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Editorial

It is an immense pleasure that we have come with another issue of journal entitled 'Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies' and now it is in your hand. As an academic practice that has been carried out in the campus with an active effort of GMMC faculties and guest researchers from outside, the campus has been able to publish its journal regularly on annual basis. The regular issue of journal has provided the faculty members an opportunity to cultivate the habit of research that is sure to help them to move towards academic excellence in their respective fields.

With the advancement of science and technology, the framework of knowledge on any discipline has been so wide that updating oneself with its rapid change has been a matter of challenge for any academic practitioner who is involved in imparting knowledge in the colleges or universities. On one hand one has to cultivate the culture of regular study, on the other hand, one should make oneself always ready for finding out something new or more than that of existing knowledge to cope him/her with the changing scenario of academic world. Moreover the production of knowledge is far better than that of consumption and distribution of it. The research works or articles included in the journals will certainly be helpful in leading the researchers towards the direction of production of knowledge in the days to come. In this sense Gupteshwor Mahadev Multiple Campus has created a platform for developing the habit of rigorous study and research for anyone who is interested.

The Journal includes varieties of research articles from various disciplines of knowledge such as humanities, language, bio-diversity, commerce, book review, population etc. making it true to its name. The articles included in the journals are the reflection of rigorous as well as dedicated attempts of researchers in finding out something more and something newer than that of existing knowledge which creates a sense of wonder and interest in the readers of it.

Finally, the editorial board would like to thank sincerely to all the contributors for their cooperation and contributions without which the journal would not have appeared in this form. Their contributions are undoubtedly great to make this volume a grand success. The editorial board is fully hopeful that the campus will certainly get such co-operation and contribution of all in the days to come. At the same time, the campus administration and all the other stakeholders deserve our sincere gratitude for their continuous supports, suggestions and co operation for the continuation of its publication.

Table of Contents

- 1 Overview of Social Exclusion and Social Inclusion
Dhaneshwar Rakhai
- 8 Population Ageing and its Challenges in Nepal
Khemraj Baral
- 12 Safe Motherhood in Nepal
Acharya Chandramani & Baral Lekhnath(Gopi)
- 18 History, Memory and Narrative: Constructing Identities, Reconstructing the Past
Min Pun, PhD
- 32 Performance Analysis of Commercial Bank under ROE Framework
(A Comparative Study about Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank in Nepal)
Mohan Bhandari
- 44 Relation between Teenage Marriage and Maternal Child Health
Tanka Raj Adhikari, PhD
- 50 People and Plant Relation : A Study of Dhorphirdi Area, Tanahun
Upendra Poudel
- 59 लामा विद्यार्थीहरुले वीचैमा प्राथमिक विद्यालय छाड्नुका कारणहरु
टोपेन्द्र गौतम
- 71 राज्यको पुर्नसंरचनामा शिक्षा
रामप्रसाद सुबेदी
- 81 तुइनमा अभिघात
लालमणि पोख्रेल

Overview of Social Exclusion and Social Inclusion

Dhaneshwar Rakhal*

Abstract

The inequality between different groups of society has become a global agenda from the last few decades. It is because the economic, social and political status of certain groups (i.e., indigenous, Utpidit, women etc.) has been or is made inferior to others from the long past. Concerning these issues, the concept of exclusion has been extended to through Europe to the developing countries, and has been broadened to refer to the process by which certain groups are excluded from social, economic and political development. To address the issue of social exclusion, the notion of social inclusion has been introduced as important approach in every sectors of society. In this context, this paper aims to give an overview on social exclusion and inclusion.

Keywords: Social exclusion, social inclusion, marginalized, right, identity

Introduction

The term 'social exclusion' was originally coined in France in 1974 to refer to various categories of people who were unprotected by social insurance at the time but labeled as 'social problems' identified as "mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal, asocial persons and other social misfits" (Siver, 1994, as cited in Rao, 2010, pp. 37- 38). It emerged as an important policy concept in Europe in the 1980s in response to the growing social divides that resulted from new labor market conditions and the inadequacy of existing

social welfare provision to meet the changing need of more diverse populations (Mitchell & Shillington, 2002; Silver, 1994). As originally conceptualized in Europe, social exclusion referred to the exclusion of citizens

by the State from the social contract and, more specifically, from standard secure employment. Recently, the concept has been extended to developing countries and has been broadened to refer to the process by which certain groups are excluded from or marginalized by social, economic and political development (Carr & Chen, 2004).

The notion of social inclusion can be dated back at least to the nineteenth century sociologist

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Weber (Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, & Bereded-Samuel, 2010). Social exclusion and social inclusion originated and continued for centuries in Nepal. It is believed that the caste system began sometime during the Licchavi period (200-879) when they and the Khas people began settling down in Nepal (Kisan, 2009). In the 14th century, King Jayasthiti Malla restructured the Newar society of Kathmandu Valley and the people were divided into 64 horizontal "occupational castes" based on the pure division of labor. King Prithvi Narayan Shah integrated Nepal territorially and said, "Nepal is a garden of four castes and thirty-six Varnas". He established the separate army of the Gurungs and the Magars, and borrowed money and took advice from Sise Nagarchi, a Dalit. It indicates the initiation of social inclusion practice by Prithvi Narayan Shah. But it is claimed that he was negative, i.e. exclusionary against indigenous peoples, Dalits, women, Madhesis, Muslims, Speakers of the mother tongue and non-Hindu religious groups (Bhattachan, 2009). The Muluki Ain (Country Code) of 1854 by Jang Bhadur Rana restructured Nepali Society according to four-tier caste hierarchy. The code was amended and new code was issued in 1993. This new code dismissed past provisions for caste-based discrimination and untouchability (Kisan, 2009).

The women's movement in Nepal is believed to have been originated with the resistance started by Yogamaya, a Brahmin woman, during the Rana rule. Modern history of the women's right movement began in early

1950s. The people's Movement of 1990 led to the reestablishment of democracy and constitutional monarchy and made way for discourses on all issues of public concern. During the making of the constitution of 1990, the discourse focused on securing the rights of women, Dalits, indigenous peoples, mother tongue speakers and religious minorities. The Government of Nepal came up with a targeted program for indigenous people in its Ninth Plan (1997-2002). The Tenth Plan (2002-2007), for the first time ever, explicitly used the concept of social exclusion in Nepal. Its poverty analysis had a separate section on "Social Exclusion, Backward Groups and Areas" (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2002). People's Movement of 2006, followed by the Madhesis Movement (2007) led to the main political parties, planners, policy makers, the general public and internal aid agencies increased focus on the agenda of social inclusion in Nepal (Bhattachan, 2009).

Social Exclusion

To understand the concept of social inclusion, it is necessary to know the meaning of social exclusion. Social exclusion refers to a process through which individuals or groups wholly or partially get deprived of full participation in the society where they live (BK, 2008). Silver and Miller (2003) explain social exclusion as:

- (a) multidimensional and encompasses collective as well as individual resources,
- (b) dynamic, along a trajectory between full integration and multiple exclusions,

(c) relational, in that exclusion entails social distance isolation, rejection, humiliation, lack of social support networks, and denial of participation,

(d) active, in that there is a clear agency, and

(e) relative to context. Disrespect, discrimination, and degradation are as much at work as monetary poverty and physical need (p. 8).

Eurostat (as cited in Silver & Miller, 2003) indicates seven indicators of social exclusion.

- Financial difficulties in the household
- Unaffordability of some basic needs
- Unaffordability of consumer durables
- Disadvantageous housing conditions
- Poor health: life expectancy; self-perceived health status
- Infrequent contacts with friends and relatives
- Dissatisfaction with work or main activity (p. 12).

Social exclusion is the opposite of social integration, which reflects the perceived importance of being part of society, or being integrated. It is a multidimensional concept. It goes beyond the analysis of resource allocation mechanisms, and includes power relations, agency, culture and social identity (Bhattachan, 2009). According to Narayan (as cited in Subramaryam, 2010) it is the norms and process that it prevents certain groups from the equal and effective participation in the social, economic, cultural, and political lives of the society. It is clearly both a process

and a product which involves at least four factors: the excluded, the institutions from which they are excluded, the agents whose result is the exclusion and the process through which exclusion occurs.

Levitas et al. (2007) indicates two types of social exclusion: multi-dimensional exclusion and deep exclusion. They indicate the multi-dimensional exclusion as follows:

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole. (p. 9)

‘Social exclusion’ itself is universally regarded in the academic and policy literature as involving multi-dimensional disadvantages. ‘Deep exclusion’ cannot therefore be clearly differentiated from social exclusion on this basis. However, there are degrees of severity of social exclusion and “Deep exclusion refers to exclusion across more than one domain or dimension of disadvantage, resulting in severe negative consequences for quality of life, well-being and future life of changes” (Levitas et al., 2007, p. 9). Levitas et al. highlight ten dimensions or domains of social exclusion in Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM) as,

Resources:	Material/economic resources
	Access to public and private services
	Social resources

Participation: Economic participation
Social participation Culture,
education and skill Political
and civic participation

Quality of Life: Health and well-being
Living environment Crime,
harm and criminalization

On gender-based exclusion in Nepal, Bhattachan (2009) mentions that women are struggling against the unitary state, monarchy, all forms of gender biased discrimination, patriarchy, male chauvinism, violence against girls/women, and the media's use of women as commodities. They stand for a federal democratic republic, gender equity and equality, sincere implementation of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), equal rights on parental property, right to one's own body, affirmative action or positive discrimination, access to and control over and benefits from resources, representation in decision-making positions, collection of gender disaggregated data, and diversity among women in terms of caste, ethnicity, language, culture, religion and region. And many of them are included in law and are on the way to implementation.

Exclusion may be on various grounds as in: livelihood; service, permanent employment; earnings, property, credit, or land; minimal or prevailing consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equity; democratic participation; public goods, the nation or the dominant race; family and

sociability; humanity, respect, fulfillment and understanding (Subramanyam & Sekhar, 2010) either in law or in practice.

In short, social exclusion in its more specific manifestation, as discrimination, refers to the process through which different groups are wholly or partially restricted from full participation in economic, educational and social institutions that define social membership. It involves both the act of restricting access to resources and the consequences that follow (Subramanyam, 2010).

Social Inclusion

Although many literatures use social exclusion as the starting point for their discussion, it has value on its own process and goal. It reflects a proactive human development approach to social well being that calls for more than the removal of barriers or risks (Mitchell & Shillington, 2002). Recognizing the importance of difference and diversity has become central to new understandings of identity at both a national and community level.

Mitchell and Shillington (2002) define social inclusion as follows:

Social inclusion is not, however, just a response to exclusion.... Opposing social exclusion and advancing inclusion are not necessarily synonymous. The term social inclusion carries policy tensions that social exclusion may not. The

former suggests the existence of the marginalized group, in need of rehabilitation to return to the main stream. The latter suggests that it is society that must adapt to ensure that all are included (p. 2).

Mitchell and Shillington also mention the following five critical dimensions of social inclusion:

- Valued recognition- Conferring recognition and respect on individuals and groups.
- Human development- Nurturing the talents, skills, capacities and choices of individuals and groups.
- Involvement and engagement- Having the right and the necessary support to make/ be involved in decisions affecting oneself, family and community, and to be engaged in community life.
- Proximity or Closeness- Sharing physical and social spaces to provide opportunities for interactions, if desired, and to reduce social distances between people. This includes shared public spaces such as parks and libraries; mixed income neighborhoods and housing; and integrated schools and classrooms.
- Material well being- having the material resources to allow children and their parents to participate fully in community life. This includes being safe and securely housed and having an adequate income.

Similarly, Branosky (as cited in as cited in Boushey, Fremstad, Cragg, & Waller, 2007) following an equal opportunity to all states:

Social inclusion is based on the belief that we all fare better when no one is left to fall too far behind and the economy works for everyone. Social inclusion simultaneously incorporates multiple dimensions of well-being. It is achieved when all have the opportunity and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social, and cultural activities which are considered the societal norm (p. 1).

To be socially included, people must be given the opportunity to: secure a job; access services; connect with family, friends, work, personal interests and local community; deal with personal crisis; and have their voice heard (Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2008).

Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, and Bereded-Samuel (2010) indicate social inclusion can pertain to a variety of areas of social groupings. These include demographic differentiation with respect to: socio-economic status; culture and primary language, including indigenous group, and those for whom English is not a first language; religion; geography, including those in regional, rural/or remote areas; gender and sexual orientation; age, including youth and senior groups; health, including physical and mental disabilities; unemployment; homelessness; and incarceration.

The World Bank defines that "social inclusion is the removal of institutional barriers and the enhancement of incentives to increase the access of diverse individuals and groups to development opportunities" (as cited in Bhattachan, 2009). Similarly, Mitchell and Shillington, (2002) indicates, "...social

inclusion extends beyond bringing the 'outsiders' in or notions of the periphery versus the centre. It is about closing physical, social and economic distances separating people, rather than only about eliminating boundaries or barriers between *us* and *them*" (p. ix).

So, social inclusion can be understood as pertaining to a nested schema regarding degrees of inclusion. The narrowest interpretation pertains to the neo liberal notion of *social inclusion as access*; a broader interpretation regards the social justice idea of *social inclusion as participation*; whilst the widest interpretation involves the human potential lens of *social inclusion as empowerment* (Gidley et al., 2010).

Conclusion

Social exclusion is way of the discriminating people in the community where as social

inclusion appears to be the remedies to this discrimination. To avoid social exclusion, social inclusion is essential. Social inclusion is a process for dealing with social exclusion and integrating individuals into society and overall development process. To provide greater equal opportunity to the marginalized groups of the society requires changes at social, political and economic level. In these regards, redistributing power and resources equally to the marginalized people are the most important agenda of inclusion. Similarly, ownership on assets, access to shelter, social and economic identity, participation of civil service of marginalized groups are the important issues of social inclusion in Nepal. Therefore, result oriented activities on social inclusion should be initiated and implemented by the Government of Nepal.

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Population Ageing and its Challenges in Nepal

Khemraj Baral*

Abstract

Ageing is the most important factor to manage demographic as well as socio-economic problems in Nepal with adequate reflection in the policy and plan documents. Advancement in medical technology has led to increase in the life expectancy as well as increase in the number of older people. Gradual decline in fertility, rapidly increasing technological diffusion along with considerable control in mortality increasing have challenged its properly management. Poor socio-economic condition and inadequate resource base of the country have difficulties in coping with the problem of ageing. Transitions in social status, economic motive and family attitude, norms, values and transformation from joint to nuclear family structure have also challenged its properly rearing and caring. The paper tries to illustrate the situation of population ageing and its challenges in Nepal.

Keywords: Population ageing, elderly, physical disability, mental disorder, less socialization, loss of immunity power

Introduction

The chronological age of beginning old age is relative to person and the context. A chronologically aged person may be young being both physically and mentally fit. The number of people aged 65 years and above in Nepal was 1,397,583 (CBS, 2011). This number accounts for 0.24% of old persons in the world and 5.27% of Nepal's population in 2011. In relation to the growing population, the volume of old persons is also increasing in Nepal in every successive census.

Ageing is a continuous, natural, universal and intrinsic process. It is distinct from the physical and mental retardation caused by any other reasons like diseases, disability or any superficial causes, physical disabilities in the old age. The rapid increase in world ageing especially in developing countries has deemed to develop questions to planner and government. (Hodgson, 1983)

The global average annual growth rate of people aged 60 years or over was only slightly higher

than the rate for total population (about 1.8%) in the period 1950-1955. Currently growth rate of older population (1.9%) is significantly higher than that of total population (1.2%). In near future the difference between the two rates is expected to become larger.

The Growth of Ageing Population in Nepal

In Nepal, individual over 60 years of the age

are considered elderly. The table-1 shows that percentage of old persons is increased in every successive census. Elderly population has increased with an annual growth rate of 3.07% for persons aged 60 years and above, 3.50% for persons aged 65 years and above and 3.78% for persons aged 75 years and above.

Table 1 . Percent of Nepalese ageing population from 1911 to 2011

Aged	Census Year		2001	2011	Growth Rate per year
	1981	1991			
60+	857061	1071234	1477379	2154410	3.07
65+	489566	639584	956471	1397583	3.50
75+	144197	185165	295459	447981	3.78

The age structure of Nepali population has been changing over the years with a shift towards older ages increasing gradually declined fertility and relatively controlled adult mortality. The change in traditional behavior has insisted people to migrate from distance hills and mountains to relatively developed area where amenities are available. This movement has resulted in change of food habits, health services and other facilities. These factors contribute to ultimate increase in life expectancy at birth which challenges to be addressed for the care of elderly people in Nepal. Furthermore, challenges in employment for young adult people have created pressure for them to move away from home, village/town as well as the country and abroad. Such movement challenges for

caring of aged people and burden to remaining women and children hindering their personal career development.

The migration of youth from rural areas to urban areas in search of opportunities has made ageing a parallel problem in Nepal. The older are getting older in one hand and younger have the challenges of life on the other leaving no time to take care of elderly people. Government policy of Nepal had not anticipated the problem of elder in immediate past. Hence governments have no preparation for making support to them. This condition has resulted to young adult to leave their families with children away from home. The elder population has thus faced many problems with inadequate government policies and plan. Nepal has no sound official social security

system. The practice of transferring property to descendents to ensure their future which in turn has been creating further conflicts between the generation and causing for deteriorated security of elderly people. The position of elderly in family and community level has interplayed most important role to enlarge their less socialization.

