतका कुराहरू पर्दछन् । २% विद्यार्थीहरू यस प्रकृतिमा परेको अनुसन्धानले देखाउँछ । जसमा परम्परागत रूपमा चली आएको व्याख्यानमुखी शिक्षण विधि विद्यार्थीमैत्री नहुनु, शिक्षा पूरा गरेपछि रोजगारी सुनिश्चित नहुनुले विद्यार्थीहरूलाई नियमित अध्ययनप्रति निरुत्साहित बनाएको छ । त्यसै गरी संस्थागत व्यवस्थापनमा कमजोरी भई राजनीतिक हस्तक्षेप हुनु, परीक्षामा ढिलाइ हुनु, शैक्षिक क्यालेन्डरको व्यवस्थित कार्यान्वयन नहुनुले पनि विद्यार्थीहरूको उपस्थितिमा नकारात्मक असर पारेको देखिन्छ । त्यस्तै, प्रशासकको रुखो बोली, कर्मचारीको अनुत्तरदायी व्यवहार, अन्तरक्रियात्मक अभ्यासको कमी हुनु तथा अनुसन्धानमूलक सिकाइको न्यूनता हुनु अन्य थप समस्याका रूपमा देखिएका छन् ।

निष्कर्ष

उच्च शिक्षामा पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरूको उपस्थिति निरन्तर घटी हुनु कुनै एक मात्र नभई बहु पक्षीय कारणसँग सम्बन्धित रहेको यस अध्ययनले स्पष्ट पारेको छ । सामाजिक, आर्थिक, र पारिवारिक कारणहरू विद्यार्थी उपस्थितिमा निर्णायक भूमिका खेल्छन् भन्ने अध्ययनले देखाएको छ । खासगरी, छात्राहरूको घरायसी जिम्मेवारी, परिवारको आर्थिक अभाव, तथा विद्यार्थीहरूको काम र अध्ययन सन्तुलन गर्नुपर्ने दबावका कारणले विदेश पलायन हुनु पर्ने, विवाह गरी घरे बसी परिवारको जिम्मेवारी निभाउनु पर्ने हुनाले पुरुष विद्यार्थीहरू नियमित कक्षामा उपस्थित हुन कठिनाइ उत्पन्न हुने गरेको देखिएको छ ।

त्यस्तै, वर्तमान लम्बेतान शैक्षिक संरचना र पुरातन शिक्षण पद्धतिसँग असन्तुष्टि हुनु पनि उपस्थितिमा प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव पार्ने कारकको रूपमा पुष्टि गर्न सकिन्छ । एकातिर शिक्षकको शिक्षण शैली एवम् कक्षा सञ्चालनको प्रभावकारिता तथा अध्ययन सामग्रीको पहुँचले विद्यार्थीहरूको सहभागिता र रुचिमा उल्लेखनीय भिन्नता ल्याएको पाइयो भने अर्कातिर प्रशासकको रुखो बोली, कर्मचारीको अनुत्तरदायी व्यवहारले समेत थोरबहुत असर गरेको अनुसन्धानबाट प्रस्ट भएको छ । अनुसन्धानको निष्कर्ष अनुसार सबैजसो पुरुष विद्यार्थी वैदेशिक रोजगारमा पलायन भएको देखिन्छ । उच्च शिक्षा लिने बहानामा गए पनि मूल ध्येय भन्ने आर्थिक उपार्जन नै भएको अध्ययनले देखाएको छ । यसैगरी यस अनुसन्धानले पुरुष विद्यार्थी उपस्थितिमा कमीको कारणले परोक्ष रूपमा शैक्षिक गुणस्तर, सिकाइ परिणाम, र सामाजिक अन्तरक्रिया र सामाजिक सद्भावमा समेतमा नकारात्मक असर पार्न सक्छ भन्ने सङ्केत गरेको छ । यसले

दीर्घकालीन रूपमा उच्च शिक्षा प्रणालीको प्रभावकारिता र विद्यार्थीहरूको प्रगतिमा अवरोध सिर्जना गर्ने सम्भावना रहन्छ भन्ने प्रस्ट हुन आउँछ ।

अध्ययनको निष्कर्ष अनुसार, नीति निर्माताहरूले विदेश पलायन कम गर्न एवम् नागरिकको आर्थिक अवस्थामा सुधार ल्याउन खास नीति ल्याउनु पर्ने देखिन्छ । साथै, शिक्षण संस्थाहरूले विद्यार्थीको उपस्थितिमा सुधार गर्नका लागि लक्षित रणनीति तत्काल अपनाउनुपर्ने आवश्यकता स्पष्ट देखिन्छ । अब आर्थिक सहयोग, छात्र मार्गदर्शन, जीवनमा उच्च शिक्षाको महत्व बुझाउन सके तथा उपयुक्त कक्षा सञ्चालन एवम् लचिलो खालको शिक्षण योजना लागू गर्नाले विद्यार्थी उपस्थितिमा सकारात्मक परिवर्तन ल्याउन सकिने कुरा प्रस्ट छ । छात्रहरूमा आर्थिक बोझ एवम् पारिवारिक दायित्व उच्च रहेकाले यसको कदर गर्दै खास नीति ल्याई उच्च शिक्षाको नतिजा सुधार भई युवा पलायनलाई रोकथाम गर्न सकिने देखिन्छ । उच्च शिक्षामा छात्र विद्यार्थीहरूको घट्दो उपस्थितिको कारण र प्रभाव विषयक यस अध्ययनका सीमितताहरूलाई दृष्टिगत गर्दा, भविष्यमा अन्य जिल्लाहरू र फरक शैक्षिक संस्थाहरूमा विश्लेषण गरी तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गर्नु उपयुक्त हुने देखिन्छ । यसले पुरुष विद्यार्थीको उपस्थितिमा प्रभाव पार्ने कारकहरूको फरकफरक दृष्टिकोण र नीति निर्माणमा ठोस आधार प्रदान गर्न सक्दछ ।

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‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा करुण रस

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लेखसार

महेश्विक्रम शाहद्वारा रचित ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ शीर्षकको कथामा करुण रसको विमर्श गर्नु यस अध्ययनको विषय हो । प्रस्तुत कथामा करुण रसको के कसरी प्रयोग गरिएको छ, भन्ने मूल समस्यामा केन्द्रित भई अध्ययन गरिएको छ । प्राथमिक र द्वितीयक स्रोतबाट सङ्कलित सामग्रीको विमर्शका लागि भरतले चर्चा गरेको रस निष्पतिसम्बद्ध सिद्धान्तका आधारमा विश्लेषणका मानदण्ड तयार पारी पाठ विश्लेषण विधिलाई प्रयोग गरिएको छ । भरत र उनीपछि भामह, भट्टलोल्लट, भट्टनायक, श्रीशङ्कु, अभिनव गुप्त, आनन्दवर्द्धन, विश्वनाथ जगन्नाथ आदिले रसबारे व्यापक चर्चापरिचर्चा गरी तय गरिएको करुण रसको मूल तत्त्वहरू : विभाव, अनुभाव, सञ्चारी भाव र स्थायी भावसम्बन्धी मान्यतालाई नै कथाको विमर्श र मूल्याङ्कन मूलआधारमा मानिएको छ । कथामा किडी जिया र समाख्याता आलम्बन विभावका रूपमा; हुम्ला जिल्लाको दुर्पा गाउँ, सिमीकोट, कर्नाली नदी, जङ्गल आदि उद्दीपन विभावका रूपमा आएका छन् । आँसु रित्तिएर आँखा सुख्खा हुनु, गहभरि आँसु हुनु, गला अवरुद्ध हुनु, आँसु पुछ्नु, अनुहार चाउरीले गुजुलिनु, भयले काँप्नु, आँखा च्यातेर हेर्नु आदि कथामा कायिक अनुभाव; यसै गरी बरबराउनु, डाँको छोड्नु, भक्कानिएर रुनु, आदि जस्ता वाचिक अनुभाव; किडी जियाको रुग्ण शरीरको थोत्रो लुगा, गाउँलेहरूले लगाएका टोपी, गुन्यु, बक्खु आदि आहार्य अनुभाव र द्वन्द्वपिडित पात्रहरूमा मानसिक आघात परी उत्पन्न भएका मुर्छ पर्नु, बर्बराउनु, विह्वल बन्नु, आत्महत्या गर्नु जस्ता क्रिया-प्रतिक्रिया सात्विक अनुभावका रूपमा र कथामा सुख दुःखको भाव, विद्रोही भाव, दैन्य, विषाद, त्रास, चिन्ता, विरक्ति, ग्लानि आदि भाव व्यभिचारी/सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएको छ भने यो क्रम उच्चता तिर बढ्दै गएर अन्त्यमा कथाकी मुख्य पात्र किडीजियाको आत्महत्यासँगै कथा अन्त्य भएको छ । जसकारण शोक नै कथाको सुरुदेखि अन्त्यसम्मै प्रमुख भावका रूपमा स्थापित भई करुण रस परिपाकमा पुगेको छ । यसर्थ करुण रस प्रयोगका दृष्टिले ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथा सुन्दर र सशक्त रहेको निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

शब्दकुञ्जी : अनुभाव, कायिक, विभाव, सञ्चारी भाव, सात्विक

१. विषयपरिचय

‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ शीर्षकको कथा महेशविक्रम शाहले रचना गरेका हुन् । वि.सं. २०२२ भदौ १५ मा अछाम जिल्लामा जन्मिएका उनी नेपाल प्रहरी सेवाबाट सेवा निवृत्त भई हालसम्म साहित्य सिर्जनामा जुटिरहेका छन् । हालसम्म उनका *सटाह* (२०५३), *सिपाहीकी स्वास्नी* (२०५९), *अफ्रिकन अमिगो* (२०६०), *छापामारको छोरो* (२०६३), *काठमाडौँमा कामरेड* (२०६५), *ज्याक्सन हाइट* (२०६९) र *भुइँखाट* (२०७४) कथासङ्ग्रह प्रकाशित छन् । प्रस्तुत ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथा *छापामारको छोरो* (२०६३) कथासङ्ग्रहमा सङ्गृहीत छ । यो कथा वि.सं. २०५२ बाट २०६२/६३ सम्म नेपालमा चलेको माओवादी सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वबाट पीडित कर्णाली प्रदेशका जनताको भयावह स्थितिलाई विषय बनाई लेखिएको छ । सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वका कारण सरकार र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट साधारण किसानहरूले भोग्नुपरेको दोहोरो प्रताडनालाई कथामा कारुणिक ढङ्गले प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

सामान्यतया रस भन्नाले भोलिलो वस्तु वा पदार्थ विशेषलाई बुझिन्छ । रसलाई पदार्थ, आयुर्वेदिक, भक्ति र साहित्य गरी मूलतः चार प्रकारमा विभाजन गरिन्छ । यहाँ प्रयुक्त रस साहित्यिक रस हो । रस साहित्यको अति महत्वपूर्ण तत्व हो । जहाँबाट आस्वादन गर्न सकिन्छ रस त्यही निहित हुन्छ । व्युत्पत्तिगत अर्थ लिने हो भने ‘रस्यते असौ रसः’ अनुसार रस त्यस्तो पदार्थ हो जसको आस्वादन होस् (उपाध्याय, २०८०, पृ. १८) । भरतले आफ्नो कृति नाट्यशास्त्रमा रसबारे चर्चा गरेका छन् । विचेचना गर्ने प्रथम आचार्य भरत हुन् (घर्ती, २०८१, पृ. ८७) । त्यसपछि भामह, भट्टलोल्लट, भट्टनायक, श्रीशङ्कुक, अभिनव गुप्त, आनन्दवर्द्धन, विश्वनाथ जगन्नाथ आदिले रसबारे व्यापक चर्चापरिचर्चा गरेका छन् ।

भरतले रसबिना कुनै भावको प्रवर्तन नै हुँदैन भन्ने मान्यता राखेका छन् भने विश्वनाथले रसात्मक वाक्य नै काव्य हो भन्दछन् । यसै गरी आनन्दवर्द्धनले रसलाई काव्यको आत्मा मानेका छन् भने अभिनव गुप्तले रसलाई काव्यको जीवनदायिनीका रूपमा लिएका छन् । रस कविताको स्वाद हो । यो स्वाद आनन्दमय छ अर्थात् रस एक प्रकारको आनन्द हो । आनन्द चेतनाको अर्थ आत्म-प्राप्ति हो (नगेन्द्र, सन् १९७४, पृ. ६०) । रसको उत्पत्तिको सम्बन्धमा विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूको विभिन्न मत रहेको पाइन्छ । जसरी नाना व्यञ्जन मरमसला बेसार, नून, अमिलो आदिको संयोगबाट रसको निष्पत्ति हुन्छ, त्यसै गरी नाना भावको संयोगबाट रस (साहित्य रस) को निष्पत्ति हुन्छ (भरत, २०७७, पृ. १३३) । भट्टलोल्लटले उत्पत्तिवाद, शङ्कुकले अनुमितिवाद, भट्टनायकले भुक्तिवाद, अभिनव गुप्तले अभिव्यक्तिवाद जस्ता रसनिष्पत्ति सम्बन्धी विचारहरू प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् । रस कुनै अनुभूति या संवेदनाबाट उत्पन्न हुन्छ र आनन्दको रूपमा आस्वाध्य हुन्छ (उपाध्याय, २०७१, पृ. २३) । यसर्थ रसलाई हाम्रो ब्रह्मचेत वा हृदयबाट संवेदनाको तहमा अनुभूत गरेर आस्वादन गर्न सकिन्छ ।