The issue of ageing population has been acknowledged in some of public policies in Nepal such as civil code 1963, senior citizen act 2006 and the interim constitution 2007. However, the question remains whether or not they have come as a result of proper recognition of age structure transition as such. In the case of Nepal; age structure transition is an issue that is still in its infancy with very limited studies available (Subedi-2003) gender prospective analysis has taken an important role to address issues related to elderly people. In Nepal three censuses (1981, 1991 and 2001), a majority of males had evident. There was also quite a different composition of the elderly population in urban compared to rural area; there was dominance of women in urban area (Chalise, 2006). A major goal in policy development is to ensure that vulnerable or disempowered groups such as older persons are treated fairly and without discrimination in any resources prioritization framework of population in Nepal.

There is no separated effective sound scheme targeted for elderly people's health care facilities in Nepal. The government, non-

government and private agencies have important role to provide health facilities for elderly people. This effort has enhanced to control physical disability, mental disorder and loss of immunity power. There is considerable gap in generation in Nepal. The younger generation has imbitions of modernization and elder generation wants to continue traditional norms and values. This gap is translated in to family conflict and migration of member of younger generations towards urban centers or abroad. So, elderly people have a condition to face multi problems themselves.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article is to illustrate the situation of population ageing and its challenges in Nepal.

There is no sufficient literature available on current scenario, trends, challenges, impacts, welfare and management of ageing in Nepal. There are multi dimensional challenges to manage growing elderly population in Nepal. Ageing is not only an economic issue but also a social, cultural and political issue of the country. Most of the elderly people are fighting with socio-economic as well as health condition. Such as physical disability, mental disorder, less socialization and loss of immunity power etc.

The government of Nepal and other concerned agencies should conduct a compressive survey covering all the aspects of ageing population to formulate adequate plans and policies for elderly population.

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Safe Motherhood in Nepal

Chandramani Acharya*

Lekhnath Baral(Gopi)*

Abstract

Maternal and infant deaths can be prevented through safe motherhood practices, millions of women worldwide are affected by maternal mortality and morbidity from preventable causes. Human Rights Implicated. ... Yet this autonomy is crucial to help women access the means to maintain or restore maternal health. Safe Motherhood Program aims to reduce maternal and neonatal mortality and morbidities by addressing avoidable factors that are caused by complications of pregnancy and childbirth. The main aim of this article to find the condition safe motherhood practice in Nepal based upon Nepal demographic health survey 2011BS. This article presents the term, condition and problem of safe motherhood in Nepal.

Introduction

Safe motherhood covers a broad range of direct and indirect efforts, reduces deaths and disabilities resulting from pregnancy and childbirth. The goal ensures that every woman has access to a full range of high quality affordable sexual and reproductive health services especially maternal care and treatment of obstetrical emergencies to reduce the maternal death and disability. Safe motherhood ensures that every female can determine the pregnancy and conception, number of children, period of pregnancy.

The maternal mortality ratio of Nepal is in decreasing way According to Nepal demographic health survey 2011, there is MMR is 539 per lakh live birth. The main cause of decreasing of MMR is improving status of woman, control IMR, female education and employment, decreasing economic value of children etc.

Every minutes, a woman dies as a result of pregnancy related complicated or delivery. This means near about 1400 women die every day, 50 to 100 women suffer chronic diseases and disabilities. Safe motherhood covers a broad range of direct and indirect efforts to reduce deaths and disabilities resulting from pregnancy and childbirth. Direct efforts include those to ensure that every woman has access to full range of high quality, affordable sexual and reproductive health services especially maternal care and treatment of obstetric emergencies. Indirect efforts include addressing social and other conditions that may affect women health ([www.the networktuth.org](http://www.thenetworktuth.org)).

Safe motherhood is ability for women to have safe and healthy pregnancy and delivery. The goal ensures that every woman has

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access to high quality, affordable sexual and reproductive health service especially maternal care and treatment of obstetrical emergencies to reduce the maternal death and disability. Safe motherhood also include that every woman can determine the pregnancy, conception, number of child and birth spacing. Almost the slogan of safe motherhood is *Healthy pregnancy, safe delivery and health baby* (Chalise, 2059).

Mother is great in the world. She brings us into this world keeping us in her womb for ten months. In developing countries maternal mortality is high due to early marriage, malnutrition, low status of female, far from use of resources, no gap between first and second child (low birth interval). It is estimated that 2,87,000 maternal deaths occurred in at 2010AD in developing countries.

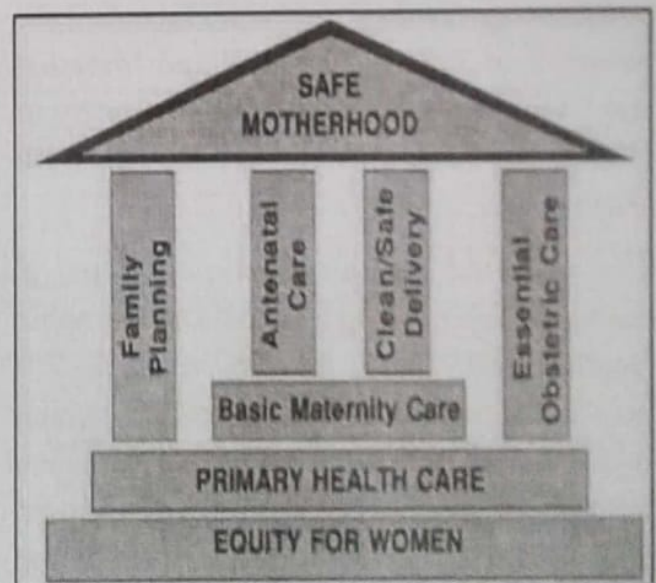
It is estimated that 100 million to 140 million girls worldwide have undergone female genital cutting and more that three 3 millions girls are at risk for cutting each year in African continent alone. There is practice in some culture as early marriage. It is a serious physical and mental health risk for woman and young girls especially for women who have extreme forms of the procedure. According to WHO 2006 female genital cutting can be linked to increased complication in childbirth even maternal death. Other side effects are server pain, hemorrhage tetanus, infection, infertility, cyst, urinary incontinence and psychological and sexual problem (www.prb.org 2010AD).

The basic principal of the mother-baby package are neither new nor controversial,

they are considered the four pillar of safe motherhood:

1. Family Planning to ensure that individuals and couples have information and services to plan the timing , number and spacing of pregnancies.
2. Antenatal care to prevent complication where possible and ensures that complications of pregnancy are detected early and treated appropriately
3. Clean/Safe delivery to ensure that all birth attendants have knowledge, skill and equipment to perform a clean and safe delivery and provide postpartum care to mother and baby and
4. Essential obstetric care to ensure that essential care for high-risk pregnancies and complication is made available to all women who need it.

Condition of Safe Motherhood in Nepal



(<https://www.google.com.np>)

In Nepal there is no clear safe motherhood program since 1956 AD. Member of Medical council established The Family Planning Program at 1956 AD and this intuition started the program about safe motherhood and family program in Nepal. Its only target is to control high maternal mortality and child mortality by using the contraceptive method. Another target is to control the high population growth. In non- government sector, Path Finder established the Family Planning association of Nepal at 1958 AD, These institutions are oriented on the sector of information about use of contraceptive method, family planning, skilful manpower in the field of medical sector, safe delivery and supply of the method who wanted these services. King Mahendra also addressed the subject on the maternal health and family planning at 1965 AD. In the beginning there was high population growth and high fertility which takes negative impact on the basic and additional needs. In this condition government of Nepal launched the program of Family planning and Maternal and Child health Board under the ministry of Health and Population since 2025 BS to till (Ramamajhi..., 2064).

The maternal mortality ratio of Nepal is decreasing. According to Nepal Demographic Health Survey 2011, there is MMR as 539 per lakh live births in the year 1996 which is decreasing and became 281 per lakh live births in the year 2011. Poor maternal nutrition is very common in many courtiers due to the low status of women. They are often served

less nutritious food where as husband and son received better food. Poor nutrition in girls can stunt growth and limit the size of pelvises. Women who are under weight are less likely to have healthy pregnancy.

Early marriage is another obstacle for safe motherhood. High maternal and child mortality leads the early marriage. Girls aged between 10-14 are five times more likely to die in pregnancy or child bearing than the women aged 20-24 while aged 15-19 are twice as likely to die (www.intmediacentre/factsheet/ts348/in/index.html). In developing countries there is high discrimination between male and female. In case of determination in fertility there no role of female. She always obeys her husband and senior family members. Girls are denied to education in many poor societies due to their family, society and limited resources. They are also far from the sex education, family planning devices and information about their individual right. Young women with unmarried female have not access on family planning devices. Women cannot refuse the unwanted sex with their partner due to fear and paternal society (www.prb.org 2011).

Maternal incentive scheme was adopted in 2005 AD to encourage women to use health facilities for maternity care and improve access to maternity care. The health care services are that the women receive during pregnancy, child birth and immediate post natal period. Pregnant mother takes the antenatal care from doctor 26.9 percent, followed by nurses 31.4,

maternal child health worker 12.9, village health worker 1.4, not taking anti-natal care 15.5 percent (NDHS, 2011). Following table shows the percent distribution of live births

in the 5 year preceding the survey by the place of delivery and percentage delivered in health facility according to the back ground characteristics .

Percent distribution of live births in the 5 years preceding the survey by the place of delivery and percentage delivered in a health facility according to the background characteristics, Nepal 2011

Background	Health facility				
	Gov Sector	Non Gov. Sector	Private Sector	Home	Other
Mothers age at birth					
<20 years	33	2.2	6.1	57.7	1.1
20-34	25.2	2.1	7.9	63.2	1.6
35-39	13.6	2.5	3.8	77.1	
Birth order					
1	38.5	4.0	11.6	44.5	1.4
2-3	22.8	1.6	6.7	67.3	1.6
4-5	15.1	0.1	2.0	81.7	1.1
6 above	8.6	0.8	1.1	86.3	3.3
Place of residence					
Urban	51.8	2.8	16.7	27.9	0.8
Rural	23.3	2.1	6.3	66.7	1.7
Ecological Zone					
Mountain	16.3	0.6	2.0	79.4	1.6
Hill	25.6	1.3	4.4	66.4	2.3
Terai	27.7	3.0	10.2	58.1	1.0
Mothers Education					
No education	15.3	0.6	3.5	79.3	1.3
Primary	23.3	1.8	6.4	66.7	1.8
Secondary	38.2	4.1	8.9	47.6	1.2
SLC and above	49.8	5.4	19.4	22.8	2.6
Nepal	26	2.1	7.2	63.1	1.6

Nepal demographic Health survey 2011

Above table shows the place of delivery in Nepal. Most of the female give live birth at home (63.1%) followed by government sector (26%) and Private Sector (7.2%). There is difference in place of delivery according to their characteristic which is presented in above table. Fifty percent of urban female give live births in hospitals where as in rural female, it is only 23.3 percent. Similarly educated mothers choose the hospital (50%) for delivery than the uneducated female (15.3%).

Most of the mothers give birth to the new babies at home. This act is harmful for both mothers and babies. Due to the lack of sterilized instruments, traditional method of delivering children, belief in *dhamis and jhakris* and negligence of senior family members, most of the mothers and children die. The main reasons for not delivering babies in health centers are: too much cost of delivery (4.5 percent) followed by the lack of maternal health facilities (1.5 percent), lack of transportation (13.5 percent), poor quality services (2 percent) and husband family opposition (2.8 percent) etc.. (NDHS, 2011).

Problem of Safe Motherhood in Nepal

In most of developing countries like Nepal women are dying as result of following reason;

- Severe bleeding(most bleeding after child birth)

- Infection
- Unsafe abortion
- Sexually transmitted infection
- Difficulties of delivery due to the blockade of the opening of uterus.
- High blood pressure, faint and swelling of the body.
- Others(poverty, geographical condition, lack of information, lack of service and method, and cultural practice)

Suggestions to Improve the Safe Motherhood

- Have full awareness of complication of pregnancy and information about family planning devices for effective birth spacing.
- Provide adequate facilities, equipments and drugs
- Increase female status, education and employment.
- Making delivery plan.
- Save child from cold.
- Give nutritious food to female before and after delivery.

Conclusion

Women need to be given greater access to the control and ownership of resources and revenues to increase the scope of quality of progress. Women need to be at the centre of development strategies. They need to be empowered in the sector of economic, social and political area.

Male person must have the realization that they are more than the sex partners for the welfare of women. They have to be aware of maintaining appropriate condition for pregnancies. They should be provided with

anti-natal and post-natal care. Empowerment and improvement of women condition, increment of per capita income as well as gross domestic product should be improved for safe motherhood in Nepal.

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History, Memory and Narrative: Constructing Identities, Reconstructing the Past

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Abstract

The concepts of history, memory and narrative can be discussed with reference to the making of identities. The discussion here seeks to answer such questions as: What are the interrelationships between history, memory, and narrative? How are memory and history constructed, interpreted, transmitted and transformed? What larger significance does the study of memory and history have for the reconstruction of the past and the construction of identities? In this way, the paper attempts to discuss issues related to the role of memory and history, and particularly the central role narratives play in the reconstruction of the past.

Keywords: History, memory, narrative, identity, trauma

Introduction

Many people take the reconstructions of the past to be a mere reproduction of what really happened. So the use of history has important social and moral consequences because the reconstruction of the past has a powerful effect on the interpretation of the present as well as the view about the future. This is particularly evident when looked not too far away uses of some versions of the past in order to justify the memory of some historical narratives. It is expected that a growing awareness of the fabric of the social construction of the past would facilitate a more critical and reflective use of historical stories, and so to go beyond in the understanding of social life. Even if members of a particular group cannot dispose of the narrative forms

of their received tradition, there is a growing awareness about how history, memory and narrative contribute to making of their identities.

This paper, thus, offers an overview of key approaches to understanding the construction of history and memory and how narratives play an important role to enable them all to work together. It then analyzes a range of situations which foreground issues of memory, history and narrative in the construction of identity. And, far from referring to an accurate and complete reproduction of what actually happened, it is highlighted that the past is always in the process of being constructed and reconstructed by memories and through different narrative forms.

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History and Memory

History and memory, far from being synonymous, appear to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life that remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting; it is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying an individual to the eternal present. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer; it is a representation of the past. However, the gulf between the two has narrowed down in modern times with the growing use of narratives in the making of identities.

To begin with, history is the record of past events, either in writing or on an oral tradition. From this perspective, history means the study of the past and has a special attention to the written record of activities of human beings over time. But for Keith Jenkins (1991), "the past and history are not stitched into each other such that only one historical reading of the past is absolutely necessary" (p. 7). In this sense, the past and history are different things and have separate existence of their own.

But "history," as for Paul Hamilton (2007), "no longer looks opposed to fiction, but within history we encounter different genres of writing, in which it is appropriate to tell different kinds of story" (p. 9). Raman Selden and others (2006), like Hamilton, define history as "telling of a story about the events of the past" (p. 191). History, thus, uses a narrative or story to examine and analyze the sequence of events. In addition, it is facilitated

by the formation of a discourse of the past that does not "create the world" (Jenkins, 1991, p. 7) through the production of narrative and analysis of the past events relating to human kind. All events that are remembered and preserved in some authentic form constitute a historical record. The task of historical discourse is to identify sources, which can most usefully contribute to the production of accurate accounts of the past.

In particular, history begins as narrative and is formative of collective memory and identity. For example, the history of the Trojan War is not only of Herodotus, but also of Homer. The Trojan War tells the lived history of that time and over the ages Homer is known through it. In the following passage, Hayden White (1987) has suggested the idea of history as he notes,

Traditional historiography has featured predominantly the belief that history itself consists of a congeries of lived stories, individual and collective, and that the principal task of historians is to uncover these stories and to retell them in a narrative, the truth of which would reside in the correspondence of the story told to the story lived by real people in the past. (p. ix-x)

History as a discipline, then, can be linked with collective memory that becomes more reflective and problematic. The problem is with the narrative form and the poetic intention that remain present in the memory of history, even with the focus on factual

documents. For Jenkins (1991) again, history remains "inevitably a personal construct, a manifestation of the historian's perspective as a 'narrator'" (p. 14). Here, unlike memory, history relies on an interpreter's eyes and voice; and the interpreter stands between the past events and the readings of those past events. It means that there is no any fixed meaning of the past events. Jenkins here points out that history is first and foremost a literary narrative about the past, a literary composition of data into a narrative where a historian creates a meaning for the past. In contrast, White, in the above statement, offers a discussion of a relation between history and memory in which he attempts to bridge the gap by placing both in time and socio-political context.

Hence, White's formulation of history and memory plays a vital role in discussing the centrality of the past and of collective memory in an identity formation. The example here is important into the making of identities of a community or a group. As rooted in this particular example, this paper is structured around a more general model, which is centered on the discussion of history in terms of narrative and memory.