रस कसरी उत्पन्न हुन्छ भन्ने विषयमा मतमतान्तर भए जस्तै रस कति हुन्छ त भन्ने विषयमा पनि फरक फरक धारणा पाइन्छ । भरतले आठ रसको चर्चा गरेका छन् । विश्वनाथले दस रसको चर्चा गरेका छन् भने हरिपाल देवले तेह्र रसको चर्चा गरेका छन् । यद्यपि यी सबै रसलाई समायोजन र

संश्लेषण गर्दै अभिनव गुप्तले रस मूलतः नौ किसिमका हुन्छन् भनी शास्त्रीय मान्यता प्रदान गरेका छन् । जसलाई हामी नवरसका रूपमा चिन्छौं । यी नै नवरसमध्ये करुण रस एक हो । ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूले विविध दृष्टिकोणबाट समीक्षा गरेको भए तापनि यसमा प्रस्तुत करुण रसको विश्लेषण गरिएको छैन । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा करुण रसको के कसरी प्रयोग गरिएको छ, भन्ने मूल समस्याको समाधान गर्ने उद्देश्य राखिएको छ ।

२. अध्ययनविधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा अभिव्यक्त करुण रसको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । तसर्थ यसमा महेश्विक्रम शाहको ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथा प्राथमिक सामग्री र यसका विश्लेषणका साथै भरतको रसनिष्पत्ति सम्बन्धी मान्यतामा करुण रसको सैद्धान्तिक चर्चा गरिएका मान्यता आदि द्वितीयक सामग्री रहेका छन् । तिनको सङ्कलन पुस्तकालयबाट गरिएको छ । यसमा पाठविश्लेषण विधिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । कथालाई करुण रसका आधारमा विमर्श गर्न भरतले चर्चा गरेको रस निष्पत्तिसम्बद्ध सिद्धान्तका आधारमा विश्लेषणका मानदण्ड तयार पारेर कथाबाट तथ्यहरू सङ्कलन गरी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

३. करुण रसको सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूप

साहित्यका नवरसमध्ये एक करुण रस हो । नवरसभिन्न शृङ्गार, हास्य, वीर, भयानक, बीभत्स, रौद्र, अद्भुत, शान्त र करुण रस पर्दछन् । करुण रस प्रिय व्यक्तिको मृत्यु वा अमङ्गलकारी समाचार वा शब्द सुनेर तथा चित्तलाई आघात पुऱ्याउने भावहरूद्वारा उत्पन्न हुन्छ (घर्ती, २०८१, पृ. १०३) । कुनै पनि कृति पढ्दा, हेर्दा वा सुन्दा मनमा जागृत हुने करुणा भाव नै परिपाक भएपछि करुण रसका रूपमा उत्पन्न हुन्छ । भरतमुनिले *नाट्यशास्त्र*मा करुण रसलाई रौद्र रसबाट उत्पन्न भएको मान्नु भएको छ (श्रीवास्तव, सन् १९६१, पृ. ३५) । रसास्वादनको समयमा मनमा भावना विकास, विस्तार, अशान्ति र विचलन गरी चार अवस्था देखापर्दछन् । जसमा विकासावस्थाबाट शृङ्गार, विस्तारबाट वीर, अशान्तिबाट बीभत्स र विचलनबाट रौद्र रस उत्पन्न हुन्छ । मनपरेको वस्तुको नाश, प्रिय व्यक्तिको वियोग र अनिष्टको प्राप्तबाट करुण रसको सिर्जना हुन्छ (थापा, २०८०, पृ. २२४) । करुण रसले मनमा पीडा, रोदन, छटपटी, नैराश्य र भावशून्यता ल्याउँदछ ।

रसोत्पत्तिको पहिलो व्याख्याता पनि भरतलाई नै मानिन्छ । उनले आफ्नो *नाट्यशास्त्र*मा रसनिष्पत्ति हुने सूत्र बताएका छन् । आचार्य भरतद्वारा भाव तथा रसबारे प्रस्तुत प्रसिद्ध सूत्र यस्तो छ : विभाव, अनुभाव र व्यभिचारी भावको संयोगबाट रसको निष्पत्ति हुन्छ (चैतन्य, २०६९, पृ. ९४) । यी विभाव, अनुभाव र व्यभिचारी भावको संयोगबाट स्थायी भाव उत्पन्न हुन्छ । स्थायी भाव नै परिपाकमा पुगेर रसरूपमा परिणत हुन्छ । ती नवरस हुन् । आत्मीय जन परिवारको सदस्य आदिबाट अलग भएपछि वा मृत्यु भएको सुन्दा, देखा उत्पन्न हुने मनोभावबाट करुण रस निष्पत्ति हुन्छ (पोखरेल, सन् २०२४, पृ.

७६) । रसमा निहित हुने विभाव, अनुभाव, व्यभिचारी भाव र स्थायी भावलाई यसरी प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ :

विभाव : दर्शक, पाठक वा श्रोताको मनमा रहेका भाव जागृत गराउने कार्य विभावले गर्छ । आत्मा (स्वयम्) को अभिनय भाव र त्यही भावको परगत दर्शन विभाव हो (भरतमुनि, २०७७, पृ. ४२८) । अर्थात् वाचिक, आङ्गिक र सात्विक अभिनयका माध्यमले चित्तवृत्तिको विभावन वा मापन गराउने कारणलाई विभाव भनिन्छ (थापा, २०८०, पृ. २१८) । विभावले स्थायी भावलाई सञ्चारित गर्ने र उत्कर्षमा पुऱ्याउने कार्य गर्दछ । विभाव पनि दुई किसिमका हुन्छन् । ती निम्न छन् :

१) आलम्बन विभाव : काव्य कृतिमा वर्णनीय विषय नै आलम्बन विभाव हो । विश्वनाथले आलम्बन विभावलाई यसरी परिभाषित गरेका छन् : नायक आदि आलम्बन विभाव हुन् किनभने तिनीहरूकै आश्रय लिएर रसको उत्पत्ति हुन्छ (उपाध्याय, २०७९, पृ. २९) । कुनै व्यक्तिमा हाँसो उठ्छ भने हाँसो उठ्नुको कारण चाहिँ विभाव हो । काव्य कृतिमा नायक नायिका नै आलम्बन विभावका रूपमा रहेका हुन्छन् । आलम्बन विभाव पनि विषयालम्बन र आश्रयालम्बन गरी दुई प्रकारका हुन्छन् । जसलाई लक्षित गरेर स्थायी भाव उत्पत्ति हुन्छ, त्यो विषय आलम्बन विभाव हो भने स्थायी भाव जुन व्यक्तिमा उत्पन्न हुन्छ, त्यो आश्रय आलम्बन हो । करुण रसमा आलम्बन विभाव चाहिँ नायक-नायिकाको वियोग अर्थात् इष्टको नाश र अनिष्टको प्राप्ति हो (थापा, २०८०, पृ. २२४) । जसले करुण भावलाई उत्कर्षमा पुऱ्याउन सहयोग गर्छ ।

२) उद्दीपन विभाव : नायकले नायिकालाई वा नायिकाले नायकलाई देखेर उत्पन्न भावलाई भनै उद्दीपन पार्ने विभाव नै उद्दीपन विभाव हो । मनमा उत्पन्न भावलाई अभि उद्दीपन अर्थात् अभि फैलाउन सहयोग गर्ने विभावलाई उद्दीपन विभाव भनिन्छ (भट्टराई, २०७७, पृ. ८१) । एकान्त ठाउँ, चन्द्रमा, आलम्बनका रूप, गुण, कपडा आदि उद्दीपन विभाव हुन् । उद्दीपन विभाव दुई प्रकारका छन् : १) परकीय (२) स्वकीय (थापा, २०८०, पृ. २१८) । परकीय उद्दीपनमा वसन्त ऋतु, उपवन, एकान्त ठाउँ आदि जस्ता, प्राकृतिक वातावरण तथा भौतिक अवस्था पर्दछन् । नायक नायिकाको गुण, वेषभूषा, क्रियाकलाप आदि बाट मोहित भई उद्दीपन हुने भाव स्वकीय उद्दीपन हो । मोहन हिमांशु थापाका अनुसार करुण रसमा प्रिय वस्तु र व्यक्तिको गुण, स्मरण, चित्र-दर्शन, शव-दर्शन र यससँग सम्बद्ध घटना, वस्तु, वस्त्र, अलङ्कार आदिलाई उद्दीपनका रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ (२०८०, पृ. २२४) । यसले नि करुण भावलाई उद्दीपन पार्ने काम गर्छ ।

अनुभाव : कुनै भावको अनुभव गराउनु नै अनुभाव हो । विभावद्वारा गरिएको कार्य अनुभावका रूपमा परिणत भएको र अनुभावहरू सबै भावकै अनुगामी भएकाले विभावद्वारा गरिएको कार्य नै अनुभाव रूप मानिन्छ (भरतमुनि, २०७७, पृ. ४२८) । यसर्थ अनुभाव भनेको आलम्बन र उद्दीपन विभावबाट भावको अनुभूति भएपछि, देखापर्ने चेष्टा वा प्रतिक्रिया हो । अनु र भाव मिलेर अनुभाव शब्द बनेको छ । अनुको अर्थ पछि भन्ने हुन्छ । यसर्थ पछि उत्पन्न हुने अर्थात् विभावपछि उत्पन्न हुने भावविशेष भएकाले यसलाई अनुभाव भनिएको हो (थापा, २०७०, पृ. २१९) । कुनै कारणले घटना घटेपछि व्यक्ति

उत्पन्न हुने क्रिया-प्रतिक्रिया नै अनुभाव हो । हाल अनुभावलाई कायिक, वाचिक, आहार्य र सात्त्विक गरी चार भागमा गरिएको वर्गीकरण प्रचलित छ ।

शरीरका विभिन्न अङ्ग सञ्चालन, कटाक्षपात, हाउभाउ, आदि कायिक अनुभाव हो । बोलीद्वारा व्यक्त व्यङ्ग्योक्ति, विचित्रको आवाज, वाक्य नआउनु वा रोकिनु आदि वाचिक अनुभाव हो । मनको भावना अनुसार कपडा लगाउनु, शृङ्गार गर्नु आदि आहार्य अनुभाव हो । मानसिक आवेगको अभिव्यक्ति हुने अनुभाव सात्त्विक अनुभाव हो । विद्वान्हरूले यसका पनि स्तम्भ, स्वेद, रोमाञ्च, स्वरभङ्ग, कम्प, वैवर्ण्य, आँसु र प्रलय गरी आठ भाग हुन्छ भनी चर्चा गरेका छन् । दैव निन्दा, गुहार माग्नु, भुइँमा पछारिनु, कपाल लुछ्नु, रुनु, कराउनु आदि यसका (करुण रसका) अनुभाव हुन्छन् (उपाध्याय, २०७९, पृ. ५९-६०) । साथै स्मृति लोप हुनु, मुख सुक्नु, अनुहार कालोनिलो हुनु, शिथिल हुनु, लामो सास फेर्नु आदि पनि करुण रसको अनुभाव अन्तर्गत नै पर्दछन् ।

व्यभिचारी/सञ्चारी भाव : व्यभिचारी भाव अस्थायी भाव हो । यी क्षणमै आउने र हराउने भइरहन्छन् । बरोबर चलायमान हुने वा सञ्चरण गरिरहने भएकाले यी भावलाई सञ्चारी भाव भनिएको हो । विभाव र अनुभावको बोध भइसकेपछि भावकलाई रसको आस्वादनसम्म पुऱ्याउन सहयोग गर्ने भावहरूलाई व्यभिचारी भाव भनिन्छ (भट्टराई, २०७७, पृ. ८२) । व्यभिचारी भावले रसलाई परिपाकमा पुऱ्याउन मद्दत गर्दछ । व्यभिचारी निर्वेद, व्याधि, ग्लानि, स्मृति, विषाद, जडता उन्माद, चिन्ता, मोह, अपस्मार, भ्रम, दैन्य, आलस्य, मरणा, शङ्का, आवेग, त्रास, ओत्सुक्या भय, अठ्या, लज्जा, अमर्ष, अवहित्या, नैराश्य, असन्तोष, विस्मृति, स्वप्न, मनको चञ्चलता आदि (श्रीवास्तव, सन् १९६१, पृ. ३२) गरी नवरसका व्यभिचारी भाव ३३ ओटा छन् ।

स्थायी भाव : स्थायी भाव भनेको काव्यकृतिबाट रसास्वादन गर्दा सुरुदेखि अन्तिमसम्म वा मूल रूपमा आउने भाव हो । स्थायी भावलाई सशक्त पार्न प्रसङ्गानुसार अन्य भावहरू पनि आउने जाने भइरहन्छ । शोक नै करुण रसको स्थायी भाव हो । इच्छित वस्तुको विनाश र विगतको सुखलाई सम्भेर विकृत भएको कारणले गर्दा हुने द्वैध दुःखको कारणले पूर्ण रूपमा दुःखी मनोवृत्तिको भाव शोक हो (मिश्र (सन्, २००३, पृ. १२२) । दुःखबाट नै शोक उत्पन्न हुन्छ । शोकमा मन उदासीन र विचलित हुन्छ । शोकलाई विश्वनाथले पनि विनाशबाट हुने मनको पीडाको रूपमा व्याख्या गरेका छन् ।