Memory is central to being a human; thus, it comes as no surprise that the philosophers and the psychologists have been interested in the subject as far back as recorded history goes. Greek mythology gave a goddess of memory or remembrance; her name was *mnemosyne*. The term *mnemosyne*

grants power through her daughters to tell "of what is, and what is to be, and what was before now" (Clark et al., 1980, p. 32). It represented the foundation of all intellectual discipline and wisdom. For some Greek philosophers, the goddess also paradoxically brought "forgetfulness of sorrow and rest from anxiety" (Clark et al., 1980, p. 32). This was a beneficent and creative forgetting. But, for many philosophers of the day, memory and forgetfulness were opposites. To lack memory was to lack knowledge and ultimately to lose oneself.

Some of the most profound historical writing about memory occurred during the seventeenth century. In 1690, for example, John Locke (1975) distinguished between sensation and reflection: two sources or ideas in the mind (p. 165). For Locke, reflections consist of thoughts about thoughts, and these can modify a simple sensory content of the mind that is created from perceiving a world of objects. He anticipates a modern-day research when he talks about memory as a complex of sensory ideas modified by the history of reflection.

A half century later, as quoted by Elizabeth Loftus (2013), David Hume suggested that memories can contain both fact and fiction. Comparing them, he said that factual memory tends to be "more lively and strong" and "paints its objects with more distinct colours" (p. 19). Thus, truth and falsehood in memory have been made problematic. Modern methods of investigating

memory develop from these roots. Eventually, history becomes the study of collective memories, and psychology finds a place for itself as the scientific study of human species in general and individual memory in particular.

Early psychologists such as Hermann Ebbinghaus were interested only in memory that was closely linked to sensory stimuli. These psychologists were not interested in memory that was the result of reflective processes; for Mark Freeman (1993), memory was "autobiographical reflections" (p. 29). When considering autobiographical texts, a new relationship is being created between the past and the present. A text about the self is thereby being rewritten in different periods of history. The latter-day psychologists appreciated the idea that memory reflects not only the losses of information, but also modifications of them. In fact, this conception of memory became central to psychoanalytic theory and to the work of many major theorists such as Sir Francis Bartlett. Indeed, some of these latter-day scholars contended that all memory processes are reconstructive. In other words, the retrieval of memory involves a process in which the initial memory content is modified as a result of interactions with other information already stored in memory.

But some forms of remembering do not involve reconstruction. There is no indication that something is reconstructed when it is remembered. Rather memories are as most personal and subjective, as testimony to individuality. Memories, for Jenny Edkins

(1991), are "pictured as traces or recordings left by the past in individual minds, like a personal archive" (p. 30). This kind of memory is shaped by the way computer systems that show exactly an image of the past. For example, no reconstruction seems to be involved when remembered the meaning of common words in the native language or how to use a fork and knife to eat in a certain culture.

Concerning the concept of remembering, trauma and memory have become key words across several fields of inquiry. Telling a story, through oral or written means, has been shown to be a key experience in people's lives, especially those who have undergone a severe social trauma. This has been a case for the thousands of Holocaust survivors who have given their testimonies in institutions around the world. Whereas the storytelling of their traumatic past does not always have healing effects for survivors, it opens up channels of thoughts, feelings, and communication that have often been closed for years. Having an opportunity to recount one's traumatic past, one can often lead to a telling of deeply personal stories that may have been previously forgotten or denied.

The studies on the Holocaust, narratives of survivors and perpetrators exemplify a growing interest in questions of trauma and memory. The studies, according to Jenny Edkins (2003), aim to "contribute to understandings of the particular way in which power, the social order and the person are

constituted in the contemporary west, through a study of practices of trauma, memory and witness" (p. 9). Here, trauma and memory are rooted in both individual and collective forms of identity, and subject to interventions of cultural and political movements.

Like memory, the notion of trauma, or deeply felt emotional response to some occurrence, has both individual and collective connotation. In this context, Jeffrey Alexander and others (2004) observe trauma in the following lines: "When members of a collective feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever, and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (p. x). Hence, trauma is conceptualized on the individual level through psychological and psychoanalytical frameworks. A more cultural notion would help to account for the emergence of new collective identities in times of social crisis, so deep as to undermine established identities. The aim was modest, not to construct a general theory, but one was restricted to the emergence of collective identities when necessary.

In contrast to psychological or physical trauma, which involves a wound and an experience of great emotional anguish called "psychic trauma" (Edkins, 2003, p. 3) by an individual, cultural trauma refers to a dramatic loss of identity and meaning. It affects a group of people who have achieved some degree of cohesion. In this sense, trauma needs not

necessarily be felt by everyone in a group or have been directly experienced by any or all.

As it may be necessary to establish some events or occurrences for the significant cause, its traumatic meaning must be established and accepted. It is a process, which requires time, mediation, and representation. A cultural trauma must be understood, and explained through public reflection and discourse. Here, in modern societies, mass-mediated representations play a decisive role. Ron Eyerman (2004) calls this process a "trauma drama" (p. 160). With the help of collective representation, the collective experience of massive disruption and social crisis becomes a crisis of meaning and identity.

Interestingly, cultural trauma calls attention to memory, the recollection of events, and to the role of representation. Ron Eyerman (2002) defines cultural trauma as a process in which "trauma is mediated through various forms of representation and linked to the reformation of collective identity and the reworking of collective memory" (p. 1). Here, trauma in question is collective memory, not as institution or even experience, but as collective memory, a form of remembrance that constructed the identity formation of an individual.

There is no any kind of mental activity in which memory does not intervene. I. A. Richards (1925) refers to memory as an "apparent revival of past experience to which its richness and complexity is due" (p. 103). Richards observes that every received

stimulus leaves behind an imprint capable of being received later that contributes to various manifestations of consciousness and behavior. The human race has developed by means of the interaction between consciousness and reality, and between the interior world of the mind and the exterior world. In this connection, a narrative is open to interpretation both at individual as well as collective levels.

Obviously, the narratives give a literary expression to collective and individual identity as it is represented through memory, which can lead to "a distorted identity-formation" (Eyerman, 2002, p. 3). This treatment of memory represents an intellectual shift from a purely individual psychology of remembering to a new exploration of additional issues. It includes identity, the mechanisms of memory, and the relevance of the past. Thus, memory is usually left to the psychologists and the biologists and now to the newly developed cognitive science. But memory in the form of history and tradition is central to what is meant by society and to all social interaction. Memory provides individuals and collectives with a cognitive map that helps orient who they are, why they are here, and where they are going. Memory, thus, is central to individual and collective identities.

Further, memory is based on individual's personality. Ron Eyerman (2002) here rightly argues that "Theories of identity-formation, socialization, tend to conceptualize memory as part of the development of self and personality" (p. 5). Hence, the past becomes

the present through responses of individuals in everyday lives. Memory here is to account for the human behavior. The notions of collective identity theorize a loss of the self, and account for the collective behavior as well as the formation of new collective identities.

Within this tradition, collective memory is defined as "recollections of a shared history" (Eyerman, 2002, p. 5), which are passed on through ongoing processes of commemoration, with a shared past as a central component. Such processes are as much physical and emotional as they are cognitive in which the past is both embodied and recalled through such cultural practices. Here, individual memory is conceived as derivative of collective memory. It is the collective memory which orients a group, providing the temporal and cognitive map mentioned above. The collective memory unifies the group through time and over space by providing a narrative frame, a collective story, which locates the individual and his or her biography within it.

The collective memory is linked to the formation of collective identity and brings it close to myth and to ideology. The role of collective memory is vital in the formation of archetypal theories. Elaborating on the idea, in her discussion of the role of photography in the representation of pain, Susan Sontag (2003) writes:

Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as *collective* memory – part of the same family of spurious notions as

collective guilt. But there is collective instruction. All memory is individual, irreproducible – it dies with each person. What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that *this* is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds. Ideologies create substantiating archives of images, representative images, which encapsulate common ideas of significance and trigger predictable thoughts, feelings. (p. 85-6)

This would make lines between the discipline of history and the collective memory sharp and distinct. The connection between history and memory becomes an important aspect in the study of identity in which collective memory has a major emphasis.

From this perspective, history is a collectively shaped, if not collectively experienced, that serves to orient those individuals within it. The past becomes the present through the historical narratives. It also calls upon "to legitimate identity, to construct and reconstruct it" (Antze & Lambek, 1996, p. 11). Thus, history may be embodied in material objects, in the way a town is structured, or arrangements in a museum which are laid out to recall aspects of the past in a particular way. What history means is recounted, interpreted and transmitted through language. These dialogues are framed as stories or narratives, which structure their telling and influence their reception.

Even though some scientific disciplines view memory as a particular content of the mind, they do not generally look critically at the stories and narratives. The writers tell about the past, which contributes to their sense of self. These significant happenings which used to convey meanings of the past experience are produced much in the same way as narrative. Thus, identity and narration are most certainly activated by memory and retrieved by remembrance. In this case, Terry Eagleton summarizes Gerard Genette's analysis of the narrative dialectic between the past and the present. Eagleton (1983) writes that the narrative moves toward the future, demonstrating how memory can provide a forum for shaping narrative strategies. The narrative also demonstrates a suppressed past, resulting in a cultural recovery which, in turn, develops new relationships with the past (p. 105-6). It demonstrates that identity, within the scope of a narrative of memory, evolves over time and is subject to the influence of history and the recognition of difference. The collective memory, like individual memory, is a function out of which discourses become a part of the individual. Hence, memory is one of the ways human consciousness connects experiences and images in the web of language.

In brief, the questions of memory and history are complex. Memory is never automatic nor a direct or exact recollection of the past, let alone be the traumatic past. But history is recollected from the past. People

remember as members of groups, and, thus, collective relationships to a trauma shape the ways people remember, forget, and deny. To Jenny Edkins (2003), the roles of memory and history have changed in modern times. For example, he argues that "memory is sacred, history profane. Memory is alive, evolving, negotiated and belongs to the present and to particular groups; history is a reconstruction of the past that has to be analytical and detached" (p. 31). Though memory and history are two different things, memories of trauma are located in history. Thus, memory and history are always subject to play different roles when they are transformed into the subsequent narratives.

History and Narrative

The storytellers tell narratives about their experiences and the meanings that these experiences create for their lives. All cultures and societies possess their own stories or narratives about their past and present, and sometimes about their view of the future. These narratives include stories of greatness and heroism, or stories of periods characterized by victimization and suffering.

To begin with, a narrative is a story in prose or verse that includes events, characters, and dialogues. It is created in a constructive format that describes a sequence of fictional or non-fictional events. The word 'story' may be used as a synonym of 'narrative,' but can also be used to refer to the sequence of events described in a narrative. The storytelling is one of the earliest forms of entertainment. It

may also refer to psychological processes in self-identity, memory and meaning-making. Taken together, then, a story or a narrative combines either real or imagined events and connects them in such a way that it provides a chain of events that are recounted to others.

Conventionally, to be a narrative, there must be certain features (Barry, 2007, p. 223). All stories or narratives have a setting, which is usually made clear early on. Not all stories develop their settings, but some evoke vivid associations of particular times or places. When the setting is ambiguous, the listener or reader of the story may feel confused or disoriented. The second element is characters, the players in the action. As the story proceeds, the reader gets certain basic information about the characters in the story: what they look like; how old they are; their dreams and wishes, etc. The third element is a plot. A story is expected to have at least one plot: actions which have consequences and reactions to these consequences by and for the characters. A story may contain one episode or may have a sequence of episodes that includes basic elements noted above. In a story, an initiating event leads to an attempt on the part of a character. The consequence gives rise to a reaction. The episodes follow one another, building on one another as the story takes a form. Within this basic story structure, there are numerous variations and conventions which can enhance a story's tension. As the tension builds across episodes, it needs an eventual resolution of the problem faced by one or more of the characters. This relief

occurs in the climax, or turning point in the story, followed by a surprising denouement.

In another way, a narrative can be categorized as traditional narrative and modern narrative. The traditional narrative focuses on the chronological order of history. It is event-driven and tends to center upon an individual's action and intention. For example, Sophocles's Greek tragedy *Oedipus the King* does not so much tell a story; but it dramatizes a striking example of the way history telling, putting together of data to make a coherent tale. A history telling in this case makes something happen with a vengeance. It leads the storyteller to condemn, blind, and exile himself. It also leads his mother-wife, Jocasta, to kill herself. Thus, history uses a narrative to examine and analyze the sequence of events, and it looks for the patterns of cause and effect that determine events.

The modern narrative, on the other hand, typically focuses on structures and general trends. A modern narrative would break from rigid chronology if the historian felt it explained the concept better. In the case of *Oedipus the King*, a historian working with the modern narrative may show general traits that are shared by psychoanalysts. In addition, it may also illustrate internal conflicts from those general trends such as the Oedipal conflict that is repressed and shared by all human beings.

As with many words in the English language, a narration has more than one meaning. In a broad sense, a narration

encompasses all written fiction. As one of the four rhetorical modes of discourse, the purpose of narration is to tell a story or to narrate an event or series of events. A narrative may exist in a variety of forms that includes biographies, anecdotes, short stories and novels. In this context, all written fiction may be viewed as narration.

Within the philosophy of mind, the social sciences and various clinical fields including medicine, a narrative can refer to aspects of human psychology. "The idea of the self, as we have come to know it, and the idea of history," as Mark Freeman (1993) argues, are in fact "mutually constitutive" (p. 28). A narrative process is involved in a person's sense of personal or cultural identity, and in the creation and construction of memories, and is thought by some to be the fundamental nature of the self.

Myth is also a kind of story that gains wide acceptance and is often deemed sacred for its ability to communicate a fundamental truth about life. Such a story may be incorporated into different levels: individual, group, family, organization, society, and/or culture. Myths contain archetypal symbols that help make the conscious of and curious about the origins and destiny of human beings. They capture a society's basic psychological, sociological, cosmological, and metaphysical truths (McAdams, 1993, p. 10-120). In short, myths reflect the most important concerns of a people, and help preserve the culture's integrity. All nations and groups have founding

myths, stories as "cultural practice" (Barry, 2007, p. 223), which tell who human beings are through recounting where human beings came from. Such narratives form master frames and are passed on through traditions in rituals and ceremonies which reconnect a group, and where a membership is confirmed. These means of expression, in fact, are resources for history as for founding narratives.

The point here is that founding narratives can be compared to discourse as Michel Foucault (1972) suggests, as elaborated in his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. The term "discourse" has several definitions. In the study of language, a discourse often refers to speech patterns and usage of language, dialects, and acceptable statements, within a community (p. 86). It is a subject of study in peoples who live in secluded areas and share similar speech conventions. The sociologists and philosophers tend to use the term "discourse" to describe conversations and the meaning behind them by a group of people who hold certain ideas in common. Such is the definitions given by the philosopher Foucault, who holds a discourse to be acceptable statements made by a certain type of discourse community.

As Foucault's discourses (1972) impose a structure from above and outside through disciplinary knowledge, narratives are less institutionalized, more open and malleable (p. 104). Discourses, then offer what Stuart Hall and others in the Birmingham School called as preferred readings of texts,

in which they structure possible telling and impose interpretation. They produce an object of which they speak and link discourses with established power and with ideology (as cited in Eyerman, 2004, p. 162). Discourses, in this sense, unify and legitimate a diverse set of practices, establishing "a system of relations" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 65). Even in literary fields or in popular culture, discourses can be silently at work in terms of selectivity, sorting out those authors/texts that express ideologies and values of a dominant culture. They are more likely to get published, to be read and talked about.

Both narrative and discourse frame structures. As opposed to Foucaultian discourse, however, collective narratives leave more room for individual agency even as they provide a framework through which individual stories gain wider meaning. One such is Mark Freeman's definition of history and discourse. He (1993) says that "history is one of a series of discourses about the world" (p. 6). For him, discourses do not create the world but they do appropriate it and give it all meanings they have. In terms of history, the world is an object of enquiry and is related to the past. Thus, history as discourse is in a different category in which the past is a different thing.

As discourses are exercises in power and empower those who involve in the rightly position, narratives can provide means for a counter-story for a minority or an oppressed group in which some of the central concepts of a dominating discourse can be appropriated

and given a new meaning (Foucault, 1972, p. 26). An example is the concept of race, which is appropriated and revalued by the American blacks in their struggle to redefine their standing in society. Even here, however, those more powerful representatives of the marginalized group can exercise a discursive influence in seeking to define how their groups should be represented.

In many ways, founding narratives involve dramatic and traumatic occurrences from which the collective is said to emerge. In this, such narratives might be compared to myths, or the archetypes, but they lack the all-embracing and ontological scope with which a myth is usually associated. This primal scene is usually given a positive connotation, but it can also be negative. In all cases, however, it is powerful in the sense of being emotionally compelling. It is applied in the study of social movements and, most recently, in the study of ethnic minorities and black Americans. For example, in *Beloved*, Morrison has to tell about the legacy of slavery in America and how her character named Sethe can establish a sense of identity in the face of such abuse.

Relating the study of narrative with history, Walter Benjamin (1968) has identified the catastrophe of history with the loss of communicable experience and hence meaning in human life (p. 93). What is lost is the art of the storyteller who, in telling the stories of a culture, passes on the tradition from one generation to the next and with it the wisdom of experience. This wisdom is nothing less

than a knowledge and skill necessary to integrate the experiences contained in a tradition into the real lives of the listeners to make them conscious of history.