नतिजा र विमर्श

४. ‘किडी किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा करुण रसको अभिव्यक्ति

‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथा महेश्विक्रम शाहको *छापामारको छोरो* (२०६३) कथासङ्ग्रहमा सङ्गृहीत छ । माओवादी सशस्त्र द्वन्द्व र राज्य पक्षको दमनकारी नीतिले कर्नाली प्रदेशका गरिब, निमुखा, सोभासिधा, किसान, जनताले भोग्नु परेको अत्यन्तै दर्दनाक पीडालाई यस कथाको मूल विषयका रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । शोषित, उत्पीडित, गरिब, निमुखा, दलित, महिला आदि जनताको मुक्तिका

निमित्त क्रान्ति गछौं भनेर युद्धमा होमिएका तत्कालीन विद्रोही पक्ष र ती विद्रोहीहरूको माग सम्बोधन गर्नुको सट्टा उल्टो दमन गरेर युद्ध रोक्न खोज्ने तत्कालीन सरकारको कार्य व्यवहारले जनता भन्नु दोहोरो उत्पीडनमा परेको यथार्थलाई कथामा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। किडी जिया र समाख्याता (म पात्र) नै यस कथाका मुख्य पात्रहरू हुन्। हुम्ला जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम सिमीकोट, दुर्पा गाउँ र कर्नाली नदीको परिवेश कथामा प्रस्तुत आएको छ। तत्कालीन विद्रोही र राज्यपक्षबाट चौघेराको पीडामा परी गाउँबाट विस्थापित भई सिमीकोटमा शरण लिन पुगेका गरिब, किसान जनताको सङ्घर्षपूर्ण जीवनचर्यालाई कथामा स्पष्ट पारिएको छ। यही सामाजिक र राजनीतिक विषयलाई प्रस्तुत गरिएको यस ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा प्रयुक्त संवेदना वा भावलाई करुण रसको सिद्धान्तका आधारमा विश्लेषण र मूल्याङ्कन गरिएको छ।

४.१ विभाव तत्त्व

विभाव तत्त्व रसनिष्पत्तिको तीन प्रमुख तत्त्वमध्ये एक हो। विभावको अर्थ विज्ञान हो; यो कारण वा प्रेरणा हो (घर्ती २०८१, पृ. ९०)। यसर्थ विभावले भावहरूको ज्ञान गराउँदै भावनालाई प्रस्फुटित गर्छ। ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथामा भावहरूलाई प्रस्फुटित गर्न किडी जिया, समाख्याता (म पात्र), किडीजियाको छोरो नरमान, सहयोगको आश्वासन देखाएर भाग्ने गोरा क्यामेरा बोकेका मान्छेहरू, समाख्याताका बाआमा, सुरक्षाकर्मीहरू, विद्रोहीहरू, सदरमुकामका युवाहरू आदि मानवीय पात्रहरू र गाईबस्तु, भोटेकुकुर आदिजस्ता मानवेतर पात्रहरू कथामा आएका छन्। यस्तै, कर्नाली नदी, हुम्लाको सिमीकोट सदरमुकाम, दुर्पा गाउँ आदि र माओवादीले कब्जा गरेका किडीजियाका घरखेत, विद्रोहीहरू बस्ने जङ्गल आदि स्थानगत परिवेश नै यस कथामा विभाव तत्त्वका रूपमा आएका छन्। विभाव तत्त्व पनि आलम्बन र उद्दीपन गरी दुई किसिमका हुने हुँदा यिनले रस निष्पत्तिमा कसरी भूमिका निर्वाह गरेका छन् त भनी यसरी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ :

आलम्बन विभाव

प्रस्तुत कथामा किडी जिया, नरमान, कथावाचकका रूपमा आएको ‘म’ पात्र आदि नै मुख्य आलम्बन विभावका रूपमा आएका छन्। यी सबै आलम्बनमध्ये पनि किडी जिया र समाख्यातको भूमिका प्रमुख रहेको छ। यस कथामा किडी जियाको छोरो नरमान कुलतमा फसेर बिग्रेको र घर छोडी भारत भासिएको अवस्थामा किडी आश्रयालम्बन र नरमान विषयालम्बनका रूपमा रसभाव प्रकट भएको छ भने किडी जियाको दर्दनाक पीडायुक्त जीवन देखेर समाख्यातामा शोक भाव उत्पन्न हुने परिवेशमा किडी जिया विषयालम्बन र समाख्याता आश्रयालम्बनका रूपमा प्रकट भई रस प्रकट भएको छ।

प्रस्तुत कथामा २०५२ सालबाट सुरु भएको माओवादी सशस्त्र युद्धको घटना परिवेश नै उद्दीपन विभावका रूपमा आएको छ। माओवादी युद्धबाट प्रताडित भई गाउँबाट विस्थापित हुन पुगेकी किडी जियाको जीवनावस्था कारुणिक छ। गाउँबाट सिमीकोट गई समाख्याताको डेरामा शरण लिन पुगेकी किडी जिया आफ्नो घरखेत, आफूले असाध्यै माया गरेर हुर्काएको वस्तुभाउ आदि सम्भेर गहिरो पीडामा

पिरोलिएकी छ । ऊ निदाउन सकिदैन । रातदिन त्यसकै पिरलोमा अर्धचेत अवस्थामा पुगी बर्बराउने सम्मको मानसिक आघात उसमा परेको छ । कहिले ज्यामी काम त कहिले होटलमा भाँडा माभेर पेट पाल्न विवश किडी जिया, उसको छोरो कुलतमा फसेर भारत भासिएपछि उसको अवस्था भनै कारुणिक बनेको छ ।

भोकमरीले आक्रान्त बनेको सिमीकोटमा जिया मृत्युसँग लड्दै राहत स्वरूप केही खानेकुरा पाइने आशमा विभिन्न ठाउँ पुग्छे तर रिक्तोहात फर्किन बाध्य हुन्छे । सरकारबाट प्रताडित भएको अनुभूत गरेपछि माओवादीको शरणमा पुगेकी किडी जिया उल्टै शङ्काको घेरामा पर्छे र निराश हुँदै समाख्याताको डेरामा फर्किन्छे । ऊ आफ्नो घरखेत विद्रोहीले कब्जा गरेको खबरले भन् विक्षिप्त बन्न पुग्छे । किडी जियाको यस्तो हालत र समाख्याता आफैँ विस्थापित भई भेल्लुपरेका यस्ता अनेकन दुःखदायी समस्याको कारुणिक चित्रणले शोक भाव उत्पन्न भई करुण रस निष्पत्ति भएको छ ।

उद्दीपन विभाव :

उद्दीपन विभावले रसलाई परिपाकमा पुऱ्याउन अनुभावलाई उदीप्त पार्ने काम गर्छ । आधुनिक साहित्यमा परिवेशका रूपमा चिनाइने तत्वहरू नै उद्दीपन विभाव हुन् (तिवारी, सन् २०२२, पृ.२३६) । प्रस्तुत कथामा समाख्याता र किडी जियाका गाउँघर, खेतबारी भएको कर्नाली प्रदेशको हुम्ला जिल्लास्थित विकट ठाउँ दुर्पा, सदरमुकाम सिमीकोट, माओवादी बस्ने जङ्गल, कर्नाली नदी आदि स्थानहरू उद्दीपन विभावका रूपमा आएका छन् । साथै कथामा युद्धका कारण विस्थापित नरमान भोकमरीको पीडा र आत्मग्लानिले सदरमुकाममा पनि टिक्न नसकेपछि ऊ पलायन भएको स्थान भारत पनि उद्दीपक तत्त्व नै हो । यस्ता उद्दीपक घटकहरूको प्रयोगद्वारा कथामा शोक भाव सिर्जना भएको छ ।

कथामा प्रस्तुत युद्धका कारण नेपालीहरू घरबार विहीन र विस्थापित हुनु परेको पीडा, सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वमा मारिने खतरा, भोकमरीले आक्रान्त पारेपछि भोकले ढल्ल थालेका बुढा र बच्चाहरूको सङ्ख्या बढेको प्रसङ्ग; सरकारी र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट समस्यामा पारेको पीडा; किडी जियाले मजदुरी गरी र भाँडा माभेर जिउने सङ्घर्ष गरे तापनि थपिँदै गरेको अनेकन समस्या भेल्ले नसकी आत्महत्या गरेको प्रसङ्ग; सदरमुकामबाट हराएका कैयौँ मानिसहरू जिउँदै नफर्केको प्रसङ्ग आदि जस्ता मृत्यु मडारिइरहेको पीडादायी र दुःखपूर्ण प्रसङ्गबाट कथामा शोक भाव प्रकट भएको छ ।

४.२ अनुभाव तत्त्व :

विभावमा कुनै भाव उत्पन्न हुँदा देखापर्ने प्रतिक्रिया नै अनुभाव हो । अनुभावको व्युत्पत्तिजन्य अर्थ कुनै भावको अनुभव गराउनु हो (उपाध्याय, २०७९, पृ. २९) । अनुभाव मुख्यतः काथिक, वाचिक आहार्य र सात्विक गरी चार किसिमका हुन्छन् । आश्रय आलम्बनका रूपमा रहेको वियोगी व्यक्तिका रुनु, कराउनु, भुईँमा पछारिनु, विलाप गर्नु, मुख सुक्नु, विर्सनु, रूप विग्रिनु, देवतालाई पुकार्नु वा धिक्कार्नु, लामो स्वास छोड्नु आदि क्रियाकलाप अनुभावका रूपम रहन्छन् (गड्तौला, २०७९, पृ.४०) । क्रियाको

प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप यो प्रकट हुन्छ ।

प्रस्तुत कथामा करुण रस उत्पत्ति गराउन विभिन्न अवस्थामा अनुभावहरू प्रकट भएका छन् । जसलाई यसरी प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ :

कायिक अनुभाव :

कायिकलाई आङ्गिक अनुभाव पनि भनिन्छ । शरीरका विभिन्न अनुभव अङ्गका माध्यमबाट व्यक्त हुने अनुभाव नै कायिक अनुभाव हो । दाँत किट्नु, नाक खुम्च्याउनु, ओखा चिम्लनु, अङ्कमाल, गर्नु, जिभ्रो तान्नु, कर्के आँखा बनाउनु, ओठ जिभ्रो चलाउनु आदि आङ्गिक अनुभाव हो (घर्ती, २०८१, पृ. ९१) । प्रस्तुत कथामा कायिक अनुभाव प्रशस्त मात्रामा आएको पाइन्छ । विस्थापनको पीडाले रुँदा किडी जियाका आँखा आँसु रित्तिएर सुक्का हुनु, उनले मनको बह पोख्दा गहभरी आँसु पार्नु, भक्कानो छुट्दा छुट्दै गला अवरुद्ध हुनु, किडी जियाले समाख्याताको काँधमा छाँद हाल्नु, नरमानले बाहुलाले आँसु पुछ्नु, समाख्याताको गह भिज्नु, किडी जिया काम र पीडाले लखतरान भएर ज्यान छोड्नु, उसको अनुहार चाउरीले गुजुलिनु, समाख्याता मृत्युको भयले काँप्नु, किडी जिया जुठै हातमा भुइँमा लमतन्न हुनु, उनले विषादपूर्ण दृष्टिले समाख्यातालाई हेरी अनुहार निन्याउरो गर्नु, हेलिकप्टर आउँदा राहत पाइने आशमा क्षितिजतिर आँखा च्याती च्याती हेर्नु, राहत स्वरूप थोरै भए नि चामल पाएपछि किडी जिया समाख्यातातिर हेरेर मुसुक्क हाँस्नु, चामलको कुटुरो सुम्सुम्याउनु, किडी जियाको मृत्युको खबरपछि समाख्याताले आफ्नो टाउको समाउँदै बस्नु आदि जस्ता शारीरिक प्रतिक्रियामा कायिक अनुभाव प्रकट भई शोक भाव सिर्जना भएको छ ।

वाचिक अनुभाव :