The narrative embraces the presence of a community, for someone "listening to a story is in the company of the storyteller; even a man reading one shares this companionship" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 100). This is not a direct conversation between the narrator and the listener. In telling the story, the storyteller renounces an individual's unique subjectivity to the collective experience that invites the listener to do the same. The storyteller takes what he or she tells from his or her experience, his or her own or that reported by others. And he or she in turn makes it "the experience of those who are listening to his tale" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 87). The primary tool of the storyteller is memory. To Benjamin (1968), memory creates "the chain of tradition which passes a happening on from generation to generation" (p. 98). In this sense, memory not only focuses on the present community, but also it embraces the experiences of those who preceded the present generation. A story is integrated into the experience to the extent that the coming generation strives to remember that story.

Benjamin's understanding of history as catastrophe refutes the notion of history as progress. The catastrophe of history lies in the very idea that history is a progression of cause and effect. It also inevitably moves toward a better future and a redeemed humanity. This progressive history looks ever-forward and

sees its past only in terms of its present and future effects, rejecting the description of the past injustices and facilitating the catastrophic devastation of the oppressed.

The Storyteller as History-Teller: A Way to Create Identities

The task of the storyteller and the critical historian, then, is to name and remember the wreckage of history and to make that remembrance relevant to the present generations. In this sense, the storyteller as "history-teller," for Benjamin, engages in the act of interpretation, which is not concerned with "an accurate concatenation of definite events, but with the way these are embedded in the great inscrutable course of the world" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 96). The purpose is not to explain the past. Explanation reduces history/story to information, which can be verified or not, but which does not communicate the experience of the past. The storyteller's interpretation, not "the reading and interpretation of individual stories" (Barry, 2007, p. 223) connects experiences of the past and the present. The telling of a story and its interpretation depend on the integration of the listeners' experience. Each new amalgam of story with experiences brings a new interpretation, or a new meaning to the story.

From within that shared communal experience, it can be interpreted and come to terms with the most disturbing of human experiences. In the story, the individual experience plays a vital role with the continuity of a tradition. In this respect, Benjamin (1968)

says: "A ladder extending downward to the interior of the earth and disappearing into the clouds is the image for a collective experience to which even the deepest shock of every individual experience, death, constitutes no impediment or barrier" (p. 102). Indeed, in remembering the traditional story, the lived experiences of the dead are given authority as they become part of the counsel to the living and are integrated into the on-going experience of a community. Any integration into the on-going experience of a community opens up avenues of praxis, even for the dead; this authoritative remembering is redemption.

For Benjamin, the modern humanity has replaced the story with much information. It severs links between the reader/listener and the communal memory by recasting experiences into isolated remembrances of discrete moments and sensations. Rather than interpreting the depth and breadth of a tradition, such information explains isolated events. Once explained, they are lost to the present. As Walter Benjamin (1968) says, "The value of information does not survive the moment in which it was new. It lives only at that moment; it has to surrender to it completely and explain itself to it without losing any time" (p. 90). This shift from story to information has facilitated and been symptomatic of a fundamental change in the structure of human experience. Once the communication of experience in the story incorporated into a tradition, the ultimate shock of death and multitude of smaller shocks constitute human life in the world.

That makes it possible to safely assimilate these shocks into the lived experience through remembrance. In that way, such experience itself mirrors the historicist account of the past and becomes a series of dislocated moments strung together into a progressive narrative.

To accomplish the redemptive task, in contrast, the storyteller creates images that fuse the past and the present. Those images shock the reader into a critical awareness of what has been left out or rendered complete that must be reclaimed and redeemed. These dialectical images are designed to break open a continuum of history. They stop the progression which threatens to overwhelm all true experiences of oppressed classes, and "to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it" (Tiedemann, 1989, p. 255). In the image, the past and the present collide that result in a shock for the person encountering the dialectical image. The readers are shocked into a critical awareness of history and the "weak Messianic power" (Tiedemann, 1989, p. 254) to redeem what has been left for the dead.

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The storyteller is the creator of images. These images are dialectical in that they bring together the experience of the past generations with the reality of the present, and in so doing, momentarily halt the progress of history. By bringing voices of the past into communication with the present, the storyteller opens up the possibility of transmitting the experience of the oppressed that makes the redemption possible.

Conclusion

To sum up, the narratives are not merely chronicles of what happened; they are more about meanings. As people talk about the past in a subjective and embellished way, the past is continually reconstructed. Here, history is judged to be true or false, not solely with respect to its adherence to the empirical fact, but with respect to the narrative criteria such as believability and coherence. When history is told through memory, it assumes a form of the narrative of the past that charts the trajectory of how the self comes to be. In this sense, history is a way people create their identities in their narratives; and thus, when reconstructing the past, the construction of identities is apparent.

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Performance Analysis of Commercial Bank under ROE Framework : A Comparative Study about Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank in Nepal

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Abstract

This paper analyzed the financial performance of commercial banking sector in Nepal for the period of 5 years from 2009 to 2014. The components of ROE framework are calculated to measure and the profitability, in addition testing of hypothesis (Paired t-test) is used to test the significant differences of ROE, ROA, EM, PM and AU of Joint venture banks and private commercial banks. The study found that overall financial performance of joint venture bank is better than private commercial bank. The testing of hypothesis shows that there is significant difference in performance of joint venture banks and private commercial bank in Nepal.

Keywords: Financial performance, ROE framework, commercial banks, Nepal

Introduction

Financial sector is the backbone of the economy of a country. It works as a facilitator for achieving sustained economic growth through providing efficient monetary intermediation. A strong financial system promotes investment by financing productive business opportunities, mobilizing savings, efficiently allocating resources and makes easy the trade of goods and services (Jha & Hui, 2012). The dominant privately owned financial institution in financial sector of most major countries are the commercial banks. On a macroeconomic level commercial bank represents the primary source of consumer

credit and source of credit to small business. Banks are still the principal means of making payments through the checking accounts i.e. demand deposits and electronic fund transfer services they offer banks today are the principal channel for government monetary policy. Commercial banks are the financial departmental store of the financial system and they operate for profit. Banks devote most of their resource to meeting the financial needs of business firm (Koch & Macdonald, 2004).

Commercial banks are financial intermediaries between the people with surplus of fund and

people in needs for funds, In other words they are the most important source of institutional credit in the money market. Basically commercial bank provide a leading role in payment system offer deposit, loan , products and provide a variety of financial services (Gup & Kolari, 2005). Performance analysis is important for banks and shareholders to get the performance information. The performance analysis of commercial bank is usually related to how well the bank can use its assets, shareholders equities and liabilities, revenues and expenses. Profitability is a bank's first line of defense against unexpected losses as if strengthens, its capital position and improves future profitability through the investment of retained earnings.

ROE is an internal performance measure of shareholders value and it is by far the most popular measure of performance, since it purposes a direct assessment of the financial return of a shareholders' investment, it is easily available for analysis, only repaying upon public information and it allows for comparison between different sectors of the economy.

ROE is sometimes decomposed into separate drivers this is called "DuPont analysis". Where $ROE = \text{Net Profit margin} * \text{Total Assets Turnover Ratio} * \text{Equity Multiplier}$ (Gup & Kolari, 2005). The first element is the net profit margin and the last corresponds to the financial leverage multiplier. Performance measure is necessary for all types of financial institution.

Research Objectives

The first objective of the study is to analyze the financial performance of Commercial Bank in Nepal under ROE framework for year 2009-2014 by making the comparison of joint venture banks and private commercial banks using ROE model.

The second objective of the study is to compare the performance of joint venture bank and private commercial bank by using testing of hypothesis.

Hypothesis of the study

$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no significant difference in performance of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank.)

$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank.)

Where:

μ_1 is the means of (ROE, ROA, EM, PM, AU) of joint venture banks.

μ_2 is the means of (ROE, ROA, EM, PM, AU) of private commercial bank.

Literature Review

Historical Development of Commercial Banks in Nepal

The history of modern commercial banks in Nepal dates back to 1937 A.D. In which year Nepal Bank Limited was incorporated (Baral, 2005). Nepal Bank Limited is the first modern bank of Nepal. It is taken as the

milestone of modern banking of the country. Nepal bank marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the modern banking in Nepal. Nepal Bank Ltd. remained the only financial institution of the country until the foundation of Nepal Rastra Bank in 1956 A.D. Due to the absence of the central bank, Nepal Bank Ltd. has to play the role of central bank and operate the function of central bank. Hence, the Nepal Rastra Bank Act 1955 was formulated, which was approved by Nepal government accordingly, the Nepal Rastra Bank was established in 1956 A.D. as the central bank of Nepal.

Rastriya Banijya Bank was established in 1965 A.D. as the second commercial banks of Nepal. As the agriculture is the basic occupation of major Nepalese, the development of this sector plays the prime role in the economy, so separate Agricultural Development Bank was established in 1968 A.D. This is the first institution in agriculture financing. For more than two decades no more banks have been established in the country. After declaring free economy and privatization policy, the government of Nepal encouraged the foreign banks for joint venture in Nepal. Today the banking sector is more liberalized, modernized and systematically managed. There are various types of bank working in modern banking system in Nepal. It includes central, commercial, development, financial, co-operative and micro credit banks.

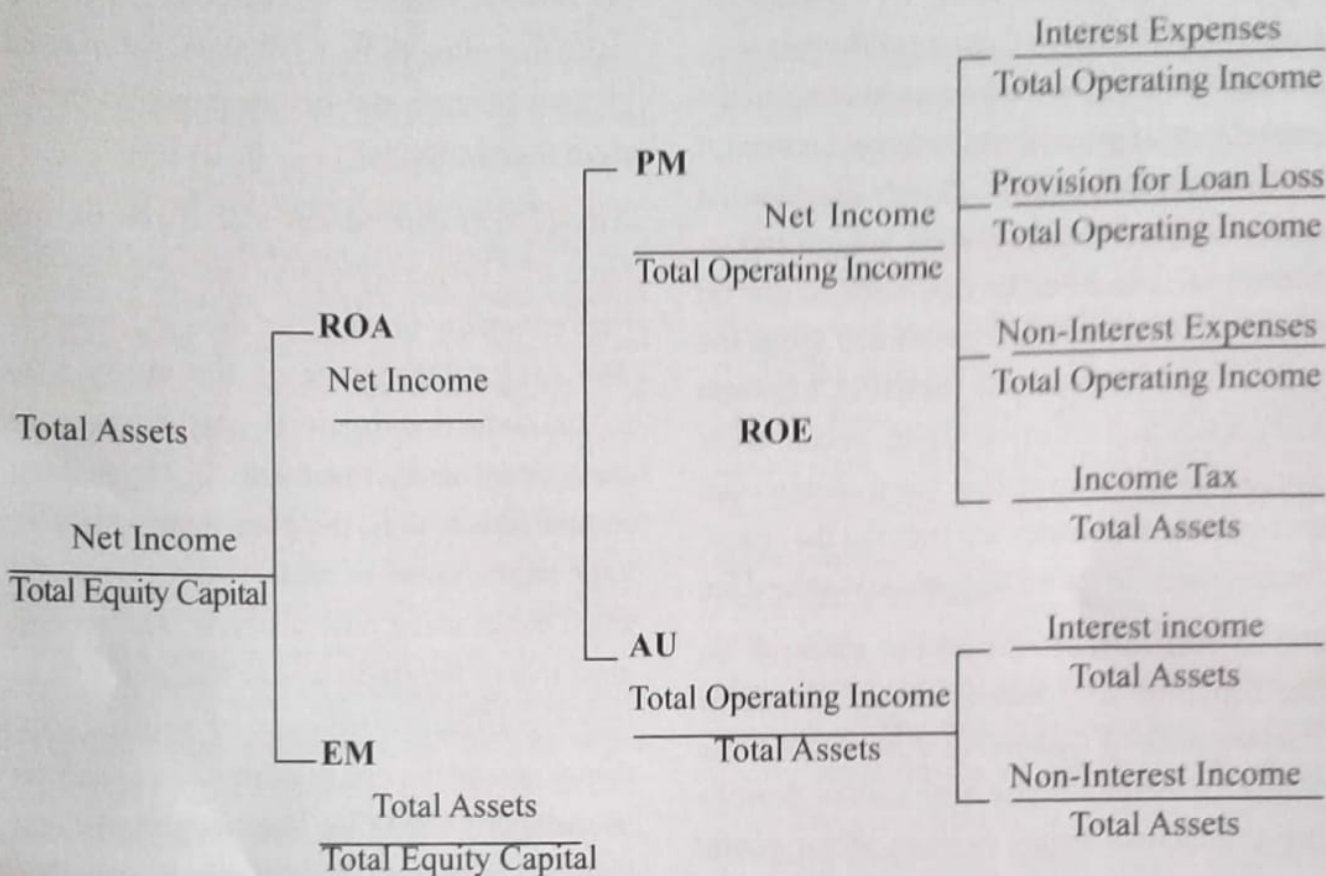
Return on Equity (ROE)

In 1972, David Cole introduced a procedure for evaluating bank performance via ratio analysis (Gup & Kolari, 2005). The return on equity (ROE) breaking ROE into three parts that allows evaluation of how well one can manage the company's assets, expenses and debt. Each of these primary drivers is impacted by the specific decisions on cost control, efficiency, productivity, marketing choices and others. However it highlights the fact that looking at return without looking at risk can be misleading and potentially dangerous in terms of bank solvency and long run profitability (Sounders & Cornett, 2004). ROE framework is an analytical tool evaluating financial institutions performance.

Return on equity measures a firm's efficiency at generating profits and a high ratio that is sustainable, may mean that the managers are particularly good. Return on equity is a measure of how well management has used the capital invested by shareholders. It is the aggregate return to shareholders before dividend.

Thus a higher proportion of debt in the firm's capital structure leads to higher ROE (Koch & Macdonald, 2004). The component of ROE framework is obtained breakdown of ROE (Sounders & Cornett, 2004) are as under.

Components of ROE Framework



Review of Related Studies

Baral (2005) conducted study on the Topic of *Health Check-up of Commercial Banks in the Framework of CAMEL: A Case Study of Joint Venture Banks in Nepal*". The study was based on historical data disclosed by annual reports of commercial banks. The study was entirely based on the CAMELS framework. The researcher concludes that joint venture commercial banks are well capitalized but their capital base relative to risk weighted assets was not strong according to international convention rating, their capital base was fair. Quality of assets of joint venture banks on the average was satisfactory.

Both indicators-operating expenses ratio and earning per employee of management quality of joint venture banks were above the industry average. So relative to the industry average, performance of management of joint venture bank is satisfactory. Earning/ profitability indicators - ROE, ROA and PM show that financial health of joint venture banks is not so weak. Liquidity indicators of Joint Venture banks show that they have stored high level of liquidity and are not facing the liquidity deficit problem, instead, they are facing the high liquidity problem.

Aharif (2006) conducted research on the topic of *An Empirical Study on Commercial Banks Profitability in Context of Bangladesh*; the objective of the study was to analyze the importance of internal and external factors for banks return on equity, to closely examine the relationships of banks market concentration, market size and banks risk with return on equity. The researcher concluded from the significant relationship existing between market size and return on equity in context of Bangladesh. The researcher has recommended that commercial banks are running the risk of leading more than what they are provisioned for.

Jha & Hui (2012) carried out research on the topic of *A Comparison of financial Performance of Commercial Banks: A Case Study of Nepal*". The researcher divides the commercial banks in three sector public sector bank, joint venture bank and domestic private banks. The study was used descriptive financial analysis. The researcher uses some financial tools to measure the performance of commercial banks in Nepal. The financial tools are as ROA, ROE , capital adequacy ratio (CAR) , non performing loan ratio (NPL), Interest expenses to total loan (IETTL) , net interest margin (NIM) and credit to deposit ratio (CDR). The statistical tools are correlation analysis and regression analysis. The researcher concluded that the ROA of Public sector banks were higher than those of joint venture banks and domestic public banks due to having utmost total assets but the

overall performance of public sector bank was not observed sound because other financial ratios including ROE, CDR and CAR of most of joint venture and domestic public banks were found superior.

Ally (2013) carried out a research on the topic of *Comparative Analysis of Financial Performance of Commercial Bank in Tanzania*. The major Objective of the study was to evaluate the financial performance of commercial banks from 2006-2012 by making comparison among the peer bank group as large banks, medium banks and regional and small banks using ratio analysis. The second objective of the study was to find out if there is a significant difference of profitability means among peer bank group using analysis of variance (ANOVA). The study shows that there was significant difference in performance of the three types or banks.

Research Methodology

Research Design

This study is mainly based on descriptive and analytical research design. For compliance with the objective of the research both analytical as well as descriptive research design are chosen in this work in order to analyze and interpret the available data and information. Some financial and statistical tools have been applied to examine facts and descriptive techniques have been adopted to examine the financial performance analysis of the commercial banks in Nepal.

Population and Sample

On the basis of ownership there are three types of commercial banks in Nepal i) Public commercial bank ii) Joint venture commercial banks iii) Private commercial banks. Under this study public commercial banks are ignored because public commercial banks have not updated data for analysis. So, joint venture commercial banks and private commercial banks are the population of the study. The population of study is shown in appendix I. It is not possible to cover all the Joint venture and private commercial banks under the study. For sample cluster sampling technique was used, two joint Venture Banks and four Private Commercial Banks were selected for the study. For selecting the sample from joint venture banks and private commercial banks name is drawn alphabetically and new code has been given for the banks consequently. New random numbers are generated from 10000-100000. The random number starts from second column and second row. The reading system is vertical with single digit for joint venture commercial banks and two digits for private commercial bank from left to right until the sample size reached. After this procedure following banks are selected from joint venture bank.