आवाजका माध्यमबाट प्रकट हुने वा मन र बोलीका विभिन्न प्रतिक्रियाबाट उत्पन्न भाव वाचिक अनुभाव हो । आलाप, विलाप, प्रलाप, अनुलाप, सङ्लाप, अपलाप, सन्देश, अतिदेश, निर्देश, उपदेश, अपदेश, व्यपदेश वाचिक अनुभाव हुन् (घर्ती, २०८१, पृ. ९१) । प्रस्तुत कथामा किडी जियाले समाख्यातालाई भेट्दा भक्कानिएर रुनु, ढिँडोमा हात डुबाएको डुबायै डाँको छोड्नु, आफ्नो गाउँघर वस्तुभाउ, खेतबारी सम्झी किडी जिया सपनामै बरबराउनु, समाख्याता किडी जियाको कारुणिक अवस्था र आफ्ना बाआमाको पनि उस्तै हाल देखेर भक्कानिएर रुनु, सहयोगको आश्वासन दिने गोरारूको क्यामेरा अघि बसी आफ्नो कथाव्यथा भन्दै किडी जियाले हिक्का छोड्नु, विस्थापित भएर बस्न परेको पीडाले रक्सी खान थालेको छोराले आफूले भनेको नटेर्ने र त्यही पिरले आफू अब मर्नमात्र बाँकी रहेको कुरा किडी जियाले रुँदै बताउनु, समाख्यातालाई भेट्दा उनी ह्वाँ ह्वाँ रून् थाल्नु, विद्रोही पक्षबाट सहयोग मिला कि भन्ने आशले जङ्गलमा पुगेकी जियामाथि सुराकीको आशङ्काले व्यवहार गर्न थालेपछि त्यहाँबाट मुक्त हुन रोइकराई गर्नु, कर्नालीको किनारामा किडी जियालाई खोज्दै समाख्याताले डाँको हाल्नु आदि जस्ता परिवेशगत प्रसङ्गमा वाचिक अनुभाव प्रकट भएको छ । जसले शोक भावलाई थप परिपुष्ट पारेको छ ।

आहार्य अनुभाव :

पात्रले धारण गरेका विभिन्न वेशभूषा, गरगहना, आभूषण आदिका माध्यमबाट हुने भाव आहार्य अनुभाव हो । आहार्यमा मनोभावानुकूल अलङ्कार र वेशभूषा धारण गरिन्छ (थापा, २०८०, पृ. २१९) । प्रस्तुत कथामा शोक भाव उत्पन्न गराउने आहार्य अन्तर्गत महिनौं नुहाउन नपाएर डुडुडुङ्गी गनाइरहेको किडी जियाको रुग्ण शरीरमा धुजाधुजा भएर दसतिर टालिएका लुगा प्रस्तुत भएको छ । साथै भोकमरीले आक्रान्त बनेका, हुम्लीहरूले राहत स्वरूप बाँडिएको चामल लुछाचुडी गरी कसैले गादोभरी, कसैले दोराको कुटुरो, कसैले गुन्युका पोल्टाभरी, कसैले बक्खुका खल्लीभरी र कसैले टोपी भरेपछि देखिने हृदयविदारक दृश्यले आहार्य अनुभावको भाव जगाएको छ ।

सात्त्विक अनुभाव :

विभावको क्रियापछि उत्पन्न हुने मानसिक आवेगको अभिव्यक्ति नै सात्त्विक अनुभाव हो । शारीरिक चेष्टाद्वारा अभिव्यक्त हुने र मनका भूमिकामा निर्भर रहने हुनाले सात्त्विक अनुभावलाई मानसिक अनुभाव पनि भनिन्छ (घर्ती, २०८१, पृ. ९१) । प्रस्तुत कथामा माओवादी विद्रोह र सरकारी पक्षको दमनका कारण जनता विस्थापित हुन पुगेपछि मानसिक आघात खप्न विवश पात्रहरूमा सात्त्विक अनुभाव प्रकट भएको छ । आफ्नो गाउँघर, खेतबारी, वस्तुचौपाया आदि छोड्नु परेको गहिरो पीडाले विक्षिप्त बन्न पुगेकी किडीजिया दुईचार गाँस खाँदा खाँदै छातीमा भक्कानो छुटी मूर्च्छा पर्नु, निद्राको अचेतावस्थामा पनि मानसिक रूपमा उनी गाउँमै पुगी बरबराउनु, छोराछोरी जङ्गल पस्ने भए भन्ने डरले समाख्याताका बाआमा मूर्च्छा पर्नु, गाउँघर, भाइबहिनी र बाआमा सम्भरेर समाख्याताले आँसु झार्नु, उनीहरूको पीडादायी अवस्था सम्भरेर पिरमा डुवी भक्कानिएर रुनु, आफ्नो एक्लो सहारा छोरो भारत पलायन भएपछि त्यही पीडाले किडी जिया विह्वल बन्नु, गल्ल थाल्नु, घरगोठ बमले उडाइदिएको र खेतबारी कब्जा भएको, वस्तुभाउ काटेर माओवादीले खाइदिएको समाचार सुनेपछि किडीजिया मानसिक आघातले थला पर्नु, विद्रोही पक्षबाट पिडित जिया राज्यबाट समेत प्रताडित भएको अनुभूत गरेर विक्षिप्त अवस्थामा पुगी बरबराउनु, जिया अचानक सदरमुकामबाट हराएपछि समाख्याता अपराध बोधले ग्रसित हुँदै उनको अकाल मृत्युको भयले काँप्न थाल्नु, भोकमरीको चपेटाले क्लान्त बन्नु, न्याय माग्न जङ्गल पुगेकी जिया आफैँ शङ्कित अपराधीको आशङ्कामा निगरानीमा परेको थाहा पाएपछि मानसिक आघात परी मूर्च्छा पर्नु; विस्थापित हुनुपरेको पीडा, भोकमरीको पीडा, एक्लो र बेसहारा बन्न पुगेको पीडा आदिजस्ता जीवनका अनेकन उत्तराचढाव तथा दुःख, पीडालाई भैल्ल नसकी शारीरिक र मानसिक रूपमा रुग्ण बनेकी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हाली आत्माहत्या गर्नु जस्ता घटना परिवेशमा सात्त्विक अनुभाव प्रकट भएका छन् । यस्ता अनुभावले शोकलाई उत्कर्षमा पुर्याएको छ ।

४.३ व्यभिचारी/सञ्चारी भाव तत्त्व :

पाठमा परिवेशानुसार छिन्नमै आउने र छिन्नमै हराउने भाव नै व्यभिचारी भाव हो । निर्वेद (विभिन्न कारणवश संसारिक विषयबाट हुने विरक्ति, मोह, स्मृति, ग्लानि, चिन्ता, विषाद, दैन्य, उन्माद, अपस्मार

आँसु आदि करुण रसको सञ्चारी भाव हुन् (थापा, २०८०, पृ. २२४)। यस्ता भावहरूले शोक भावलाई परिपुष्ट गरी करुण रसलाई परिपाकमा पुऱ्याउन महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका खेल्छ।

प्रस्तुत कथामा किडी जियाले आश्रयको खोजीमा समाख्याताको नाम लिदै सिमीकोटका गल्लीहरू चाहादै गर्दा समाख्यातालाई भेटेपछि आएको हर्ष र पीडा मिश्रित भाव सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएको छ। यस्तै उनले आफ्नो गाउँमा रहेका प्याउली गाई, लमकन्या बाखा, मार्के भोटेकुकुर आदिलाई सम्झँदा उत्पन्न चिन्ता। स्मृतिको विषाक्त भाव सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएको छ। यस्तै समाख्याताले आफ्नो गाउँघर स्मरण गर्दा अतितका गर्भमा बिलाए तापनि स्मृतिमा ताजा भएर आएका सुखद र दुःखद भाव, विद्रोही र सरकार दुवै पक्षबाट पीडित बनेकी जियामा उत्पन्न दैन्यभाव, कतिबेला मारिने हो भन्ने चिन्ताले समाख्यातामा उत्पन्न त्रास भाव, जियाको दयनीय अवस्थाले उनी अब के होलिन् भन्ने पिर र आफ्ना बाआमाको आँसु पुछ्ने अवसर पाइन भन्ने चिन्ता भाव कहीं कतैबाट सहयोग नपाएर समाख्यातासँगै फेरि शरण लिन पुगेकी जियामा प्रकट विरक्ति भाव; नरमानमा जाग्रित पलायनवादी भाव, जियाले आफ्नै आँखा अगाडि हुलका हुल गाउँलेहरू विस्थापित भई सिमीकोट आएपछि अब यिनीहरूको पनि बेहाल हुने भो भनेर आँसु झार्दा उत्पन्न चिन्ता, डर र ग्लानि मिश्रित विषाद भाव; सरकारले सहयोग नगरे तापनि माओवादीले सहयोग गर्ला भन्ने लागेपछि जङ्गल जान तयार हुँदा जियामा आएको आशावादी भाव; आफ्नो घर बमले उडाइएको र खेतवारी कब्जा गरिएको समाचार सुनेपछि जियामा उत्पन्न विषादपूर्ण, घृणा र रिस मिश्रित भाव, भोकमरीले सिमीकोटमा मान्छे मर्न थालेपछि समाख्यातामा उत्पन्न किडी जियालाई कसरी बचाउने होला भन्ने चिन्ता र प्रेम मिश्रित भाव; हुम्लाका भोका हुम्लीलाई वितरण गर्न ल्याइएको चामल भित्रिभित्रै कर्मचारीहरूलाई बाँडेर सिध्याएपछि समाख्यातामा जागृत क्रोध र घृणा भाव; हवाइजहाजले राहत लिएर आउँदा अब प्राण बँच्ने भो भन्ने ठानेर हुम्ली जनतामा छाएको हर्षभाव; यसै गरी समाख्याताले राहत स्वरूप पाएको चामल पकाएर जिया र आफूले पेट भर्न पाउँदा उनीहरूमा सञ्चारित आनन्द र ऊर्जाका साथै शान्त भाव; किडी जियाले आत्माहत्या गर्ने निर्णयमा पुगेपछि उनको आँखामा देखिएको विषाद र शून्य भाव; उनीले आत्माहत्या गरेको खबर सुनेपछि समाख्यातामा उत्पन्न भय भाव आदि जस्ता अनेकौँ सञ्चारी भाव यस कथामा सञ्चारित भइ शोकलाई परिपुष्ट पारेको छ।

४.४. स्थायी भाव तत्व :

कथाको सुरुदेखि अन्त्यसम्म मुख्यरूपमा प्रस्तुत हुने भाव नै स्थायी भाव हो। स्थायी भावले रसलाई अझै रहका रूपमा कृतिमा स्थापित गर्छ। रचनामा स्थायी भाव प्रमुख हुन्छन् र अन्य भाव सहायक (उपाध्याय, २०७९. पृ. ३२९)। प्रस्तुत कथाको स्थायी भाव शोक हो। दुःख, पीडा, मृत्यु जस्ता घटनाले शोक भाव उत्पन्न गराउँछ र शोकभाव नै करुण रसका रूपमा परिपाक हुन्छ। ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथाको आरम्भ नै हृदयविदारक तथा कष्टप्रद क्षणबाट सुरु भएको छ। जस्तै :

म आफ्नो गाउँ दुर्पाबाट विस्थापित भइ हुम्लाको सिमीकोटमा आएको वर्ष दिनपछि किडी जिया पनि आफ्नो एकमात्र छोरासित खाली हात सदरमुकाम सिमीकोट भरेकी थिइन्। उनका आँखा

आँसु रित्तिएर सुक्खा थिए । गला भक्कानु छुट्टा छुट्टै अवरुद्ध भएको थियो । मैले उनलाई मेरो नाम लिदै सिमीकोटका घर र गल्लीहरू चर्चा गरेको, अवस्थामा फेला पारेको थिए । किडी जियालाई देखेपछि मैले सोधें, “जिया तमी काँवाट आयो ?”

“भो लाटा ! हामीकन पनि खेदिहाल्या !” किडी जिया मेरो काँधमा छाँदहाली बरबरी आँसु भाँदै रोएकी थिइन् । (पृ. १२६) ।

यहाँ दुर्पावाट विस्थापित भई सिमीकोट आएर दुख भेल्दै गरेको समाख्याताको सहयोगको आशामा अर्को पीडित किडी जिया आफ्नो छोरो लिएर सदरमुकाम आएकी छन् । उनका आँखाका आँसु रित्तिएका छन् । शरीर त्रास र भायले थिलथिलो बनेको छ । आफ्नो गाउँदेखि टाढा सदरमुकाममा आफूले चिनेको मान्छे भेटेपछि जिया उसको काँधमा छाँदहाली रूँदै हामीलाई पनि डाउँवाट लखेटे भन्ने बताउँदाको क्षण असाध्यै कारुणिक बन्न पुगेको छ । यसरी कथाको सुरुआतमै दुःखपूर्ण घटनाको वर्णनबाट शोक भाव प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। यस्ता शोक भाव कथाको प्रत्येक अनुच्छेदमा पाइन्छ। माओवादी युद्धबाट प्रताडित भई विस्थापित हुनु परेको पीडा, आफ्नो एकमात्र सहारा छोराको छोडेर गई नफर्केको पीडा, सरकारी पक्षबाट पनि प्रताडित बन्नु परेको र जनताका लागि लड्छौं, लडेका हौं भन्ने माओवादीबाट उल्टै सुराकीको आशङ्कामा दुःख भोग्नु परेको पीडा, भोकमरीले आक्रान्त बनेर मृत्युले आक्रमण गरिरहेको पिडा जस्ता अनेकौं पिडै पिडाको शृङ्खलाले कथा भरिएको छ ।