Everest Bank Ltd.

NABIL Bank.

After following this procedure following banks are selected from Private Commercial Bank.

Laxmi Bank Limited.

Lumbini Bank Limited.

Machhapuchchhre Bank Ltd.

Sanima Bank Limited.

Nature and Source of Data

This study is mainly based on secondary data. So the data were collected from using secondary source as the major source for conducting research work. The annual reports of the commercial banks are the major source of data and other sources are: NRB reports & bulletins and its official website, various articles published in journals, financial magazines, official website of Everest Bank Limited, Nabil Bank Limited, Laxmi Bank Limited, Lumbini Bank Limited, Machhapuchchhre Bank Limited and Sanima Bank Limited.

Data Analysis Tools

In this study to measure the ROE of commercial bank, both financial and statistical tools have been used. The financial tools are return on equity, return on assets, profit margin, equity multiplier and assets utilization. The statistical tools are descriptive statistics and testing of hypothesis i.e. paired t- test.

Financial Tools

Return on Equity

Return on equity measures the efficiency of a firm at generating profits from each unit of shareholders equity. ROE can be calculated as follows.

$$\text{Rate of Return on Equity (ROE) \%} = \frac{\text{Net Income}}{\text{Total Equity Capital}} \times 100$$

Return on Assets

The rate of return on assets (ROA) measures the ability of management to utilize the real and financial resources of the bank to generate returns. ROA can be calculated as follows:

Rate of Return on Assets (ROA) % =

$$\frac{\text{Net Income}}{\text{Total Assets}} \times 100$$

Equity Multiplier

Equity Multiplier is the ratio of a company's total assets to its stockholders equity.

Equity Multiplier (EM) =

$$\frac{\text{Total Assets}}{\text{Total Equity Capital}}$$

Profit Margin

Profit Margin is the net income generated per amount of total operating income.

Profit Margin (PM) =

$$\frac{\text{Net Income}}{\text{Total Operating Capital}} \times 100$$

Assets Utilization

Assets Utilization is the amount of interest and non-interest income generated per amount of total assets.

Assets Utilization (AU) =

$$\frac{\text{Total Operating Income}}{\text{Total Assets}} \times 100$$

Statistical Tools

Mean (Average)

Mean is the value or the sum of all observation divided by the number of observations. The mean is also called average. The Average is express as:

Mean = $\frac{\text{Sum of Values}}{\text{No. of Values}}$

$$(\bar{X}) = \frac{\sum X}{n}$$

Where, \bar{X} = Simple Arithmetic Mean

n = Total number of observation

During the analysis of data, mean is calculated by using the statistical formula on SPSS program on computer.

Testing of Hypothesis

Null Hypothesis

$H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no significant difference in performance of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank.)

Where:

μ_1 is the means of (ROE, ROA, EM, PM, AU) of JVs Banks.

μ_2 is the means of (ROE, ROA, EM, PM, AU) of Private Commercial Bank.

Alternative Hypothesis

This hypothesis is complementary to the null hypothesis is called alternative hypothesis. It is denoted by H_1 .

$H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank.)

Test of Significant

Under this study 5% level of significant is used for test of significant. During the analysis of data, the value of T is calculated by using the statistical formula on SPSS program on computer.

Testing of Return on Equity

Null Hypothesis $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no

significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under ROE.)

Alternative Hypothesis $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under ROE.)

Level of significant (α) = 0.05

Table 1

Return on Equity (ROE) of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank

Bank Group	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	t-calculated	Table value
Joint Venture Banks	29.73	30.46	29.65	31.82	29.38	15.9015	2.7764
Private Commercial Bank	12.96	11.67	8.04	10.06	13.39		

Source: Researcher

The calculated value of t is greater than table value i.e. (15.9015 > 2.7764) at 5% level of significant at 4 degree of freedom.

Hence,

H_0 is rejected. So, alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted

i.e., there is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under ROE.

Testing of Return on Assets

Null Hypothesis $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under ROA.)

Alternative Hypothesis $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under ROA.)

Level of significant (α) = 0.05

The calculated value of t is greater than table value i.e. (3.8031 > 2.7764) at 5% level of significant at 4 degree of freedom.

Table 2

Return on Assets (ROA) of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank

Bank Group	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	t-calculated	Table value
Joint Venture Banks	2.29	2.46	2.73	2.64	3.43	3.803	2.776
Private Commercial Bank	1.8	1.97	1.09	1.11	1.28		

Source: Researcher

Hence,

H_0 is rejected. So, alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted

i.e., there is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under ROA.

Testing of Equity Multiplier

Null Hypothesis $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under EM.)

Alternative Hypothesis $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under EM.)

Level of significant (α) = 0.05

Table 3

Equity Multiplier (EM) of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank

Bank Group	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	t-calculated	Table value
Joint Venture Banks	13.21	12.77	11.41	12.28	12.17	6.0288	2.7764
Private Commercial Bank	8.98	7.6	7.98	9.25	10.47		

Source: Researcher

The calculated value of t is greater than table value i.e. ($6.0288 > 2.7764$) at 5% level of significant at 4 degree of freedom.

Hence,

H_0 is rejected. So, alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted

i.e., there is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under EM.

Testing of Profit Margin

Null Hypothesis $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under PM.)

Alternative Hypothesis $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under PM.)

Level of significant (α) = 0.05

Table 4

Profit Margin (PM) of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank

Bank Group	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	t-calculated	Table value
Joint Venture Banks	43.54	42.41	44.98	45.89	45.25	6.6503	2.7764
Privates Commercial Bank	31.77	30.56	21.99	24.72	32.08		

Source: Researcher

The calculated value of t is greater than table value i.e. (6.6503 > 2.7764) at 5% level of significant at 4 degree of freedom.

Hence,

H_0 is rejected. So, alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted

i.e., there is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under PM.

Testing of Assets Utilization

Null Hypothesis $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$ (There is no significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under AU.)

Alternative Hypothesis $H_1: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ (There is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under AU.)

Level of significant (α) = 0.05

Table 5

Assets Utilization (AU) of Joint Venture and Private Commercial Bank

Bank Group	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	t-calculated	Table value
Joint Venture Banks	5.25	5.80	5.99	5.71	5.36	3.0658	2.7764
Private Commercial Bank	5.1	5.67	5.01	4.95	4.29		

Source: Researcher

The calculated value of t is greater than table value i.e. (3.0658 > 2.7764) at 5% level of significant at 4 degree of freedom.

Hence,

H_0 is rejected. So, alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted

i.e., there is significant difference in performance of Joint Venture Bank and Private Commercial Bank under AU.

Conclusion

This paper analyzed the financial performance of commercial bank in Nepal in the framework of ROE over the period of 5 years from 2009 to 2014. The results indicate that the overall banks financial performance in terms of return on equity model ROE, ROA, EM, PM, AU. The indicator ROE shows that the fluctuating earning in joint venture banks but it has relatively high percentage of earning than private commercial bank. There is significant difference in performance of joint venture banks and private commercial bank under ROE. The major cause of difference in performance is increasing bank operating costs and reduced incomes. Private commercial banks have to decrease their operating cost. There is significant difference in performance of joint venture and private commercial banks under ROA. Joint venture banks are utilizing their assets sufficiently for generating earnings and are getting higher level of earning than private commercial banks. Private commercial

banks have to utilize their assets effectively for making higher amount of earnings. Equity multiplier of joint venture banks has higher percentage than private commercial bank. It indicates that joint venture banks has larger portion of assets financing through debt. Profit margin of joint venture bank is in increasing trend but is in fluctuating condition for private commercial bank. Joint venture banks have higher percentage of profit margin in comparison with private commercial banks. Private commercial banks are providing higher amount of interest rate for depositors, higher amount of non-interest expenses and higher amount of loan loss but joint venture banks are providing lower rate of interest to their depositor. Private commercial banks should pay lowest amount of interest for depositor and have to maintain quality in service. There is sufficient condition for covering the loan loss of joint venture banks. The customer feels safety their assets in joint venture bank rather than private commercial banks. The assets utilization ratio of joint venture bank is higher than private commercial bank. It indicates the joint venture banks are generating higher amount of interest and non-interest income by utilizing their resources effectively. Finally joint venture banks are performing well than private commercial banks in Nepal.

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Relation between Teenage Marriage and Maternal Child Health

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Abstract

This paper is based on the master degree thesis and has analyzed the situation of teenage marriage practice and its relation with maternal child health of chhangchhangdi VDC of Shyangja district, Nepal. The main objectives of this study were to find out the leading factors of teenage marriage, that find out the health problems of teenage marriage and to identify the relation between teenage marriage on maternal and child health.

Keywords: Demography and socio-economic characteristics, immature, maternal child health, pregnancy, teenage marriage

Introduction

Health is one of the most important factors of human life. There is no importance of life without good health. A person who is healthy can do full work without exhaustion and seems always happy. Unhealthy persons are just burdens and obstacles for the enrichment of the country. "Health is a complete physical, mental and social well being state and not only absence of disease of ailment" (WHO).

Marriage is an important part of human life. It is an institution which demands maturity, capacity and responsibility. Marriage and child vary from country to country, culture to culture, society to society, caste to caste. Some international conventions define those people as children who are under 16 years

of age. and International Labor Organization (ILO) defines children as those whose health perspective (WHO, 2011). Age at marriage is considered one of the best indicators for studying the health status of women in developing countries (Valgani, 1980). Mental and physical changes take place and remarkable differences develop between boys and girls. So, early marriage and early pregnancy under any circumstances, outside marriage is hazardous for both mother and child because their linear growth is not still complication of pregnancies that women face: hemorrhage, pregnancy induce hypertension induces preeclampsia and anemia and all outcome include abortion, still birth, low birth

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of weight baby and in fact death (WHO, 2005). Increase in age at marriage means minimizing first birth to teenage mothers, which is known to carry higher risk to the mother and child (Habcraft, 1987).

Traditionally, marriage norms in Asia strongly favor early marriage for girls and customs remained common in several countries. The traditional norms affect both proportion married and age at marriage in Asian countries. South Asia is exceptional among world for early and higher proportion of marriage (UN, 2006).

Teenage marriage is one of the major determining factors of high fertility, rapid population growth and maternal child mortality. Nepal is one of the countries having the highly maternal mortality rate in Asia. There were 281 maternal deaths per 100000 live births (NFHS, 2007). Physiological condition of woman during reproductive period (14-49 years) in which development of fertilized ovum occur within the maternal body (Karki 2005). Teenage pregnancy can occur after first menstruation (menarche) which usually occurs around the age of 12 or 13 years. But it does not signify that the girl's body is ready to give birth. If an adolescent girl becomes pregnant or gives birth before 19 years; it is known as teenage pregnancy. It is high risk situation for both mother and child because of their vulnerability to many health challenges.

Maternal health refers to the health of women during pregnancy, children and the

postpartum period while motherhood is often a positive and fulfilling experience for too many women. It is associated with suffering, ill health and even death (WHO, 2011). Maternal and child health includes the broad meaning of health promotion and preventive, curative and rehabilitative health care for mothers and children. It thus "includes such area as maternal health family planning, child health, school health, handicapped children, adolescence, and the health aspect of care of children in special setting such as daycare" (WHO, 2011). Teenagers are the immature for marriage, being mother and live good social life. In chhangchhangdi VDC People are uneducated and unknown about teenage marriage. Teenage marriage is their culture. All population is suffering from many more problems from teenage marriage. So it lead the selection of topic of Relation between Teenage Marriage and Maternal Child health, though the researcher studied the relation between teenage marriage and maternal child health.

Teenage marriage is a burning problem not only in Nepal but also especially in the developing countries in the world. Teenage marriage can have several effects on the overall well being of a girl child who is not mentally, psychologically, emotionally of starting or cantering her education and deprives possibility to develop her own personality and potentiality. The teenage marriage creates many bad consequences like low weight baby, high maternal mortality infant mortality, uterus

problem, ultra vaginal prolapses, anemia, hyper tension, under nutrition, infection, unsafe abortion and invites serious problem to the health of mother and child. Immature mother has higher risk of giving birth to low weight baby per term baby and still birth. As well as robs her of an opportunity of starting or continuing her education and deprives her of any possibility to develop her own personality and potentiality.

Research in Nepal shows that 22.04 percent girls are married before their 14th birthday. A pregnant woman below the age of 18 years is 2 or 3 times more likely to die than a pregnant woman between 18 to 25 years. Low birth weight is more common among babies born to adolescent woman. The high maternal mortality rate is 539 in 100000. About 36 percent of adolescent girls in the rural areas give birth to at least one child. As many as 8.20 percent women of child bearing age had anemia due to poor maternal health. Around 39 percent of women of child bearing age had anemia.

There are many problematic situations in the selected study area. The major problems are lack of education, great poverty, traditional belief, back warded society and teenage marriage. There might be some effects of teenage marriage practices and maternal child health. But there is lack of information and studies describing the relationship between teenage marriage practices on work and child health. Therefore, this study attempts to explore the effect of the marriage practices

on maternal child health in community. The problem will be that relation between teenage marriage and maternal child health.

The main objective of this study is to examine the relation between teenage marriage and maternal child health in community. This study is identifying the maternal and child health problems due to teenage marriage in Chhangchhangdi VDC of Syangja district.

Methodology

The study was based on descriptive study and quantitative method. The interview schedule was the main tool used for data collection. It would be focus to assess the relation between teenage marriage and maternal child health of community at Chhangchhangdi VDC of Syangja district. In this VDC out of 4305 population, there are 2015 male and 2290 female in which 1475 were married women which were taken for the study. Out of 2290 married women, 120 were teenage who had at least one child were selected for the study by simple random sampling. The researcher reviewed many literatures and studied many materials, which were directly and indirectly related to present study.

Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

There are many more demographic and socio-economic characteristics; but here the researcher described few of them as given below.

Distribution of Respondents by Age at Marriage

Marriage is the social process of family construction bridge of two family's relationship by living together and bearing children. In Nepal, at present the legal age for marriage is 18 years for girls and 21 years for boys. Age of mother is an important factor which affects both mother and child's health. This information in this research indicates that the majority of respondent got married at teenage, which enhanced the higher number of fertility as well as health risks of mother and child. It is clear that, teenage marriage is prevailing in this community, low educational attainment and their tradition of the community being main cause.

Educational Attainments of Respondents

Education is one of the prominent social factors which represent the reproductive behavior of women. Education delays the entrance of women in to their reproduction by delaying the age at marriage. From this research it is found that most of the respondents were mostly literate. 86.60 respondents found to be literate among them only 2 percent were primary school level graduate and 12 percent were higher secondary level graduate.

Occupational Status of Respondents

Occupation refers to any works which are applied for the condition of their life. Occupation decides the living standard of the

people. It depends on the qualification of the people. This research found that 54.16 percent were engaged in agriculture and 31.6 percent were engaged in labour works whereas only 10 percent in business and 4.16 percent were engaged in services.

Age at First Pregnancy of Respondents

A female who has unsafe sexual intercourse with a male after puberty can be pregnant. Age at first pregnancy reflects maternal health. Lower age at first pregnancy invites risks of complications during pregnancy and increases child and maternal mortality rate; which is serious problem in Nepal. According to this research 94.16 percent were in first pregnant at the age of 17-19 years and only 5.82 percent were in first pregnant at the age less than 17 years. The reasons for this teenage pregnancy can be pointed out as socio-cultural tradition, existing religious taboo, false belief of virginity among female and low access of education among girls. Actually this study shows that early pregnancy is the serious risk factor to mother and child both.

Health Checkup During Pregnancy and Place of Delivery

Health check-up is necessary from the conception to delivery. The woman should at least visit four times during pregnancy. From this study it is found that all the respondents visited for medical checkup at least once while majority visited several times. This is a

positive and good habit that the respondents followed during their first pregnancy. In our country, pregnancy and delivery are viewed as natural process, requiring no health care interventions. Child during women and their family only seek care when condition becomes life threatening. According to this research, most of the respondent i.e. 93.33 percent of the women visited the hospital for delivery whereas 5.83 went to health post and only 0.83 percent gave birth at home. There data are very positive and welcoming as most of the respondents gave birth to their baby in proper place by proper hands.

Findings

The major findings of the study are as follows:

- Out of total respondents, 65.83 percent of women married in the age of 16-19 years and 23 percent were married in the age of 13-16.
- 86.66 percent were literate and only 10 percent completed higher secondary level education.
- 62.5 percent women lived in joint family and only 37.5 percent lived in nuclear family.
- 40 percent of the teenage married women married due to traditional belief, 33.35 due to illiteracy, 16.66 percent due to poverty and 10 percent did love marriage.