पीडा, दुःखबाट नै शोक भाव उत्पन्न हुन्छ । कथाको उत्कर्ष खण्डमा प्रयुक्त शोकजन्य भावलाई हेरौं : म कामको खोजीमा भौँतारिइरहेको थिएँ । साँझ पर्नपर्न लागेको थियो । चारपाँचजना युवाहरू जो सिमीकोट मुनि बगिरहेको कर्नाली नदीमा बल्छी खेलेर माछा मारी फर्केका थिए । तिनीहरूले हतारिँदै सुनाए, “काका किडी जियाले त कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन् (पृ. १३८) ।” यस कथांशमा समाख्याता भोकमरीको चपेटाबाट मुक्त हुन कामको खोजीमा भौँतारिइरहेको छ भने ऊसँग बस्ने किडी जियाले जीवनबाट हार खाई कर्नाली नदीमा फाल् हालेर आत्माहत्या गरेको प्रसङ्गले शोकभाव जागृत गराएको छ । सुरुमा त समाख्याताले जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल् हालेको कुरा विश्वासै गर्न सक्दैन । ऊ अतालिनन्छ र कर्नाली नदीतर्फ दौडिन्छ । अन्त्यमा कुरा साँचो साबित हुन्छ । त्यसपछिको कारुणिक अवस्थालाई कथाको अन्त्यमा यसरी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ :

कर्नाली किनारमा उभिएर मैले जोडले डाँको हालें “किडी जिया...!” मेरो आवाज डाँडाहरूमा प्रतिध्वनित हुँदै टाढाटाढासम्म गुन्जियो । म कर्नाली नदीको सतहमाथि किडी जियाको मृत शरीर खोजिरहेको थिएँ । अचानक मैने देखें, म उभिएको स्थानभन्दा अलिपर कर्नाली नदीको पल्लो किनारा नजिक किडी जियाको मृत शरीर आफ्ना सम्पूर्ण दुःखहरूको भारी धरतीमा बिसाउँदै हलुङ्गो पिण्ड बनेर पानीमाथि तैरिरहेको थियो । (पृ. १३९) ।

यसरी कथाकी मुख्य पात्र किडी जियाले जीवनको तलाउमा घोप्टिएको तमाम दुःख, कष्ट र पीडाको सागरलाई वहन गर्न नसकी कर्नाली नदीमा फाल् हालेर मृत्युवरण गरेकी छन् । कथा दुःखको

महासागरमा डुबेकी मुख्य पात्र किडी जियाको आत्महत्याबाट मृत्यु भएसँगै अन्त्य भएको छ। जसले शोक भावलाई उत्कर्षमा पुर्याई करुण रस स्थापित गराएको छ। यसरी प्रस्तुत कथाको सुररूदेखि अन्त्यसम्मै शोक भाव आई स्थायी रूपमा परिपाक भएको हुनाले यो कथा करुण रसयुक्त भएको पुष्टि हुन्छ।

५. निष्कर्ष

‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथा महेशविक्रम शाहद्वारा रचित छापामारको छोरो (२०६३) कथासङ्ग्रहमा सङ्गृहीत छ। २०५२ देखि २०६२/६३ सम्म नेपालमा चलेको माओवादी सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वको विषयलाई लिएर कर्नाली क्षेत्रको तत्कालीन सामाजिक र राजनीतिक परिवेशको चित्रण कथामा गरिएको छ। यस कथामा किडी जिया र समाख्याता आलम्बन विभावका रूपमा आएका छन् भने हुम्ला जिल्लाको दुर्पा गाउँ, सिमीकोट, कर्नाली नदी, जङ्गल आदि उद्दीपन विभावका रूपमा आएका छन्। आँसु रित्तिएर आँखा सुख्खा हुनु, गहभरि आँसु हुनु, गला अवरुद्ध हुनु, आँसु पुछ्नु, अनुहार चाउरीले गुजुल्टिनु, भयले काँप्नु, आँखा च्यातेर हेर्नु आदि कथामा कायिक अनुभाव; यसै गरी बरबराउनु, डाँको छोड्नु, भक्कानिएर रुनु, आदि जस्ता वाचिक अनुभाव; किडी जियाको रुण शरीरको थोत्रो लुगा, गाउँलेहरूले लगाएका टोपी, गुन्यु, बक्खु आदि आहार्य अनुभाव र द्वन्द्वपिडित पात्रहरूमा मानसिक आघात परी उत्पन्न भएका मुर्छ पनु, बर्बराउनु, विट्ठिल बन्नु, आत्महत्या गर्नु जस्ता क्रिया-प्रतिक्रिया सात्विक अनुभावका रूपमा यस कथामा प्रकट भई शोक भावलाई परिपाक तुल्याउन मद्दत गरेका छन्। यस्तै व्यभिचारी/सञ्चारी रूपमा कथामा सुख दुःखको भाव, विद्रोही भाव, दैन्य, विषाद, त्रास, चिन्ता, विरक्ति, ग्लानि आदि भाव उत्पन्न भएको छ भने यो क्रम उच्चता तिर बढ्दै गएर अन्त्यमा कथाकी मुख्य पात्र किडीजियाको आत्महत्यासँगै कथा अन्त्य भएको छ। जसकारण शोक नै कथाको सुररूदेखि अन्त्यसम्मै प्रमुख भावका रूपमा स्थापित छ। यसर्थ कथामा भाव वा करुण रसमा रहने विभाव, अनुभाव, सञ्चारी/व्यभिचारी भावको संयोगबाट स्थायी भाव शोक उत्पन्न भई करुण रस परिपाकमा पुगेको छ। यिनै भावाव्यक्तिद्वारा करुण रस प्रयोगका दृष्टिले ‘किडी जियाले कर्नालीमा फाल हालिन्’ कथा सुन्दर र सशक्त बनेको छ।

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लेखसार

लीलाबहादुर क्षेत्रीद्वारा रचित बसाईँ (२०१४) सामाजिक यथार्थवादी उपन्यास हो । यस उपन्यासमा तत्कालीन समयको पूर्वी भेगका ग्रामीण समाजको जीवनपद्धतिलाई चित्रण गरिएको छ । प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धानमूलक लेखमा रस सिद्धान्तको आधारमा बसाईँ उपन्यासभित्र अङ्गीरस र अङ्गरसको अध्ययन गरिएको छ । यस अध्ययनका लागि भरतमुनिको रस सिद्धान्तका साथै विभिन्न पूर्वीय आचार्यहरूका अङ्गीरस र अङ्गरससम्बन्धी मान्यतालाई आधार मानी शोधसमस्याको निवारण गर्ने मुख्य उद्देश्य राखिएको छ । यसरी व्याख्या विश्लेषण गर्दा निगमनात्मक, वर्णनात्मक तथा विश्लेषणात्मक पद्धति अपनाई समस्याको निवारण गरिएको छ । यस उपन्यासमा करुण रसलाई नै अङ्गीरसको रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको हुँदा उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त साध्यका आधारमा समस्याको निदान गर्ने अभीष्ट राखिएको छ । त्यस्तै गरी अङ्गीरसको सहयोगार्थ विभिन्न रसलाई पनि प्रयोग गरिएको छ । उक्त उपन्यासमा अङ्गरसको रूपमा शृङ्गार, अद्भुत, शान्त आदि अनेक रसको प्रयोग भए पनि बसाईँ उपन्यासमा अङ्गीरस करुण र अङ्गरसका रूपमा शृङ्गार, शान्त, अद्भुत र रौद्र रस रहेको यस अनुसन्धानमूलक लेखमा निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ ।

शब्दकुञ्जी : विभाव, अनुभाव, सञ्चारी भाव, उद्दीपन

विषय परिचय

बसाईँ लीलाबहादुर क्षेत्रीद्वारा रचित (वि.सं. २०१४) उपन्यास हो । नेपाली समाजको यथार्थ चित्रण गरिएको बसाईँ उपन्यासको निकै कारुणिक भावयुक्त प्रवृत्तिका कथानकले उपन्यासलाई जीवन्तता दिएको देखिन्छ । नेपालको पूर्वी पहाडी भेगमा बसोबास गर्ने नेपाली जनताको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दै तिनीहरूका कारुणिक र मार्मिक जीवनको प्रस्तुति यस उपन्यासमा रहेको छ । नेपालमा सामन्तवादी समाजले कसरी जरो गाडेको थियो र किसान वर्गको अस्तित्व कस्तो थियो ? भन्ने विषयवस्तुलाई यसले अँगालेको देखिन्छ । कृतिमा सबैभन्दा बढी प्रयोग गरिएको रसलाई नै अङ्गीरस भनिन्छ भने अङ्

गीरसको सहयोगार्थ आएका रसलाई अङ्गरस भनिन्छ। बसाईँ उपन्यासलाई अङ्गीरस र अङ्गरसका आधारमा यस अनुसन्धानात्मक लेखमा व्याख्या विश्लेषण गरिएको छ।

विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूले यस उपन्यासलाई विभिन्न कोणबाट समालोचना र विश्लेषण गरेका छन्। केशवराज पोखरेल (सन् २०२०) ले वक्रताका आधारमा बसाईँ उपन्यासका पात्रहरूको विवेचना गरेको छन्। ताराकान्त पाण्डेय (२०७८) ले बसाईँ उपन्यासका पात्रहरूले अनुभूत गरेका अनुभूतिको संरचनाको चर्चा गरेका छन्। त्यस्तै गरी अनिल अधिकारी र माया घिमिरे (सन् २०२४) ले उपन्यासका पात्रको उत्पीडनलाई सबाल्टन सिद्धान्तका आधारमा व्याख्या गरेका छन्। बाबुराम ओझा (सन् २०२०) ले उपन्यासमा रहेका अङ्गीरस र अङ्गरसको चर्चा गरेको भए तापनि उपन्यासमा उपस्थित सम्पूर्ण अङ्गरसको विस्तृत रूपमा चर्चा गरेको देखिदैन। तसर्थ, बसाईँ उपन्यासमा निहित अङ्गरसको विस्तृत रूपमा चर्चा नभई प्राज्ञिक शोध रिक्तता देखिएको हुनाले यसै समस्यामा केन्द्रित भई सो शोध रिक्तता पूर्ण गर्ने यस लेखको उद्देश्य रहेको छ।

नेपाली ग्रामीण जनजीवन पद्धतिमा आधारित रहेको बसाईँ उपन्यासमा विभिन्न रसहरूको आस्वादन गर्न सकिन्छ। यो भावुकता र कारुणिकताको सिक्रीमा जेलिएको नेपाली मौलिक उपन्यास हो। पूर्वीय रसवादी आचार्यहरूको मान्यताका आधारमा यस उपन्यासको व्याख्या विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। यस उपन्यासमा मुख्य रसका रूपमा करुण रस रहेको छ भने यसका साथै अङ्गरसका रूपमा अन्य विभिन्न रसको पनि प्रयोग भएको निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ। यिनै रसहरूमध्ये मुख्य रस वा अङ्गीरस र अङ्गीरसलाई सहयोग गर्न उपस्थित भएका अङ्गरसहरूको खोजी गर्ने कार्य प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धानमूलक लेखमा गरिएको छ।

शोधविधि

बसाईँ उपन्यासलाई प्राथमिक श्रोतका रूपमा लिइएको छ। द्वितीयक श्रोतका रूपमा बसाईँ उपन्यासका बारेमा लेखिएका र रस सिद्धान्तसित सम्बन्धित पुस्तक र विज्ञसमीक्षित जर्नलहरूलाई लिइएको छ। यसका साथै इन्टरनेटबाट पनि सामग्री सङ्कलन गरिएको छ। माथि उल्लेखित विधिबाट प्राप्त भएका सामग्रीको अध्ययन गरी सैद्धान्तिक आधार स्वीकार गरी निगमनात्मक, वर्णनात्मक तथा विश्लेषणात्मक पद्धति अपनाइएको छ।

सैद्धान्तिक पर्याधार

रस शब्दको प्रयोग प्राचीन कालदेखि नै विभिन्न अर्थमा हुँदै आएको पाइन्छ। रसलाई ब्रह्मको सहोदर पनि मानिएको पाइन्छ। संस्कृतको रस धातुबाट रस शब्दको निर्माण भएको हो। “सांसारिक पदार्थमा रहने सार वस्तु र त्यसको उपभोगबाट प्राप्त हुने ऐन्द्रियिक सुख नै रस शब्दवाच्य अर्थ हो भने साहित्यमा साहित्यिक कृतिको पठनबाट उत्पन्न हुने मानसिक परितृप्ति र त्यसबाट उत्पन्न हुने अलौकिक आनन्दाभूति नै रस शब्दवाच्य अर्थ हो” (गड्तौला, २०७१, पृ.२)। “रससिद्धान्त काव्यशास्त्रमध्ये मूर्धन्य सिद्धान्त हो” (पोखरेल, २०५९, पृ.३) अर्थात् काव्यशास्त्रको सिद्धान्तमध्ये यो सिद्धान्त पहिलो

सिद्धान्त हो । पूर्वीय रसवादी आचार्यहरूले रसलाई चार भेदमा विभाजन गरेका छन् : १) पदार्थको रस २) आयुर्वेदिक रस ३) भक्ति रस ४) साहित्य रस । साहित्य विधाको अध्ययनपश्चात् पाठक वा दर्शकले गर्ने विशेष अनुभूति वा आनन्दलाई रसको नामले चिनिन्छ । पूर्वीय साहित्य सिद्धान्तमा रसलाई साहित्यको आत्माका रूपमा लिएको पाइन्छ । काव्यमीमांसामा “रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतः, रसाधिकारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरः” (भट्टराई, २०३९, पृ. ४) भनी लेखिएको छ जसबाट रसका प्रथम आचार्य भरतमुनिका पनि गुरु नन्दिकेश्वर हुन् भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ तर “रस शब्दको प्रयोग ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद, अथर्ववेद, ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण तथा उपनिषद्देखि हुँदै आए पनि रसको सैद्धान्तिक मान्यतालाई बाहिर ल्याउने प्रथम आचार्य भने भरत हुन्” (गतौला, २०८१, पृ. १३) भन्ने उद्धरणबाट रस सिद्धान्तका प्रवर्तक भरत नै हुन् भन्ने पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