- 94.16 percent of the women got pregnant at the age group 17-19 years, 4.16 percent in the age group 15-17 years and only 1.66 percent before 15 years, which is not suitable for health of mother and child.
- Out of the respondents, 93.33 percent of the women were delivered at hospital, 5.83 percent delivered at health post and only 0.83 percent were delivered at home.
- All the respondents went for medical check up once and 95 percent of them gone regularly during their pregnancy.
- Out of total respondents, 78 percent faced problems during teenage pregnancy and child-birth, out of which 26.66 percent suffered from anemia, 18.33 percent from weak health, 13.33 percent from immature pregnancy, 10 percent from still birth and 10 percent from vaginal pain.
- In total of respondents 68.33 percent of women got help from their husband during pregnancy and 31.67 percent did not get help.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The factors like lack of knowledge about sexual and reproductive health, appropriate age of marriage, lack of regular antenatal and post natal check up plays an important role in creating many problems

in teenage married women's maternal and child health. Illiteracy and poverty of the families further add up more problems in teenage pregnancy. So, women should be encouraged to come out from lower status and be independent and marriage should be done after the age of 20 years.

Government should implement several programmers to educate women; because

education is one of the major factors in reducing low age at marriage. A policy should be formulated to implement compulsory registration of marriage so that level of legal age at marriage could be strictly implemented. This type of study should be conducted to find out the trends of teenage marriage among the different ethnic group in different parts of the country.

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People and Plant Relation: A Study of Dhorphirdi Area, Tanahun

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Abstract

This paper is the study of people-plant relationship in Dhorphirdi of the Tanahun district. The study is based on primary and secondary information. Observation, sample survey, key informant interview, focused group discussion are the primary sources of data and secondary are several books and journals. The Study shows that people-plant relation is most important phenomena. People grow and nurture plants in their agricultural field, community forest and private forest to supply their various needs like, fruits (foodstuffs) raw materials, herbs and things related to cultural and religious aspects. The study found that eco-friendly mutual relation between people and plants in Dhorphirdi, may ultimately help to maintain sustainable livelihood in the area.

Keywords: People, plant, relationship, forest, raw materials, foodstuffs, rituals

Introduction

Since the beginning of human civilization, people have been enjoying the products of various plants. Those useful plants are being used continuously. These are important resources for human beings. Plants supply the various basic needs like food, cloth, shelter, utility tools, raw materials, herbs, and numerous other things related to our cultures, religion and rituals. The people have been depending on various plants for their survival. The relationships between people and plants known as ethno botany. Ethno botany is a united form of human geography and botany of particular area, which is an important aspect of

human geography of such area. It is the study of people-plant relationship under a particular socio-cultural region; how people use native plants for their subsistence. Many people have also used various plants in spiritual, religious and ceremonial rituals. They have performed different spiritual and religious *Pujas* on certain occasions (Pohle, 1990). Every religious ritual and *Puja* has required different plants (*Fulpati*). Various religious philosophies have taught preservation of forest (Plants) as a part of cultural heritage. A person requires various plants right from his birth to death. That is why; the relation of people and

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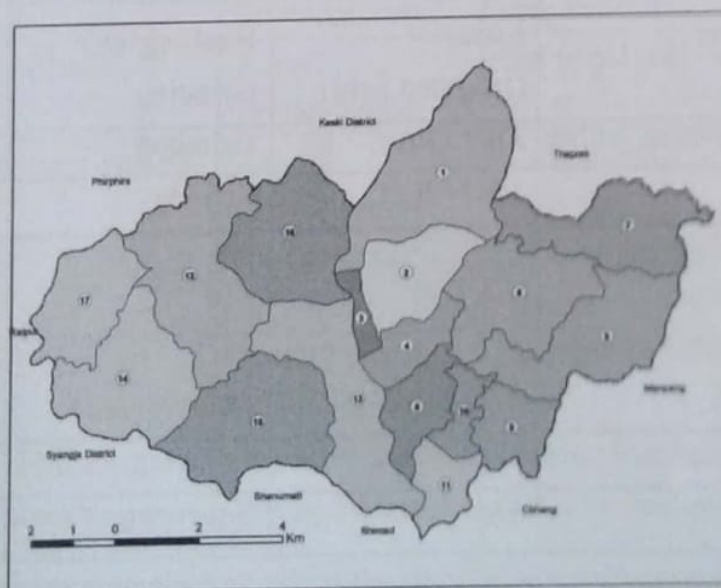
plant is inseparable phenomena. This paper mainly focuses on the relationship between the local people and native plants of Dhorphirdi area of the Tanahun district.

Generally this study highlights on the people-plant relationship in Dhorphirdi area of the Tanahun district. Specifically it is focused on identifying the main plants using as foodstuffs, raw materials, herbs and also trace the plants used in cultural and religious rituals.

Dhorphirdi lies to the western part of Shuklagandaki Municipality, Tanahun. This area occupies ward No. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 of Municipality. Before Nepal was unified, this place was known as *Dhor Rajya*, a tiny state and recently declared Municipality from Dhorphirdi Village Development Committee. So the area has a historical legacy of *Dhor Rajya*. Location of Dhorphirdi area is $27^{\circ} 44'.24''$ to $27^{\circ} 51'.00''$ Northern latitude and $84^{\circ} 22'.48''$ to $84^{\circ} 28'.12''$ Eastern longitude.

The area is surrounded by Dulegaunda and Khairanitar (ward No. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 11) from east, Raipur and Phirphire from west, Phirphire and Pokhara-Lekhanath Metropolis of Kaski district from north, and Bhanumati and Bhimad VDC from south. Elevation of this area is 440 m. to 1255 m. from the MSL. Climatically it is under the humid subtropical monsoon region. Average annual temperature reaches to 25°c. , maximum temperature around up to 31°c. in July and minimum around 10°c. in December. The temperature is slightly different as per land elevations. Ninety percent rainfall occurs during three months of June, July and August. The study area occupies an area of 50.77 sq. km. Within this 57.02 % land area is covered by agricultural land, 33.83 % land covered by forest, 2.53 % land covered by herbs, shrubs and pasture land and 6.62 % land area is covered by river, rivulet and settlements. The study area has 3005 households with 1194 populations (CBS, 2011).

Figure: 1. Study area indicated by Circle under the Shuklagandaki Municipality Map



Materials and Methods

This research was conducted in Dhorphirdi of the Tanahun district. The area is divided into six wards (ward 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17) of Shuklagandaki Municipality. Randomly 18 households were selected as sample from six wards, three from each ward using by random lottery. First of all field observation was carried out, then semi-structured interviews with sampled household head, focus group discussion and informal interactions were carried out for collection of information from local people and triangulation method was applied to verify the data. Secondary information has been taken from various books and journals.

Results and Discussions

Plants use as Foodstuffs

Various factors determine foodstuffs production. Relief features, soil and climate

are the main determinants. The area has different types of land features and it is under the sub-tropical climatic region. Much area of Dhorphirdi has rolling hills slopes and some are alluvial plain too. The rolling hill slope, which does not retain water results soil erosion, which determine only rain fed foodstuffs production like Maize, Millet, Beans, Buckwheat, Mustard, Lentil, Soya bean, Tomato, Ladyfinger, Brinjal, Gourd, Bitter gourd, Yam, Radish, Spinach, Mango, Guava, Banana, Orange, Sugarcane, Peach, Citrons, Lemon, Papaya, Ginger, Chilly, Garlic, Onion, Turmeric etc. Irrigated alluvial plain areas are able to grow Paddy, Wheat, Maize, Potato, Cauliflower, Cabbage, Spinach, Radish etc. Residents of this area are using these foodstuffs, which have been grown there. People make many dishes and cuisines from using various parts of foodstuff plants, which are shown in table- 1.

Table: 1. Plants of Foodstuff

Plants of Foodstuff	Sources of Plants	Processing	Dishes of Meal
Paddy, Maize	<i>Khet</i> (Irrigated field)	Husking/ off/ Grinding	Rice
Wheat, Buckwheat, Maize, Millet	<i>Khet / Bari</i>	Grinding	Pan cake, Porridge
Maize	<i>Khet / Bari</i>	Picking	Pop corn
Bean, Cauliflower, Spinach, Cabbage, Radish, Brinjal, Ladyfinger, Gourd, Bitter gourd, Tomato, Potato, Yam	<i>Khet / Bari</i>	Making piece	Curry
Bean, Lentil, Soya bean	<i>Khet / Bari</i>	Grinding	Pulses
Mustard	<i>Khet / Bari</i>	Squeezing	Frying oil

Cucumber, Mango, Guava, Banana, Orange, Sugarcane, Peach, Citrons, Lemon, Papaya	Private Land	Peeling / Making Pieces	Fruit Salad
Wild Yam	Forest	Spading	Steaming Pieces
Shoot and bud of wild Bamboo, Asparagus, Yam, Fern spp.	Forest	Strip off	Curry
Wild Berries, Plum, Citrus, Chestnut	Forest	Picking	Fruit Salad

Source: Field survey, Dec. 2016

Plants Using as Raw Materials

Raw materials known as basic materials, these are used to produce different goods. Raw materials are in the state of minimally processed or unprocessed, which used to make varieties of products. We can take for an example of Bamboo, which is raw material and feedstock used in the production of Baskets, Mats, Ropes etc. In Dhorphirdi area there are many types of endemic plants, which are used as raw materials to various purposes. These are as follows (Table- 2).

Table: 2. Plants using as Raw materials

Plants as Raw materials	Sources of Plants	Processing	Using for
Bark of Bamboo and various Plants	Forest/ Private Forest	Detached the thin bark from the stem	Rope, Basket, Mat
Timber of various Plants	Forest/ Private Forest	Cut to pieces, to saw and hew	Building materials and Furniture
Wood from various Plants	Forest/ Private Forest	Cut to pieces	Fire wood (Fuel)
Leaf, Litter and Grasses, Thatch	Forest/ Private Forest	Cutting and Gathering	Mulching and Cattle feeding
Cotton Cocoon	Private Land	To spin making Thread	Sewing, Weaving, String
Flowers of various Plants	Forest / Private Forest, Home yard	Picking	Making Garland, Performing <i>Puja</i>
Bark of Sal (<i>Sorearobusta</i>) and Khayer (<i>Accacia Catechu</i>)	Forest/ Private Forest	Making Resin Color by boiling	Color for Door, Window & Furniture

Long grass (<i>Khar</i>), Stalk of Rice and Wheat Plant	Private forest / Agri. fields	Cutting and Plucking	Animal feed, Making Rope and Mat, Roofing material
Long stem of Trees	Forest/ Private Forest	Cutting and Peeling	Fencing and Roofing materials
Kanthkari, Pangra, Rittha, Pina (Local names)	Forest/ Private Forest / Agri.biproduct	Picking and Grinding	Using as Soap
Leaf of Pati, Khirro, Sajiwan,	Forest/	Drying and	
Neem (Local name)	Private Forest /	Grinding	Pesticides

Source: Field survey, Dec. 2016

Important Medicinal Herbs

Medicinal herbs are plants used as medicine for different diseases. These plants are considered as rich resources, which can be used as medicine. After water resources, medicinal plants are second most valuable bio-resources of Nepal. According to medicinal and Aromatic plant database of Nepal, 1624 species of medicinal plants are listed (Shrestha et al. 2000). After publication of medicinal and aromatic plant database of Nepal, Ghimire (2008) reported that 1950 species of medicinal plants in Nepal. Some plants consider as important source of nutrition and as a result of that these plants recommended for their therapeutic values. Most of pharmaceutical capsules and tablets, which we take and use during our life, came from different plants. Varieties of medicinal plants used as raw materials for making different medicines. In the case of Dhorphirdi area, up to this time people are use raw ingredients of different indigenous plants as medicine in some extent. Such types of medicinal plants and related diseases are as below (Table- 3).

Table: 3. Medicinal Plants and Related Diseases

Medicinal Plants	Sources of Plants	Processing	Medicine for
Ginger, Turmeric, Harro, Barro, Amala, Tulsi	Forest / Kitchen garden	Making dust by drying and grinding	Flu, Chill and Cough
Kalisinki (Fern Spp.), Bark of Mango, Neem	Private Forest	Making dust by drying and grinding	Gastritis
Latex of Aank plant	River bank	Latex collection	To rub in painful joint

Tube of Gaikhure & Kammaru; Bark of Hadchur & Chautajor; Jogilaharo & Sikarilaharo	Forest	Making dust by drying and grinding	Bone fracture and Muscle twisted
Latex of <i>Sajiwan</i>	Meadow, Pasture Land	Latex collection	Tooth paste
Latex wax of <i>Sal (Saldhup)</i> , Fruit of <i>Bel</i> ,	Forest	Making dust by drying and grinding	Dysentery
Mint , Thyme	Kitchen garden	Making dust by drying and grinding	Fever
Leaf of <i>Neem & Asuro</i>	Meadow, Pasture Land	Making dust by drying and grinding	High blood pressure
Leaf of <i>Batulpate, Ghodtapre,</i> <i>Asuro</i> ,Bark of Guava, Root of <i>Daijalo, Thakailo</i>	Meadow, Pasture Land, River bank	Making dust by drying and grinding	Typhoid
<i>Ghodtapre, Aakase beli,</i> <i>Pani amala</i>	Meadow, Pasture Land, River bank	Making dust by drying and grinding	Jaundice
Root of <i>Bimiro</i>	Meadow, Pasture Land, River bank	Making dust by drying and grinding	Worms
Leaf of <i>Simali</i> and <i>Tulsi</i>	River bank/ Home yard	Making dust by drying and grinding	Pneumonia
Bark of <i>Kyamuno</i>	Forest	Making dust by drying and grinding	Catarrh (<i>Pinas</i>)
Flower of <i>Koiralo</i> Plant	Meadow, Pasture Land	Making dust by drying and grinding	Diarrhea
Seed of <i>Anise</i> and <i>Chamsur</i>	Kitchen garden	Making dust by drying and grinding	Maternal case
Seed of <i>Banyer</i>	Meadow, Pasture Land	Making dust by drying and grinding	Measles

Source: Field survey, Dec. 2016

Socio-Cultural and Religious Importance of Plant

Forest is a valuable resource of Nepal. Vegetations are most important factors from the environmental, economical, socio-cultural and religious point of view. Rural areas of Nepal, have found integrated farming system with the constituents of agriculture, forestry and livestock, which cannot be separated from each other (Glimour & Fisher, 1991). Forest has a great many advantages. Some plants are used in different social and religious customs, which are known as Socio-religious plants (Ahrwar, 2010). Cultural and religious values of plants are most important; but often have been less studied. This study briefly highlights on these aspects.

Various plants and their different parts are essential to perform different cultural and religious rituals. Several sacred plants possess important values for many ritual performances. Different parts of plants must be offered as incense, decoration of *Mandap*, and pray for Gods and Goddesses in various cultural and religious rituals. Using values of plants in some cultural and religious rituals can describe as follows-

- i. Peoples of this area use leaves of five sacred plants (*Pancha Pallava*) like *Pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*), *Banyan* (*Ficus bengalensis*), *Dumri-Nimaro* (*F. glmerata*), *Mango* (*Magnfera indica*), *Sami* (*Ficus benjamina*), *Bamboo* (*Bambusoidea*) are compulsorily proffered to any cultural and religious ritual performance like *Satyanarayan puja*, *Rudri*, *Bibaha* (Marriage), *Bratabandha* etc.
- ii. *Dashain*, which is one of the ecstasy great festival of this area. It is performed by putting *Tika* on forehead and *Jamara* (New germinated maize and barley), above the ear with blessing by elders.
- iii. The Garland of *Makhamali* flowers (*Gompherna globasa*) and seed of Chestnut, Ground nut, Orange, Banana are offered by sister to her brother on the occasion of *Tihar* festival (*Bhai tika*) wishing their long life.
- iv. A sacred plant *Tulsi* (*Ocimum* spp.) planted in a small platform on the day of *Haribodhani yekadashi* (The day of God Vishnu sleeping for four months) and lightening sacred lamp (*Diyo*) every evening at the *Tulsi* platform is common ritual.
- v. Young boy of *Brahman*, *Kshetri* and *Thakuri* must put a sacred thread (*Janai*) on shoulders, which made of cotton after his *Bratabandha*. A stick made of *Paiyun* (*Prunmus cerasoides*) is also essential in this ritual.
- vi. A daughter of *Newar* family must be marriage with a *Bel* (*Aegle marmelos*) before menstruation, which is known as *Bel Bibaha*.

- vii. In the occasion of *Risi panchami (Teej)*, adult women which have been starting menstruation must brush their teeth by 365 pieces of *Datiun* plant (*Solanum tubersum*).
- viii. Weaving of different kind of flowers and leaves in a rope made of *Babiyo* (*Eulaliopsis binnata*), known as *Toran*, is hanged around the ritual performing place (*Mandap*) of every ritual functions. The fire wood of *Sami* (*Ficus benjamina*) is required to burn at the centre of *Mandap*, Which known as *Samida*.
- ix. Leaves of a sacred herb *Tulsi (Ocimum)*, *Kush* (Grass spp.), *Dubo*, Seed of Barley (*Jau*) and Sesamum (*Til*) are used in every religious and cultural function, because they are considered as holy plants.
- x. The dead body of man must be carried

out keeping on green bamboo to the burning place of river bank; where the dead body is burned with fuel wood.

Conclusion

Dhorphirdi is a rural area. Many people of this area depend on integrated farming system. The system combined with agriculture, forestry and livestock. Most people of this area grow various plants in their agriculture field and they preserve plants in community forest and private forest. Many plants which they grow in agriculture field and preserved in forest may be used properly for their basic needs. It is eco-friendly practice of production system. So, it seems that, this area has mutual correlation between people and plant. From the environmental point of view, this correlation between people and plant should be managed in balanced condition for sustainable livelihood of people and environmental balance.

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लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा प्राथमिक विद्यालय छाड्नुका कारणहरू

टोपेन्द्र गौतम*

सार

प्रस्तुत विषयको शीर्षक अल्पसंख्य जनजाती अन्तर्गत पर्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको बीचैमा प्राथमिक विद्यालय छाड्नुका कारणहरूमा गरिएको गुणात्मक र परिमाणात्मक ढाँचालाई प्रयोग गरिएकोले यो मिश्रित अध्ययनमा आधारित छ । लामा जातिका विद्यार्थीहरूको शैक्षिक अवस्था पहिचान र विश्लेषण गर्नु यसको प्रमुख उद्देश्य रहेको छ । भने ती विद्यार्थीहरूको बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्नुका कारणहरू पत्ता लगाउनु र उनीहरूले विचैमा विद्यालय छाड्नु पर्ने समस्याहरूलाई समाधान गर्ने उपायहरूको समेत खोजी गर्नु यस लेखका अन्य उद्देश्यहरू रहेका छन् । यी उद्देश्यहरूलाई पुरा गर्ने गरी विभिन्न शीर्षकहरू कायम गरी आवश्यक परेको स्थानमा तालिकीकरण समेत गरी विश्लेषण पश्चात निष्कर्ष निकाल्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ । परीक्षामा सम्मिलित सत प्रतिशत लामा विद्यार्थीहरू उत्तीर्ण भएका छन् । कक्षागत रूपमा विश्लेषण गर्नु पर्दा सबै भन्दा धेरै कक्षा ४ का र सबै भन्दा कम कक्षा ३ का लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने गरेका छन् । लैङ्गिक रूपमा विश्लेषण गर्नु पर्दा छात्राहरू भन्दा छात्रहरूको बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने संख्या बढि देखिन्छ । उमेरगत रूपमा विश्लेषण गर्नु पर्दा सबै भन्दा बढि ८ वर्ष उमेरका र सबै भन्दा कम १० वर्षका लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाडेका छन् । लामा विद्यार्थीहरू लामा पढ्न गुम्बामा जानु, घरायसी काममा सामेलहुनु, यासोर्गुम्बा टिप्न जानु, लामा भाषामा पढाई नभई नेपाली भाषामा पढाई हुनु र विद्यालयमा बाल मैत्री कक्षा संचालन नहुनु जस्ता कारणहरूले गर्दा लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने गर्दछन् ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : प्राथमिक विद्यालय, लामा विद्यार्थी, बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने, स्रोतव्यक्ति

पृष्ठभूमि

नेपालमा प्राथमिक शिक्षाको थालनी अनौपचारिक रूपमा धेरै अघिदेखि भएको पाइन्छ । नेपालमा प्राथमिक शिक्षाको औपचारिक शुरुवात वि.सं. १९१० देखि भएता पनि यसको विस्तार वि.सं. २००७ सालको राजनैतिक क्रान्ति पछि मात्र संभव भएको हो । वि.सं २००७ सालमा प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापना पछि शिक्षाको विकास र विस्तारलाई महत्त्व दिदै विभिन्न शिक्षा सम्बन्धि आयोग गठन गर्ने कार्य प्रारम्भ भयो । वि.सं. २०११ सालमा

नेपाल राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा योजना आयोग, २०१८ सालमा सर्वाङ्गीण राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा समिति, २०२८ सालमा राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा पद्धति योजना, २०४० सालमा शाही उच्च शिक्षा आयोग, २०४९ सालमा राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा आयोग, र २०५५ सालमा उच्च स्तरीय राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा आयोग गठन गरिएको पाइन्छ । यी सम्पूर्ण आयोगहरूले प्राथमिक शिक्षालाई साक्षरता तथा आधारभूत शिक्षाका रूपमा अंगीकार गरेका छन् ।

Education for all (EFA) सन् २००४-२००९ को प्रमुख दस्तावेज अनुसार शिक्षाको सन् २०१५ सम्मको लागि निर्माण गरिएको राष्ट्रिय योजना कार्यक्रमले प्राथमिक शिक्षाको पहुँच तथा समानता सुनिश्चित गर्ने, प्राथमिक शिक्षामा गुणस्तर तथा सान्दर्भिकता वृद्धि गर्ने, कार्य क्षमता तथा संस्थागत क्षमताको सुधार गर्ने इत्यादि जस्ता उद्देश्यहरू रहेका छन्। राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगको प्रतिवेदन -२०५५ ले भाषाका कारण विद्यालय पहुँचमा कमी हुने तथा पतनदरलाई न्यूनीकरण गर्ने नीति अवलम्बन गरेको छ। विभिन्न दातृ संस्थाहरू, गैर सरकारी संघसंस्थाहरू तथा स्वयं नेपाल सरकारले पनि प्राथमिक शिक्षाबाट बञ्चित बालबालिकाहरूलाई शिक्षाको अवसर प्रदान गर्न, विद्यालय बीचैमा छोड्ने पवृत्तिको अन्त्य गर्न तथा अन्य तत्वहरूमा समेत छात्रछात्राहरूको सहभागिता वृद्धि गरी विद्यालयमा अध्ययनरत छात्रछात्राहरूको सहभागिता र उपलब्धि स्तर बढाउन भरमज्दुर प्रयास भैरहेको छ। लामा र पिछडिएका समुदायको शिक्षा अभिवृद्धि गर्न एवं जीवनस्तर उकास्ने प्रयासहरू पनि जारीरहेको छ। राष्ट्रले यस्तो उपयोगी कार्यक्रम हुँदा समेत लामा बालबालिकाहरूले तह पुरा नगरी बीचैमा विद्यालय किन छोडिरहेका छन्? यसका कारणहरू के-के हुन सक्छन्? समाधानका लागि के के गर्न सकिएला? जस्ता प्रश्नहरूको उत्तर खोज्नु आजको आवश्यकता हो (EFA, 2003)।

नेपाल एक बहुजातीय, बहुभाषिक, बहुसांस्कृतिक र परम्परागत राष्ट्र भएकोले यहाँ हरेक जातिमा एकै प्रकारको शिक्षाको प्रसारण हुन सकेको छैन। त्यसमध्ये पनि लामा जातजातिहरूको शिक्षामा सहभागितामा कमी हुनु आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनैतिक तथा भौगोलिक कारणहरू छन्। अन्ध विश्वास, चेतनाको कमी, गरिबी, पछ्यौटे पन, लामा बनाउने गुम्बामा गएर पुजा गर्ने, चौरी पाल्ने, जाँड रक्सी खाने, समाजमा भै भगडा गर्ने

जस्ता प्रवृत्ति आदिलाई शिक्षा विकासको बाधकको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ। विभिन्न योजनाहरूमा उपयुक्त समस्याहरू न्यूनीकरण गर्ने लक्ष्य रहेता पनि पिछडिएका जातजाति विशेष गरेर लामा जातिहरूलाई शिक्षाको माध्यमबाट राष्ट्रिय मूलधारमा समाहित गर्ने कार्य पुरा हुन सकेको छैन। आजको युगमा शिक्षाको विकास भन्नाले खाली विद्यार्थी भर्ना हुनु, शिक्षकहरू उपस्थित हुनु मात्र नभई एउटा विशिष्ट उद्देश्य परिपूर्तिको लागि हुन्छ र शिक्षाविना ती परिलक्षित उद्देश्यहरू पूरा हुन सम्भव छैन।

सन् १९९० मा थाइल्याण्डको जोम्टिनमा भएको 'सबैको लागि शिक्षा' सम्बन्धि विश्वसम्मेलनको घोषणापत्रलाई सन् २००० मा सेनेगलको डकारमा भएको विश्व शिक्षा मञ्चले समीक्षा गर्दै सन् २०१५ सालमा विश्वका सबै बालबालिकालाई प्रा.वि. स्तरको शिक्षा गुणस्तरीय, निःशुल्क र अनिवार्य रूपमा उपलब्ध गराउन प्रतिवद्धता जाहेर गरेको तथ्य सर्वविदितै छ। यो घोषणा अनुसार सन् २०१५ सालमा 'सबैको लागि शिक्षा' हासिल गर्न क्रमशः बाल विकास कार्यक्रमको विस्तार तथा सुधार, सबै बालबालिकाहरूका लागि प्राथमिक शिक्षामा पहुँचको सुनिश्चितता, पिछडिएका लामा जनजाति तथा अल्पसंख्यक भाषिक समुदायका बालबालिकाहरू लगायत सबै बालबालिकाहरूका सिकाई आवश्यकता पूर्ति गर्ने, प्रौढ निरक्षरता दरमा कमी ल्याउने, लैङ्गीक तथा सामाजिक भेदभावलाई हटाउने र गुणस्तरीय शिक्षाका सबै पक्षहरूमा सुधार ल्याउने ६ वटा मुख्य उद्देश्यहरू राखिएका र ती उद्देश्यहरू हासिल गर्न नेपालले पनि सन् २०१५ सम्ममा सबैका लागि शिक्षा कार्यक्रम (२००४-२००९) को रणनीतिक कार्यक्रम तयार गरेर आ.व. २०६१/०६२ देखि कार्यान्वयन गर्न शुरु गरिसकेको छ। अझै पनि प्राथमिक उमेर समूहका करिब १६ प्रतिशत बालबालिका विद्यालय बाहिर रहेका र तिनीहरूलाई विद्यालयभित्र ल्याउनुपर्ने दायित्व आज हामी सबैको रहेको छ (खनाल, २०६२)।

लामा बर्ग भन्नाले परम्परागतरूपमा व्यवसाय संचालन गरी जिवीकोपार्जन गरिरहेका आर्थिक, सामाजिक वा अन्य कुनै पनि प्रकारले उपेक्षित, उत्पीडित र लामा हुन पुगेका नेपाल सरकारले समय-समयमा नेपाल राजपत्रमा सूचना प्रकाशन गरी तोकिएका जातजाति वा बर्ग सम्भन्नु पर्दछ। हिन्दु संस्कृतीकरणको प्रभाव नपरेको वा उक्त प्रभावमा पर्न नचाहने तर नेपालको भूभागमा परापूर्वकालदेखि बसोवास गर्दै आइरहेका जातिहरू जस्तै जंगल फाँडेर खनिखोसी खाने कोचे, कुसुन्डाजस्ता शिक्षा आर्जन गर्ने गुफामा पस्ने, जाँड रक्सि खाने आदिमा पछि परेका र नजीकका परिवेशसँग प्रभावित भएका पछ्यौटे जाति कुनै मानव समुदायलाई लामा भनिन्छ। त्यस्तै लामा आदिवासी जनजाति उत्थान प्रतिष्ठान कार्यदलको प्रतिवेदन २०५२ अनुसार आफ्नै मातृभाषा र परम्परागत रितिरिवाज भएको तर चार वर्णको हिन्दु वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थाभित्र नपर्ने जातिका मानिस लामा जनजाति अन्तर्गत पर्दछन् (रावल, २०६३)।

नेपालमा लामा, गुरुङ जातिहरूको कुनै आफ्नै नीति, भाषा, संस्कृतिलाई बताईरहनु पर्ने केही छैन। यहि हो कि आर्थिक रूपमा परावलम्बी, राजनैतिक रूपमा गणनामा नलिएका र सांस्कृतिक रूपमा पानी नचल्ने, छुन हुने वा नहुने कुरामा मात्र सिमित छन्। एक पटक लामालाई मौका दिएर हेरेको खण्डमा तान्जानियमा भए जस्तै यहाँ पनि लामाहरूमा आत्म विश्वास जाग्ने छ। जस्तो कि फेरेले कुराकानी प्रविधि भनेका छन्। त्यो विधि लामा कहाँ पनि प्रयोग हुनु पर्दछ। लामाहरूका लागि प्रथमतः सन्देशमुलक विद्यालय खोलिनु पर्दछ। जसमा लामाहरूले आफ्नो भाषालाई अरु जातिका मानिसहरूसँग बसेर बहस गर्न सक्नु। चाहे भविश्यमा जस्तो सुकै परिणाम किन नहोस् दोश्रो कुरा सहयोगात्मक अनुसन्धानद्वारा उनीहरूले विद्यालयमा के परिवर्तन चाहेका छन् त्यो बुझ्न पर्छ।

पाठ्यक्रममा सम्मान नगरिएका साँस्कृतिक र सामाजिक मूल्यलाई आदर गरेका परम्परागत जीवन निर्वाहमूखी अर्थतन्त्रमा संलग्न जातिगत अल्पसंख्यक, आदिवासी जनसंख्या संग पाठ्यक्रम सम्बद्ध नभएको ठानिएको छ। जातीय अल्पसंख्यक बालबालिकाहरूको शैक्षिक आवश्यकता समायोजन गर्न शिक्षकहरू न्यून रूपमा साधन सम्पन्न छन्। सामाजिक रूपमा सुविधा विमुख विद्यार्थीहरूप्रति शिक्षकहरूले सकारात्मक र दयाभाव तथा सहानुभूतिको भाव प्रदर्शन नगर्ने गरेको देखिन्छ।

धेरै जसो पिछ्छिडिएको समुदायको मुख्य भाषा नेपाली होइन। तसर्थ स-साना बालबालिका कक्षा कोठामा प्रवचन र अन्य क्रियाकलाप बुझ्न अभिभावकहरू अपरिचित भाषामा आफ्ना बालबालिकाको सिकाइमा सहयोग गर्न असमर्थ छन्। विद्यालय प्रवेश गर्नका लागि यो कुरा कम सान्दर्भिक होला किन भने ५ वर्ष भन्दा माथिका बालबालिकाहरूले नेपाली भाषामा आवश्यक भाषिक सीप हासिल गरेका हुन सक्छन्। तर उनीहरूका अभिभावकहरूले उनीहरूको शिक्षामा प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा सहयोग गर्न सक्ने अवस्था नहुन सक्छ। शिक्षा क्षेत्रमा देखा परेका विभिन्न समस्याहरू मध्ये सामुदायिक विद्यालयहरूबाट विद्यार्थीहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्नु पनि एक हो। त्यसमध्ये पनि प्राथमिक विद्यालयमा अध्ययनरत लामा समुदायका बालबालिकाहरूले वीचैमा कक्षा छाडेर राज्यले शिक्षा क्षेत्रमा गरेको लगानी सही रूपले सदुपयोग नभइरहेको अवस्थालाई मध्यनजर गरी यस बारे अध्ययन अनुसन्धान गरि तार्किक निष्कर्षमा पुगी समस्या समाधानका उपायहरू खोजी गर्न मुगु जिल्लाको उत्तरी क्षेत्रमा अवस्थित किमी स्रोतकेन्द्र अन्तर्गत पर्ने सामुदायिक प्राथमिक विद्यालयहरूमा लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको उल्लेख्य संख्या रहेको अवस्थामा सोही क्षेत्रलाई आधार मानी यो अध्ययन गरिएको छ।

वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडनुलाई शैक्षिक विकास र उपलब्धि मा प्रभाव पार्ने एक गम्भिर समस्या वा चुनौतिको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ । लामा जातिका बालबालिकाहरु जो प्राथमिक शिक्षा प्राप्त गरिरहेका छन् ती बालबालिकाहरुको शैक्षिक अवस्था परिचान र विश्लेषण गर्नु यस लेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य रहेको छ । अझ विशिष्ट रूपमा उल्लेख गर्दा लामा विद्यार्थीहरुले विचैमा कक्षा छोड्नुका कारण पत्ता लगाउनु र उनीहरु विचैमा कक्षा छोड्ने समस्या समाधानका उपायहरुको खाजि गर्नु यस लेखका उद्देश्यहरु रहेका छन् ।

शोध विधि

अनुसन्धानकर्ता स्वयं अध्ययन क्षेत्रका विद्यालयहरुमा गई प्रश्नावलीहरु भर्ने, छनौटमा परेमा जनसंख्या र अन्तरवार्ता गर्ने, स्थलगत अवलोकन एवं सर्वेक्षण गरी संख्यात्मक र गुणात्मक तथ्यांक लिइएको थियो अध्ययनका लागि आवश्यक विवरण, अभिलेख गरिएका सुचनाहरु, विद्यालयका प्रधानाध्यापकहरु, शिक्षकहरु,

विद्यालय व्यवस्थापन समिति र अभिभावकहरुबाट आवश्यक पर्ने जानकारीहरु लिइएको थियो । अध्ययनबाट प्राप्त जानकारीलाई संख्यात्मक र गुणात्मक अर्थात् मिश्रित ढाँचामा आधारित रहेर विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

यस अध्ययनमा आवश्यक पर्ने तथ्यांक संकलनका लागि उद्देश्यमुलक नमुना छनौटबाट र संभावनायुक्त नमुना छनौटबाट जनसंख्या छनौट गरिएको थियो । अध्ययन कार्यलाई पूरा गर्नका लागि विभिन्न अनुसन्धानात्मक प्रश्नहरु, अवलोकन फरम, प्रश्नावली, अन्तरवार्ता, विद्यालयबाट प्राप्त तथ्यांक र जिल्ला शिक्षा कार्यालयका अभिलेखित तथ्यांकहरु प्रयोग गरिएका थिए । अध्ययनको कार्यक्षेत्र मुगु जिल्ला रहेको छ । यस जिल्लामा रहेका किम्री, पुल र माग्री गा.वि.स.मा अवस्थित किम्री स्रोत केन्द्र रहेको छ । यस स्रोतकेन्द्र अन्तर्गत १५ वटा विद्यालयहरु रहेका छन् । जसमध्ये ५ वटा प्राथमिक विद्यालयहरु, प्राथमिक तहमा अध्ययन गर्ने ५ वटा