रसको महत्त्व दर्साउने र रसोत्पत्ति प्रक्रियालाई सूत्रबद्ध गरेर रस चिन्तनका परम्परा स्थापित गर्ने भरतमुनि र उनको नाट्यशास्त्र हो । उनले नाट्यशास्त्रका सम्बन्धमा रसविधानको चर्चा गर्दै “रस बिना कुनै पनि अर्थको प्रवर्तन हुँदैन” (थापा, २०७३, पृ. २१७) भनेका छन् । भरतमुनिको नाटकमा मात्र होइन काव्यको हरेक विधामा रससमाहित रहने कुराको चर्चा गरेका छन् । भरतमुनिले रसको परिभाषा स्वरूप “विभानुभावव्यभिचारसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्ति ।” (भट्टराई, २०७७, पृ. २३) अर्थात् मानवमनमा स्थायी रूपमा घर बनाएर बसोबास गरेको स्थायी भावलाई विभाव अनुभाव तथा सञ्चारी भावबाट सञ्चालित गरिन्छ, र त्यसैबाट रसको उत्पत्ति हुन्छ भनेका छन् । विभाव अनुभाव र व्यभिचारी भावको संयोगबाट रस निष्पत्ति हुन्छ भनेका छन् । अग्निपुराणमा रसलाई काव्यको प्राणका रूपमा लिइएको पाइन्छ ।

काव्यमा रसयुक्त हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यता भरतमुनिपछिका विभिन्न आचार्यहरूले पनि प्रत्यक्ष वा अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा स्वीकारेका छन् । विश्वनाथले पनि रसपूर्ण वाक्य नै काव्य हो भनेका छन् । रसका नौ प्रकार छन् - शृङ्गार, हास्य, वीर, करुण, भयानक, वीभत्स, अद्भूत, रौद्र, शान्त । ती रसमध्ये कृतिमा कुनै पनि एक रस मुख्य रसको रूपमा अङ्गीरस र बाँकी अन्य रसमध्ये कुनै पनि रसहरू सहायक रस वा अङ्गरसका रूपमा आउन सक्ने मान्यता पनि प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् । अग्निपुराणले “वाग्वैदध्ये प्रधानेऽपि रस एवात्र जीवीतम्” (पौड्याल, २०६८, पृ. ५८) भनेको पाइन्छ । विश्वनाथले “वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्” (पौड्याल, २०६८, पृ. ५८) भनेर काव्यमा रसको महत्त्व दर्शाएका छन् ।

अङ्ग भन्नाले प्राणीको शरीरको कुनै पनि अङ्ग भन्ने बुझिन्छ भने अङ्गी भनेको मुख्य अङ्गको रूपमा चिनिन्छ । यसरी नै काव्यमा रहको रस पनि कुनै कम वा कुनै बढी महत्त्वाकांक्षी रहेका हुन्छन् । काव्यको सुरुदेखि अन्त्यसम्म जुन रसको प्रयोग अधिक हुन्छ त्यो रस मुख्य रस वा अङ्गीरसको रूपमा प्रतिस्थापन हुन्छ । एउटै रसले दर्शक वा पाठकमा निराशा नआओस् आस्वादन गर्न योग्य होस् भन्ने हेतुले अङ्गरस पनि काव्यमा रहनु नितान्त जरुरी देखिन्छ । अङ्गीरसमा अझै निखारपन ल्याउनका निमित्त उपस्थित रहेका रसहरू अङ्गरसको रूपमा रहन्छन् । अङ्गीरसले काव्यमा मुख्य भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको हुन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि “जसरी नाना व्यञ्जनले संस्कार गरिएको अन्न खाएर रसास्वादन गर्ने प्रसन्न मन भएका पुरुषहरू रसको आस्वादन गर्दछ र हर्ष मान्दछ । त्यस्तै गरी नाना विभाव, अनुभाव,

सञ्चारी भावको अभिव्यञ्जित वाचिक, आङ्गिक र सात्विक अभिनयले युक्त स्थायी भावहरूको हृदय प्रेक्षकहरू आस्वादन गर्दछन् र हर्षादि प्राप्त गर्दछन् । त्यसैले शृङ्गारादिलाई नाट्यको रस मानेको हो” भन्नेवाट पनि हुन्छ (भट्टराई, २०७७, पृ.१३५) ।

भरतमुनिले काव्यमा चार वटा रस हुन्छ भनी नाट्यशास्त्रमा चर्चा गरेका छन् । अर्थात् काव्यमा रस प्राप्तिका निमित्त शृङ्गार, रौद्र, वीर र वीभत्स रस हुनुपर्छ भन्ने उनको मान्यता रहेको देखिन्छ । भामह सातौँ शताब्दीका अलङ्कारवादी आचार्य हुन् । उनले काव्यमा अलङ्कार हुनुपर्ने मान्यता प्रस्तुत गर्नुका साथसाथै सबै रसहरू निहित हुने र ती रसहरू काव्यमा अङ्ग र अङ्गीरसका रूपमा उपस्थित रहने अभिव्यक्ति दिएका छन् ।

दण्डीले काव्यदर्श नामक कृतिमा काव्यमा रसोद्रेक हुने भावहरू निरन्तर रूपमा प्रवाहित रहन्छन् भनेका छन् तर काव्यमा मुख्य रस हुन्छ र त्यसलाई अभै निखारपना प्रदान गर्न अङ्गरस पनि हुन्छ भन्ने कुरालाई भने स्वीकार गरेको पाइँदैन । रुद्रटले रसकै आधारमा रीतिको निरूपण गरेको पाइन्छ । अरूले आफ्ना सिद्धान्त अगाडि राख्दछन् भने यिनले भरतमुनिको रससूत्रका आधारमा आफ्नो रीति सिद्धान्तको प्रवर्तन गरेर सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादन गर्ने परम्परामा नयाँ पद्धतिको विकास गरेको देखिन्छ । यसका साथै रीतिलाई रसाश्रित बनाउँदै रीतिको सङ्ख्यामा समेत यिनले अभिवृद्धि गरेको देखिन्छ ।

आनन्दवर्दन ध्वनिवादी आचार्य हुन् । उनले आफ्नो ‘ध्वन्यालोक’ मा जुन रस कृतिको प्रारम्भदेखि अन्त्यसम्म उपस्थित रहेर पाठक वा दर्शकको मनलाई आनन्दित बनाउँछ त्यही रस नै कृतिको मुख्य वा अङ्गीरसको रूपमा रहन्छ भन्ने मत अधि सारेका छन् । आनन्दवर्दनले काव्यमा हुने विभिन्न रसमध्ये काव्यलाई उच्चस्थान प्रदान गराउनका निमित्त कुनै पनि एउटा रस मुख्य रसको रूपमा आउनुपर्छ भन्ने मान्यता राखेको छ । उनका अनुसार काव्यमा प्रयोग गरिएका अङ्गीरसद्वारा कृतिको भावविस्तार वनमा कुसुमका वासनाले आफैँ सुगन्धित भएर वनमा भएका प्राणीलाई आफूतर्फ आकर्षित गरे भैँ दर्शक वा पाठकलाई आनन्दित बनाउनसक्ने क्षमता राख्दछ भन्ने मान्यता रहेको छ । यसरी यिनले काव्यमा रहने अङ्गीरसको बारेमा मात्र चर्चा गरेको पाइन्छ । अङ्गरसको विषयमा भने चर्चा गरिएको पाइँदैन ।

धनञ्जयले ‘दशरूपक’ नामक ग्रन्थमा अङ्ग र अङ्गीरसको विषयमा आफ्ना मत अभिव्यक्त गरेका छन् । उनका अनुसार काव्य वा नाटकमा वीर वा शृङ्गारमध्ये कुनै एउटा रस मुख्य वा अङ्गीरसको रूपमा आउँछ र यसलाई सहयोग पुऱ्याउन अन्य रस पनि उपस्थिति रहन सक्छ । चौधौँ शताब्दीका आचार्य विश्वनाथले महाकाव्यको सन्दर्भमा ‘साहित्यदर्पण’मा रसको चर्चा गरेका छन् । उनले शृङ्गार, वीर र शान्त रसमध्ये एउटा अङ्गीरस भएको “शृङ्गारवीरशान्तानामोकोऽङ्गीरस इष्यते” गतौला (२०८१, पृ. ४१) मा उद्धृत गरिएको छ अर्थात् काव्यमा निहित रहने शृङ्गार, शान्त र वीर रसमध्ये एउटा रस अङ्गीरसका रूपमा अनिवार्य हुनुपर्ने र अन्य कुनै पनि रस अङ्गरसको रूपमा हुनसक्ने अभिव्यक्ति दिएका छन् । “रसमा सर्वत्र चमत्कारको अनुभव हुन्छ, चमत्कार नै सार भएकाले सर्वत्र अद्भुत रस नै हुन्छ ...” भनी (उपाध्याय, २०७९, पृ. ५७) नारायण पण्डितले भनेका छन् । यसरी उनले अद्भुत रसलाई मात्र रस मानेको पाइन्छ ।

भोजराज शृङ्गार रसलाई मात्र रस मान्छन्। तसर्थ, उनको भनाइमा काव्यमा मुख्य रस शृङ्गार अङ्गीरसको रूपमा आउनुपर्ने देखिन्छ। यिनले “अन्य आचार्यहरूले शृङ्गार वीर करुण अदभुत रौद्र हास्य, वीभत्स, भयानक र शान्त नाम गरेका रस मान्दछन्। हामी रसमय हुनाका नाताले शृङ्गारलाई मात्र रस मान्दछौं” (उपाध्याय, २०७९, पृ.५७) भन्ने भनाइ राखेका छन्। “काव्यमा अङ्गी र अङ्ग दुवै रस आवश्यक हुन्छ” (घर्ती, २०८१, पृ.१००) दुर्गाबहादुर घर्तीले पनि काव्यमा दुवैप्रकारका रस हुनुपर्छ भन्ने मान्यता प्रकट गरेको देखिन्छ।

विमर्श र नतिजा

बसाई उपन्यास नेपालको पूर्वी भेगमा बसोबास गर्ने किसानको जीवनमाथि आधारित रहेको छ। तत्कालीन सामन्तवादी समयमा एउटा गरिव किसानले जति मेहनत गर्दा पनि उसको आर्थिक जीवनस्तर उकास्न नसकेर आफ्नो गाउँबाट विस्थापित हुनुपरेको मार्मिक घटनाको प्रस्तुति रहेको छ। ग्रामीण जीवनको मार्मिकतालाई यथार्थ रूपमा देखाउने प्रयास उपन्यासकारले गरेका छन्।

बसाई उपन्यासमा अङ्गीरसको प्रयोग

बसाई उपन्यासको स्थायी भाव शोक रहेको पाइन्छ। स्थायी भाव शोक रहेको हुनाले यसमा करुण रस रहेको पाइन्छ। आफ्ना प्रियजनसँगको वियोग र दुःखले गर्दा करुण रसको निष्पत्ति हुन्छ। उपन्यासको प्रारम्भ नै शोक भावबाट भएको पाइन्छ। उपन्यासका मुख्य पात्र धनेको जीवनको दयनीय परिवेशले करुण रसको निष्पत्ति गराउँदछ। धनेको घरमा रहेका पुराना सामान र उसले ऋण लिन परेका अवस्थाको चित्रणले पाठकका मनमा दयाको भावना प्रकट गर्दछ। धनेको आर्थिक स्थिति दयनीय रहेको अवस्थाको चित्रण उपन्यासको प्रारम्भमा नै गरिएको छ। यहाँ उनको ओछ्यानमा राखिएको मैलो ठाउँ ठाउँमा फाटेका सिरक परकीय उद्दीपन विभावको रूपमा आएको छ। उनले अङ्गीरको पातमा बेरेका सुर्ती सल्काउनु अनुभाव हो। सुनसान रात उद्दीपन विभाव हो। २५ वर्षको कलकलाउँदो उमेरमा गरिवीका कारण उसको जीवनमा ऋणको बोझले कालो बादल छाउन सुरु गरेको छ। घरमा भएकी श्रीमती, बहिनी र छोराको लालनपालन उनकै काँधमा छ। परिवारको पालनपोषणको जिम्मेवारीले गर्दा उसले वैदार जस्तो अरूलाई दुःख दिएर मन शान्त बनाउने, अरूको दुःखमा हाँस्ने दानवी मनोवृत्तिले परिपूर्ण रहेका प्रतिकूल पात्रसँग १५० रूपैयाँ ऋण लिएर भैंसी ल्याउँछन्। भैंसीको दूध बेचेको पैसाले घरको आर्थिक सुधार आउला भन्ने सोच्छ तर विधिको खेल अर्कै रहेछ। एक दिन भैंसीको पाडो गोठमा फटफटाइरहेको थियो। यस समयमा धनेले सकेसम्मको उपचार गर्ने कोसिस पनि गन्यो तर बचाउन सकेन। यहाँ पाडो विभाव हुन् भने पाडो अन्तिम पटक कराउनु र धने रुनु अनुभाव हो।

एक दिन भैंसी अरूको बारीमा चर्न गएको निहुँमा निलडाम हुने गरी पिटाइ खाएर आउँछ र त्यसको केही दिनपछि भैंसी तुहिन्छ। धनेको भैंसीको दूध बेचेर धन कमाउने सपनामा ग्रहण लाग्दछ र वैदारको ऋण तिर्न नसक्दा धनेको भैंसी वैदारले गोठ रिक्तो हुनेगरी लगिदिन्छ। यसरी धनेको गोठ रित्याउँदा गाउँलेहरू बडो रमाइलो मानेर रमिता हेर्न मेलामा आए भैं गरी आनन्दित भई हेरिरहेका

हुन्छन् । बैदारले वस्तुको गलाबाट दाम्लो पन्छाएर बैदारका दुई जना गोठाला वस्तु खेदन् थाल्दा “मैना आँसु थाम्न नसकेर घरभित्र दगुरी” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.२५) भन्ने उद्धरणबाट कारुण रसको निष्पत्ति भएको छ । भैंसी फुकाएर लानु विभाव वा भैंसी विभाव हो भने मैना रुनु र रुँदै घरभित्र पस्नु विभावपछिको अनुभाव हो । मैनाले घरभित्र गएर त्यो भैंसीलाई एक मुठा पराल ल्याएर दिई । उसलाई थाहा थियो कि अब उसले अन्तिम पटक भैंसीलाई खाना दिँदैछिन् । भैंसीलाई खान दिनु पनि अनुभाव नै रहेको छ ।

उनका दुःखका दिनहरू यसरी नै चुलिँदै जान्छन् । बैदारले आफ्नो गोठ रिक्तो बनाएपछि पनि उसको जिन्दगीका सङ्घर्ष बाँकी नै थियो । परिवारको जिम्मेवारी थियो । त्यसैले जीवनको मोटर बिग्रिए पनि मर्मत गर्दै अझै चलाउनु थियो । उसले नन्दे ढकालसँग आफ्नो घरखेत धितो राखेर एक हल गोरु किनेर नन्दे ढकालकै खेतमा परिश्रम गर्ने सोची नन्दे ढकालसँग आफ्नो विचारलाई पक्की गर्छ तर यहाँ पनि ‘समाजमा सदा ठुलाहरू र पैसा भएकाहरूकै जीत हुने रहेछ’ भन्ने लोकवचनकै जीत भएको देखिन्छ ।

एक रात धनेको खेतमा कुलो लगाउने पालोमा नन्दे ढकालको कान्छो छोराको खेतमा लगाउनु र ढकालको कान्छो छोरोले धनेको दिउँसो रोप्नु पर्ने बियाडमा भैंसी चराउनु यो आफैँमा एउटा पाठकका मनमा करुणा र दयाको उद्रेक गराउने कारण हो । ‘गरिव धनेको बियाड भैंसीले खाइदियो ला ! अब कसरी धनेले यो वर्ष धान फलाउनु सक्छ ?’ भन्ने पाठकको मनमा आउँछ ।

उपन्यासमा यस घटनाले धनेको सङ्घर्ष चरमोत्कर्षमा पुगेको देखिन्छ । बियाडमा खाइरहेको भैंसीलाई धनेले आवेगमा हिर्काउँछ र गर्भिणी भैंसी तीन दिनमा मर्‍यो । सबैले नन्दे ढकालको छोराको भैंसी मरेको देखे तर धनेको सपनाको कसैलाई पर्वाह भएन । “त्यसो त रोपाईँको माभमाभमा जानीजानी अर्काको बियाडमा भैंसी छाडिदिनेको पनि त दण्ड होला नि ! ...” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.३७) भन्ने भिन्नो आवाज त आएको थियो तर त्यो स्वरलहरी ठुलाबडाको कानसम्म पुग्नै सकेन । त्यो आवाजको पहुँचै पुगेन । धनेको सङ्घर्ष ज्यूँका त्यूँ रहन गयो । अझै उनको दुःख पीडा दशबाट एघार पुग्यो घट्ने त नामै रहेन ।

अन्तिममा धनेले आफ्नो थलो नै छोड्नुपर्ने स्थितिको सिर्जना भयो । १५० रूपैयाँबाट सुरु भएको उसको ऋणको यात्रा ५७५ रूपैयाँमा पुग्यो । अझै अगाडिका जीवनमा यसको यात्रा कति पुग्ने हो त्यो थाहा थिएन । धनेले ऋण तिर्न साहुहरूसँग ऋण मार्गै हिँड्नु र कसैले पनि उसलाई ऋण नपात्याउनुमा पनि करुण रसको उत्पत्ति भएको छ । यहाँ साहुहरू उनका विषयालम्बन विभाव हुन् भने ऊ निराश हुनु अनुभाव हो । साहुहरूसँग हात जोड्नु अनुभाव हो ।

धनेले नन्दे ढकालसँग आफ्नो सम्पूर्ण खेतबारी र घर नै बेचेर जाने निर्णय सुनाए । नन्दे ढकालले धनेलाई आफ्नो ऋण काटेर ७५ रूपैयाँ भएको र थप १० रूपैयाँ गाउँ छाडेर जाने व्यक्ति भनेर दिएको घटनाले पनि करुण रसकै उत्पत्ति भएको देखिन्छ । धनेको परिश्रमको मोल १० रूपैयाँ हो त ? नन्दे ढकालकै छोरोले गर्दा उसको उठिवास भएको छ । यस अवस्थामा धने कति विवश देखिन्छ । यहाँ

धनेको विषयालम्बन विभावको रूपमा नन्दे साहु रहेको छ भने करुण रसको उद्वीपन विभाव धनेले विवशतावस लिएका ८५ रूपैयाँ रहेको छ ।

“कुम्लो कुटुरो अहिले कसिराख । भोलि रिमरिम उज्यालो हुँदै हिँड्नुपर्छ । यस पापी ठाउँमा अब कति बस्न मन छैन मलाई !” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.५९) यस उद्धरणमा कति पीडाको बोध हुन्छ । खाउँ खाउँ लाउँ लाउँ भन्ने २५ वर्षको उमेरमा त्यति ठुलो जिम्मेवारी बोक्दै दुःखकष्टको भारी काँधमा राखेर सङ्घर्ष गरिरहेको थियो धनेले । आफू त्यहाँ बस्नु नै थिएन भने धनेले त्यति दुःख कष्ट किन उठाउँथ्यो र अन्त्यमा सामन्तवादीको उत्पीडनको सीमा नाघेपछि उनले बाध्य भएर यस्तो निर्णय गर्नुपर्थ्यो । आफ्नो पुर्खाको थलोबाट उनी विस्थापित हुनुपर्थ्यो ।

यसरी धनेको काँधमा सबैभन्दा ठुलो दुःखको पहाड बोक्नु पर्ने समय आएको देखिन्छ । धनेको परिवारले एकाविहानै आफ्नो थलो छोडेर जान्छन् । घर छाडेर जाने समयमा धने र उसकी श्रीमती मैनालाई सबैभन्दा ठुलो शोक परेको छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि घर छाडेर जाने बेलामा मैनाले फर्केर गई तुलसीको मठमा पानी चढाउँछिन्, घरका खोपीमा भएका परेवालाई कनिका दिन्छिन् र गोरुलाई एक मुठी पराल राखिदिन्छिन् र घरको भित्तोमा अड्याइएर रुन्छिन् । एकछिन पछि मनलाई दह्रो बनाई मैना घरबाट बाहिर आउँछिन् । त्यहाँ भएका हरेक वस्तुले उनलाई आफूतर्फ आकर्षित गरिरहेको हुन्छ । घरबाहिर बाँधिएका एउटा बुढी बाख्रीलाई र तिनका पाठाहरूले मैनालाई देखेपछि म्याँ म्याँ गरी कराउन थाले मानौँ मैनालाई तिनीहरूले हामीलाई छाडेर नजाऊ भन्दैछन् । मैनाले पाठाहरूलाई उठाएर निकै मातृत्वभावका साथ छातीमा टाँसेर आफ्नो गालासँग तिनीहरूका गाला जोडी ।

यहाँ करुण रसको निष्पत्ति भएको छ । मुख्य विभावका रूपमा धनेको घर नै रहेको छ । यसका साथै परेवा, तुलसीको मठ, गोरु, बुढी बाख्री र तिनका पाठाहरू, घर वरिपरिका अन्य प्रत्येक वस्तु, ढिकी, जाँतो, खाँबो, घरको धुरी इत्यादि सम्पूर्ण करुण रसको विभावका रूपमा आएको छ । यहाँ अनुभावका रूपमा परेवालाई कनिका दिनु, गोरुलाई पराल हालिदिनु, तुलसीको मठमा पानी चढाउनु, गोरुलाई अब आउने मालिकले भनेका कुरा मान्नु नत्र कुटाइ खाइन्छ भन्नु, पाठाहरूलाई मुसादेँ आफ्नो गालासँग गाला जोड्नु, धनेले पनि आफ्ना आँसु नजानिंदो पाराले पुच्छुनु, मैना रुनु जस्ता करुण रसको अनुभावको रूपमा प्रस्तुत भएको छ । मैना रुनु, मैनालाई धनेले कराउनु जस्ता अनुभावहरू सञ्चारी भावको रूपमा प्रस्तुत भएको छ । यहाँ धने र मैनाका पीडा सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएको छ ।

करुण रसको स्थायी भाव शोक हो । यस उपन्यासमा कथानकको आरम्भदेखि अन्त्यसम्म नै करुण रस परिपाक भएको पाइन्छ । यसर्थमा यस उपन्यासमा अङ्गी वा मुख्य रसको रूपमा करुण रसको प्रयोग गरिएको छ ।

बसाई उपन्यासमा अङ्गरसको प्रयोग

बसाई उपन्यासमा अङ्गरसको रूपमा विभिन्न रसहरूको प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ । ती यस प्रकार रहेका छन् :

क) शृङ्गार रस

शृङ्गार रसको स्थायी भाव रति हो । यस उपन्यासमा शृङ्गार रसको प्रयोग धेरै स्थानहरूमा पाइन्छ । भुमा र रिक्टे पहिलो पटक भेट हुँदा आँखा जुधाजुध हुँदा त्यहाँ शृङ्गार रसको निष्पत्ति भएको छ । “केही बेरपछि बालिकाका गालामा स्वाभाविक स्त्री सुलभ लाजका रेखा दौडन थाले । निधारमा चिटचिट पसिना आयो । उसका आँखा नत भए ।” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.७) भन्ने उद्धरणमा भुमा र रिक्टे एक अर्काका आश्रयालम्बन विभाव हुन् भने भुमालाई लाज लाग्नु, चिट चिट पसिना आउनु, आँखा नत हुनु सम्भोग शृङ्गार रसको अनुभावको रूपमा आएको छ । त्यहाँको भौतिक परिवेश उद्दीपन विभावको रूपमा प्रस्तुत भएको छ । रिक्टेलाई घरमा बास दिँदा खानाको थाली दिँदा भुमाका हात कामिरहेका थिए । त्यसै गरी रिक्टेलाई आफ्नो सङ्गिनी सुनाउनु पनि ऊ पछि परेकी छैनन् । यहाँ भुमा रिक्टेतिर आकर्षित हुनु, सङ्गिनी सुनाउनु जस्ता कार्य गर्नु अनुभाव हो भने रातको सुनसान समय परकीय उद्दीपन विभाव हो । यहाँ लाज र हर्ष सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएको छ । खाना दिँदा उसको हात काप्नु बाह्य अनुभावको रूपमा उपस्थित भएको छ । भुमा हाटमा जाँदा एककासी रिक्टेको आवाज सुन्दा उसको हृदयको गति तीब्र भएको छ । यहाँ हृदयको गति तीब्र हुनु अनुभाव हो । यहाँ रिक्टेको आवाज सुनेर हर्षित हुनु सञ्चारी भाव हो । त्यस्तै गरी उनीहरूको भेट तेस्रो पटक दशैँमा हुन्छ । त्यस समयमा रिक्टेले बडो साहसका साथ भुमाको हात समाउँछ । त्यस समयमा “भुमा भस्की, सशङ्क नेत्रले रिक्टेतिर हेरी, ...” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.२१) को उद्धरणले यहाँ सम्भोग शृङ्गार उत्पन्न भएको छ ।

यहाँ रिक्टेले भुमाको हात समाउनु साहस जुटाउनु र भुमाले सशङ्कित नेत्रले हेर्नु, लाज मान्नु सञ्चारी भावको रूपमा आएको छ भने भुमाको हात समाउनु अनुभाव हो । “भुमा रिक्टेको ... सबै सर्वनाश ... !” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.४२) को उद्धरणले वनमा घाँस काट्न गएको समयमा ती दुई बिच शारीरिक सम्बन्ध जोडिन गएको प्रष्ट हुन्छ । यसर्थ, यहाँ शृङ्गार रसको पराकाष्ठासम्म पुगेको छ । यहाँ रिक्टेले भुमाको हात समाउनु, भुमाले हात छुटाउनु खोज्नु तर रिक्टेले भनै बलियो गरी भुमालाई आफ्नो बाहुपाशमा जकड्नु बाह्य अनुभावका रूपमा उपस्थित रहेको छ । त्यहाँको रूख पातपतिङ्गार, वनको शान्त परिवेश शृङ्गार रसको परिपाक गर्न उद्दीपन विभावको रूपमा उपस्थित भएको छ ।

“... पतिको प्रेममय ... उज्यालो भयो । उसले आफ्नो हात पतिको हातबाट विस्तारै छुटाएर हँसिलो मुखले भनी, ... ” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.१३) । यहाँ शृङ्गार रसको आलम्बन विभावका रूपमा मैना र धने रहेका छन् भने त्यसको परकीय उद्दीपन विभाव निशाचर रातको समय रहेको छ । मैना लजाउनु, हँसिलो अनुहार बनाउनु शृङ्गार रसको अनुभावका रूपमा उपस्थित हुनु पुगेका छन् । “तँ जस्ती जोई पाउने गरिब भए पनि म भाग्यमानी छु” भन्दा “भोभो, सर्काउनु पर्दैन ... ” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.१४) को यस उद्धरणले पनि शृङ्गार रसको निष्पत्ति भएको देखाउँदछ । यहाँ लाज, खुसी तथा हर्ष सञ्चारी भाव हुन् ।

त्यस्तै गरी यस उपन्यासमा सम्भोग शृङ्गारका साथै विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गारको पनि उद्भव भएको छ । रिक्टेसँगको लामो दुरीमा मलिन रहेको मनलाई बुझाउनु भुमाले वनमा जाँदा “उकाली ज्यानको

चिम्लेटी ढुङ्गो ... मायाले भुयाम्मै” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ. ४१) गीत गाएकी छन् । यहाँ रिकुटेको यादमा भुमाको न्यासोपन प्रस्तुत भएको छ । यहाँ रिकुटे आलम्बन विभाव हो भने वनको एकान्त परिवेश उद्दीपन र भुमाको गीत विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गारको अनुभाव हो । यहाँ रिकुटेसँगको वियोग सहन गर्न निकै गाह्रो परेकी भुमा रिकुटेकै यादमा डुबेकी छन् । भुमाले रिकुटेको धेरै याद आयो रिकुटेले बिसि पो सक्यो कि भन्ने आशङ्का पनि जनाएकी छन् । उसका यी शब्द तथा भावनाहरू पनि विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गारको अनुभावका रूपमा आएका छन् ।

यसरी उक्त उपन्यासको अङ्गीरस करुण रसलाई सहयोगी भावना राखी शृङ्गार रसको पनि प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ ।

ख) रौद्र रस

रौद्र रसको स्थायी भाव क्रोध हो । आफन्त तथा आफू कसैद्वारा अपमानित वा तिरस्कार हुनु परेको अवस्थामा रौद्र रसको प्रादुर्भाव हुन जान्छ । यस उपन्यासमा क्रोध रसले पनि उपन्यासलाई उच्चता दिन सफल भएको पाइन्छ । गरिब धनेका जीवनमा उतारचढावका विचमा केही स्थानमा उसलाई क्रोधाभास भएको छ । आफ्नो खेतमा लगाउनु पर्ने पानी नन्दे साहुको खेतमा लगाएको देखेर साने घर्तीसँग उसले मुक्कामुक्की गरेको छ । यहाँ धनेलाई रिस उठ्नु विभाव हो । रिसले बौलाहा भैँ भएर साने घर्तीलाई कुट्नु अनुभाव हो । धनेसँग साने घर्तीले मुखमुखै लाग्नु उद्दीपन हो । साने घर्तीले आफ्नो बियाडमा भैँसी लगाएको देखेर धने रिसले आगो भएर भैँसीलाई कुट्न पुग्छ । यहाँ साने घर्ती, भैँसी र धने एक अर्काका विषयालम्बन विभावका रूपमा आएको छ भने भैँसीले रोप्नुपर्ने बियाड खानु उद्दीपन विभावका रूपमा आएको छ । त्यस्तै गरी धनेले बौलाहा भैँ भएर भैँसीलाई पिट्नु बाह्य अनुभावको रूपमा आएको छ । यहाँ असूया र आवेग सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएका छन् ।

त्यस्तै गरी भुमाको मूर्खताप्रति मैनालाई रिस उठेको कुरा “उसको मूर्खतामाथि रिस प्रकट गरी” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ. ४३) भन्ने उद्धरणबाट पुष्टि हुन्छ । एक त घरको अवस्था दयनीय रहेको त्यसमाथि नन्दको मुखपनले मैनालाई निकै ठुलो अभिघात महसुस गराउँदछ । यसरी यहाँ क्रोध रसको निष्पत्ति भएको छ । यहाँ भुमा आलम्बन विभाव हो भने मैनाले रिस प्रकट गर्नु र रिसले आफ्नो र नन्दको दयनीय अवस्थामाथि रोदन प्रकट गर्नु अनुभाव हो । यहाँ मैनाको चिन्ता सञ्चारी भाव हो ।

यसरी वसाइँ उपन्यासमा क्रोध स्थायी भाव रहेको रौद्र रसको प्रयोग पनि रहेको पाइन्छ ।

ग) अद्भुत रस

कुनै पनि प्राणी वा व्यक्तिको विचित्र रूप देखेपछि अद्भुत रसको निष्पत्ति हुन्छ । अद्भुत रसको स्थायी भाव विस्मय हो । भुमा वनमा घाँस काटेन गएको समयमा रिकुटे एक्कासी आफ्नो पछाडि उभिरहेको देख्दा ऊ आश्चर्यमा पर्छिन् र भन्छिन् “आबुई तपाईँ पो ...” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ. ४१) । यस भनाइबाट अद्भुत रसको निष्पत्ति भएको पाइन्छ । यहाँ रिकुटे अद्भुत रसको आलम्बन विभाव हो भने भुमा

तर्सिनु आन्तरिक अनुभाव र उल्लासपूर्वक भ्रुमाले आबुई भन्नु वाचिक अनुभाव हो ।

त्यस्तै गरी “होइन भ्रुमा दोजिया भए जस्तो लाग्छ मलाई त, ...” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.३९) भन्ने खबरले मैनालाई आश्चर्य चकित बनाएको छ । सपनामा पनि नसोचेको कुरा सुनेपछि मैना छानाबाट खसे भै भई । यहाँ ठुली आलम्बन विभाव हो भने मैनाले हतासमा “कोसित उसको बसउठ थियो नानी, ...” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.३९) भनी प्रश्न गर्नु अद्भुत रसको अनुभाव हो र मैनाको मनमा उब्जिएका शङ्क कास्पद विचार सञ्चारी भाव हो ।

घ) शान्त रस

शान्त रसको स्थायी भाव शम वा निर्वेद मानिन्छ । अभिनव गुप्तले शम र मम्मटले निर्वेद भनेका छन् । तसर्थ, शम र निर्वेद बिच विवाद रहेको देखिन्छ । यसको पुष्टि “शान्त रसको स्थायी भावका सम्बन्धमा मतभेद छ” (थापा, २०७३, पृ.२२७) मा रहेको भनाइबाट पनि हुन्छ । शान्त रस अरूसँगको रिसराग, द्वेष, क्रोध हटेर मन शान्त भएको अवस्थामा निष्पत्ति हुन्छ । शान्त रस समताको भाव हो ।

बसाई उपन्यासमा केही स्थानमा शान्त रसको पनि उत्पत्ति भएको पाइन्छ । वैराग्य उत्पन्न हुनु शान्त रसको लक्षण हो । मनका विकारलाई फालेर जीवनको सरलतालाई आत्मबोध गरेको अवस्था हुन्छ तर यहाँ एउटा मेहनती किसानको सङ्घर्षले चरमचुली पार गर्दा पनि सङ्घर्षका दिन समाप्त नभएको अवस्थाको सिर्जना भएको देखिन्छ । धनेले अब यो समाजबाट कुनै पनि कुराको अपेक्षा नराखेर आफ्नो मनलाई शान्त बनाएको अवस्थाको सिर्जना भएको छ । भ्रुमा हराएपछि मैनाले धनेलाई भ्रुमाको विषयमा जब जानकारी गराइन् तब उसको मन शान्त अवस्थामा रहेको पाइन्छ । उसलाई आफ्नै बहिनीको कुनै अवस्थाको पूर्वज्ञान नहुँदा दुःखी त अवश्य हुन्छ तर उसले भ्रुमा हराएकोमा कुनै पश्चात्ताप जनाउँदैन । भन्छन् ‘दैवको लठ्ठी दोषीमाथि प्रहार हुन्छ ।’ तर यहाँ निर्दोष धनेमाथि दैवले निर्घात कूटपिट गरिरहेको अवस्थाको चित्रण रहेको छ । उसले बहिनीका लागि “मरिछ, भने थाहा पाइहालिन्छ, खोज्ने खाँचो छैन” (क्षेत्री, २०६४, पृ.५९) मात्र भनेका छन् । यहाँ मैनाको खबर नै शान्त रसको उद्दीपन विभाव हो र धनेले बहिनीका लागि निकालेका शब्दहरू अनुभाव हुन् । अत्याधिक दुःखका कारण धनेको वैराग्य सञ्चारी भावका आउको छ ।

उपन्यासको अन्त्यमा धनेको परिवारले एउटा विशृङ्खलित यात्राको प्रारम्भ गरेको छ, जसको कुनै गन्तव्यको टुङ्गो छैन । यहाँ शान्त रसको उदभव भएको छ । जीवनका सङ्घर्षहरू पार गर्दै सबै दुःखहरूको अन्त्य गरेर नयाँ जीवनको थालनी स्वरूप गन्तव्यहीन यात्रामा लागेका छन् । चाहे त्यो यात्रा दुःखमा गएर टुङ्गिन्छ वा सुखमा, यस कुराबाट धनेका परिवार पनि अनभिज्ञ छन् ।

निष्कर्ष

लीलबहादुर क्षेत्रीको बसाई (२०१४) उपन्यास नेपालको तत्कालीन पूर्वीय भेगको एउटा गरिबको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने युवा धनेको जनजीवनमा आधारित रहेको छ । बैदार तथा नन्दे ढकाल जस्ता समाजमा

वर्चश्व कायम गर्न चाहने शक्तिशाली व्यक्तिद्वारा धने जस्ता गरिव निमुखाको जीवनमा दयनीय अवस्था कसरी आउँछ भन्ने यथार्थ चित्रण गरिएको छ। यस उपन्यासका पात्रले पाएका अनावश्यक दुःखले करुण रसको निष्पत्ति भएको छ। मानव र पशुपक्षीबिच भएका माया र तीबाट बिछोड हुँदाका हृदयद्विदारक कार्यव्यापारले करुण रसको उद्बोध गराइएको छ। यहाँ मानव मानवबिच मात्र प्रेम हुने होइन मानव र पशुपक्षीबिचको अतुलनीय प्रेमको पनि बोध गराइएको छ। तत्कालीन नेपाली समाजमा विपन्न समुदायले प्रभुत्वशाली सामन्तहरूका उत्पीडनमा बाँचन विवश हुनु परेको यथार्थतालाई यस उपन्यासले निष्ठापूर्वक प्रतिबिम्बित गरेको छ।

यस उपन्यासमा कथानकको प्रारम्भदेखि अन्त्यसम्म नै स्थायी भाव शोक रहेको करुण रस परिपाक भएको पाइन्छ। उपन्यासको सुरुदेखि अन्त्यसम्म स्थायी भाव जागरण गराउने विभाव अनुभाव र सञ्चारी भावहरूको संयोगले करुण रसको निष्पत्ति भएको पाइन्छ। करुण रसले बसाईँ उपन्यासलाई उच्चताको शिखरतर्फ लम्काएको छ। तसर्थ, यस उपन्यासमा करुण रसलाई नै अङ्गीरसको रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। करुण रसलाई परिपाक गराउन नन्दे, बैदार, साने घर्ती नन्दे ढकालको कान्छो छोरो आदि आलम्बन विभावका रूपमा आएका छन्। गाउँको परिवेश धनेकै घरका सरसामानहरू, पशुपक्षीहरू उद्दीपन विभावका रूपमा आएको छ। धने र मैना रनु अनुभाव तथा सञ्चारी भावका रूपमा आएको छ। यहाँ सामन्तीहरूले दिएको पीडा विभाव हो भने पीडाबोधबाट निस्किएका ती शब्दहरू नैराश्यताहरू अनुभाव हुन्।

अङ्गीरसको सहयोगार्थ विभिन्न रसलाई प्रयोग गरिएको छ। उक्त उपन्यासमा अङ्गरसको रूपमा शृङ्गार, अद्भुत, शान्त र रौद्र रसको निष्पत्ति भएको छ। प्रथम स्थानमा करुण रस छ भने दोस्रो स्थानमा शृङ्गार रस रहेको छ। त्यसपछि क्रमशः अन्य रौद्र, अद्भुत र शान्त रसको उद्बोध भएको छ।

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