शिक्षकहरु, ५ वटा लामा विद्यार्थीहरुलाई संभावनायुक्त नमुना छनौटको आधारमा नमुना छनौट गरिएको थियो भने स्रोतकेन्द्रका स्रोत व्यक्ति, वि.नि., विद्यालय व्यवस्थापन समितिका सदस्य लाई उद्देश्यमुलक नमुना छनौट विधि प्रयोग गरि नमुना छनौट गरिएको थियो ।

अध्ययनका लागि संकलन गरिएका आवश्यकीय तथ्य तथ्यांकहरुको विश्लेषण अध्ययनकर्ता स्वयमले प्राप्त जानकारी एवम् सूचनाहरुलाई आवश्यक परेको स्थानमा तालिका निर्माण गरी वर्णनात्मक र गुणात्मक तरिकाले व्याख्या एवं विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । प्राप्त सूचनाहरुलाई तुलनात्मक रूपमा संख्यात्मक र गुणात्मक रूपमा देखाउन प्रयास गरिएको छ साथै सूचना प्राप्त गर्ने खुला प्रश्न गरी उनीहरुको भनाईका आधारमा निष्कर्ष र उपलब्धि प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । मूलरूपमा विद्यालयको अभिलेखलाई सूचना प्राप्त गर्ने प्रमुख आधार मानिएको छ । यी सम्पूर्ण तथ्याङ्कको प्रस्तुतीकरण र विश्लेषणको आधारमा अन्त्यमा तथा निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

नतिजा र छलफल

यस अध्ययनको निमित्त अध्ययन कर्ताद्वारा अध्ययनका उद्देश्य प्राप्तिका लागि तयार गरिएको प्राथमिक तथा द्वितीय स्रोतबाट प्राप्त जानकारी सुचना र तथ्याङ्कहरुलाई संख्यात्मक र वर्णनात्मक रूपमा यसप्रकार प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ :

प्राथमिक तहमा अध्ययन गर्ने लामा जातिका विद्यार्थीहरुको शैक्षिक अवस्था

अध्ययनका लागि छनौट गरिएका विद्यालयहरुमा समग्र लामा विद्यार्थीहरुको सहभागिताको अध्ययन पश्चात लामा विद्यार्थीहरुको भर्ना विवरण, अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित लामा विद्यार्थीहरु, अन्तिम परीक्षामा उत्तीर्ण भएकाहरुको विवरण र लामा विद्यार्थीहरुले वीचैमा कक्षा छोड्ने विवरणलाई आधार मानि तपसिलका शीर्षक दिई विश्लेषण गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ ।

प्राथमिक तहका सबै विद्यालयहरूमा वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने विद्यार्थीहरूको विश्लेषण

तालिका १ : प्राथमिक तहका सबै विद्यालयहरूमा लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने स्थितिको विवरण

क्र. सं.	छनोटमा परेका विद्यालयको नाम	भर्ना भएका जम्मा विद्यार्थी संख्या	अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित संख्या	अन्तिम परीक्षामा उत्तिर्ण संख्या		वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने विद्यार्थी संख्या	
				संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत
१	श्री एबलाडकाड प्रा.वि., किम्री, मुगु	५७	४४	४४	१००	१३	२२.८१
२	श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि., ताखा, मुगु	५७	५०	५०	१००	७	१२.२८
३	श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि., दाउरा, मुगु	५०	४४	४४	१००	६	१२
४	श्री बालकल्याण प्रा.वि., रिउस, मुगु	६३	५४	५४	१००	९	१४.२९
५	श्री सरस्वती प्रा.वि., सेरोग, मुगु जम्मा	६६	५७	५७	१००	९	१३.६४
		२९३	२४९	२४९	१००	४४	१५.०२

स्रोत : स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण, २०७२

उपरोक्त तालिकाबाट अध्ययनका लागि छनोटमा परेका प्रा.वि.हरूमा कक्षा १ देखि कक्षा ५ सम्म अध्ययन गर्ने लामा बालबालिकाको समग्र अवस्था सपष्ट भएको छ । उल्लेखित तालिका अनुसार सबै विद्यालयहरूमा जम्मा २९३ जना विद्यार्थीहरू भर्ना भएका थिए भने परीक्षामा सम्मिलित विद्यार्थीहरूको जम्मा संख्या २४९ जना रहेको थियो । परीक्षामा उत्तीर्ण हुनेको संख्या २४९ जना (१००%) रहेको थियो । औषतरूपमा परीक्षामा ४४ जना (१५.०२%) लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेका थिए । सबै भन्दा बढि वीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने विद्यालयको नाम श्री एबलाडकाड

प्रा.वि.किम्री,मुगु थियो । त्यस विद्यालयमा ५७ लामा विद्यार्थीको भर्ना भएकोमा ४४ जना विद्यार्थीहरू मात्र परीक्षामा सम्मिलित भई १३ जना (२२.८१%) लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेका थिए । सबै भन्दा कम वीचैमा विद्यालयमा छोड्ने विद्यालयको नाम श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि. दाउरा, मुगु थियो । त्यस विद्यालयमा ५० जना विद्यार्थीहरू भर्ना भएकोमा ४४ जना मात्र विद्यार्थीहरू परीक्षामा सम्मिलित भई ६ जना (१२%) लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेका थिए । एबलाडकाड प्रा.वि. किम्री मुगुको भन्दा नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि., दाउरा, मुगुको वीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने दर १०.८१ प्रतिशतले कमी हुन आएको छ ।

कक्षागत रूपमा बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको विश्लेषण

तालिका -२ : कक्षागतरूपमा बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको विवरण

क्र.सं.	जम्मा भर्ना विद्यार्थीहरूको संख्या	अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित विद्यार्थी संख्या	अन्तिम परीक्षामा उत्तिर्ण विद्यार्थी संख्या		बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने विद्यार्थी संख्या	
			संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत
१	५१	४३	४३	१००	८	१५.६९
२	६६	५३	५३	१००	१३	१९.६९
३	५७	५३	५३	१००	४	७.०२
४	४८	३८	३८	१००	१०	२०.८३
५	७१	६२	६२	१००	९	१२.६७
जम्मा	२९३	२४९	२४९	१००	४४	१५.०२

स्रोत : स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०७२

माथिको तालिका अनुसार क्रमशः कक्षा १,२,३,४,५ मा भर्ना हुने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको संख्या क्रमशः ५१,६६,५७,४८,७१ थियो । त्यसै गरी अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित हुने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको संख्या क्रमशः ४३,५३,५३,३८,६२ थियो । सम्मिलित भएका सम्पूर्ण विद्यार्थीहरू उत्तीर्ण भएका थिए । कक्षा १,२,३,४,५ मा बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने संख्या क्रमशः १५.६९%, १९.६९%, ७.०२%, २०.८३% र १२.६७% थियो । कक्षा ४ मा सबै भन्दा बढि बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा छात्र र छात्राहरूको तुलनात्मक विश्लेषण

लामा विद्यार्थी संख्या २०.८३ प्रतिशत थियो । भने कक्षा ३ मा सबै भन्दा कम बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा विद्यार्थी संख्या ७.०२ प्रतिशत रहेको पाईयो । कक्षा ३ मा भन्दा कक्षा ४ मा बीचैमा कक्षा छोड्ने विद्यार्थीहरू १३.८१ प्रतिशतले बढि रहेको पाईयो औषत रूपमा बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको संख्या ४४ (१५.०२%) थियो । परीक्षामा सम्मिलित सबै कक्षाहरूमा सत प्रतिशत विद्यार्थीहरू उत्तीर्ण भएको पाईयो ।

तालिका -३ : बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा छात्र र छात्राहरूको तुलनात्मक विवरण

क्र.सं.	विद्यालयको नाम	जम्मा भर्ना भएका विद्यार्थी संख्या			अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित संख्या			अन्तिम परीक्षामा उत्तिर्ण संख्या			बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने संख्या		
		छात्र	छात्रा	जम्मा	छात्र	छात्रा	जम्मा	छात्र	छात्रा	जम्मा	छात्र	छात्रा	जम्मा
१	श्री एबलाड्काड प्रा.वि., किम्री, मुगु	३०	२७	५७	२३	२१	४४	२३	२१	४४	७	६	१३
२	श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि., ताखा, मुगु	२६	३१	५७	२३	२७	५०	२३	२७	५०	३	४	७

३	श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि., दाउरा, मुगु	२५	२५	५०	२३	२१	४४	२३	२१	४४	२	४	६
४	श्रीबालकल्याण प्रा.वि., रिउस, मुगु	३२	३१	६३	२६	२८	५४	२६	२८	५४	६	३	९
५	श्रीसरस्वती प्रा.वि., सेरोग, मुगु	३२	३४	६६	२७	३०	५७	२७	३०	५७	(१८.७५)	(९.६८)	९
	जम्मा	१४५	१४८	२९३	१२२	१२७	२४९	१२२	१२७	२४९	(१५.६३)	(११.७६)	४४
											(१५.८६)	(१४.१९)	

स्रोत : स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण, २०७२ (कोष्ठ भित्र प्रतिशत अंक देखाइएको छ)

उपरोक्त तालिका अनुसार जम्मा १४५ जना लामा छात्र भर्ना भएकोमा १२२ जना लामा छात्र अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित हुन गई केवल २३ जना (१५.८६%) लामा छात्रहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेको पाईयो । त्यसै गरी जम्मा १४८ जना लामा छात्रा भर्ना भएकोमा १२७ जना लामा छात्रा अन्तिम परीक्षामा सम्मिलित हुन गई केवल २१ जना (१४.१९ %) लामा छात्राहरूले वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेको पाईयो । यसरी वीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने छात्राहरूको संख्या भन्दा छात्रहरूको संख्या १.६७ % ले बढि देखिन्छ । परीक्षामा सम्मिलित भएका सबै लामा छात्र र छात्राहरू सत प्रतिशत उत्तीर्ण भएको

पाईयो । तीन वटा विद्यालयहरू क्रमशः श्री एबलाइ काड प्रा.वि. किम्री, मुगु, श्री बालकल्याण प्रा.वि. रिउस, मुगु, र श्रीसरस्वती प्रा.वि. सेरोग, मुगु, मा लामा छात्राले भन्दा लामा छात्र ले केही धेरै शैक्षिक शत्र समाप्त हुनु भन्दा अगावै वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेको पाईयो । भने २ वटा विद्यालयहरू क्रमशः श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि. ताखा, मुगु र श्री नेपाल राष्ट्रिय प्रा.वि. रिउस, मुगुमा छात्रले भन्दा छात्राले केही धेरै शैक्षिक शत्र समाप्त हुनु भन्दा अगावै वीचैमा विद्यालय छोडेको पाईयो । यसरी विद्यालय अनुसार वीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा छात्र र छात्राहरूको संख्या पनि फरक फरक देखिन्छ ।

उमेरगत रूपमा वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको विश्लेषण

तालिका - ४ : उमेरगत रूपमा वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको विवरण

कक्षा	जम्मा लामा विद्यार्थी भर्ना संख्या	वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने लामा विद्यार्थी संख्या	वीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने विद्यार्थीहरूको उमेरगत संख्या					
			५ वर्ष	६ वर्ष	७वर्ष	८वर्ष	९ वर्ष	१० वर्ष
१	५१	८	६	१	१			
२	६६	१३		९	२	२		
३	५७	४			२	१	१	
४	४८	१०				८	१	१
५	७१	९					७	२
जम्मा	२९३	४४	६	१०	५	११	९	३
प्रतिशत			१३.६४	२२.७३	११.३६	२५	२०.४५	६.८२

स्रोत : स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण, २०७२

उपरोक्त तालिका अनुसार जम्मा २९३ जना लामा विद्यार्थीहरू भर्ना भएकोमा ४४ जना लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाडेको पाइयो । जसलाई उमेरगत रूपमा देखाउदा क्रमशः ५ वर्ष उमेरका ६ जना (१३.६४%) ६ वर्ष उमेरका १० जना (२२.७३%) ७ वर्ष उमेरका ५ जना (११.३६%), ८ वर्ष उमेरका ११ जना (२५%), ९ वर्ष उमेरका ९ जना (२०.४५%) र १० वर्ष उमेरका ३ जना (६.८२%) लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाडेको पाइयो । सबै भन्दा बढी ८ वर्ष उमेरका ११ जना (२५%) र सबै भन्दा कम १० वर्ष उमेरका ३ जना (६.८२%) लामा विद्यार्थीहरू बीचैमा विद्यालय छाडेको पाइयो यसरी १० वर्ष उमेरका भन्दा ८ वर्ष उमेरका लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले धेरै अन्तर (१८.१८%) ले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाडेको पाइयो ।

लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्नुका कारणहरू :

लामा समुदायमा बालबालिकाहरू बौद्ध धर्मालम्बी भएका कारणले प्रायः बालबालिकाहरू लामा पढ्न जाने, यासांगुम्वा (जीवन बुटी) टिप्न जाने, विभिन्न जडीबुटीहरू कोर्न जाने, घरायसी कामकाजमा सामेल हुने लामा बालबालिकाका अभिभावकहरूमा शैक्षिक चेतना कमजोर रहने गरेको, विद्यालयमा बालमैत्री कक्षा सञ्चालन नभएको, शिक्षक, र समुदाय बिच सु सम्बन्ध कायम नभएको, अभिभावकहरूलाई चेतनामुलक सन्देश नदिईएको, लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको कमजोर स्वास्थ्य स्थिति रहनु, घनिको घरमा गई बालश्रमिक भई कार्य गर्नु, शिक्षकहरू कक्षाकोठामा कम उपस्थित भई प्रभावकारी एवं गुणस्तरीय शिक्षा प्रदान गर्न नसक्नु, गरिबीको कारण पढ्नको लागि आवश्यक पर्ने शैक्षिक सामग्री किन्न सक्ने क्षमता नहुनु, जातीय रूपमा र लैङ्गीक रूपमा विभेदीकरण गर्नु, छात्रवृत्तिको व्यवस्था त्यति प्रभावकारी नहुनु, मातृ भाषावाट पढाई नगरि नेपाली भाषावाट मात्र पढाई हुनु, नियमित रूपमा प्रभावकारी ढंगले सुपरिवेक्षण तथा अनुगमन

नगरिनु, शिक्षकलाई भाषागत तालिम नदिईनु आदि कारणहरूले गर्दा प्राथमिक तहमा पढ्ने लामा जातका विद्यार्थीहरू बीचैमा कक्षा छोड्ने गरेको अध्ययनमा संलग्न शिक्षक, विद्यार्थी, अभिभावक, स्रोतव्यक्ति, वि.नि. आदि द्वारा दिएको पाइयो ।

लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने समस्या समाधानका उपायहरू

अध्ययनका क्रममा विद्यार्थीहरूको बस्तुस्थिति अध्ययन गरिसकेपछि बीचैमा कक्षा छाडेका लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको पहिचान गरि ती विद्यार्थीहरूले कक्षा छाड्ने समस्या समाधानका उपायहरूलाई तपसिल बमोजिम उल्लेख गरिएको छ :

- विद्यालयमा नियमित रूपमा प्रभावकारी ढंगले सुपरिवेक्षण र अनुगमन भई रहनु पर्ने,
- अभिभावकहरूलाई शिक्षा प्रतिको जनचेतना अभिवृद्धि गर्नु पर्ने,
- जातीय रूपमा, लैङ्गीक रूपमा, धार्मिक रूपमा र राजनैतिक रूपमा विभेदीकरण नगरिनु पर्ने,
- लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको बाहुल्यता रहेका विद्यालयहरूमा लामा भाषाको शिक्षण सिकाइ प्रक्रियामा कठिनाई हुने भएकाले लामा भाषा जान्ने शिक्षकको दरबन्दी व्यवस्था गरिनु पर्ने,
- विद्यालयमा बालमैत्री शिक्षण वातावरण कायम गरिनु पर्ने,
- विद्यार्थीहरूलाई विद्यालय हाता भित्रै स्वास्थ्य जाँच गर्न पाउने अवसर दिलाईनु पर्ने,
- आयआर्जन गर्ने कार्यक्रम तर्जुमा गरिनु पर्ने ताकि गरिबी न्यूनीकरण गर्न सकियोस,
- विद्यार्थीहरूको अनुपातमा शिक्षक दरबन्दी थप गरिनुपर्ने,
- विद्यार्थीहरूलाई अध्यापन गर्दा उत्प्रेरणा जगाउनु पर्ने ताकी विद्यार्थीहरूमा पढाई प्रति रुची उत्पन्न हुन सकोस,

- भौतिक स्रोतको व्यवस्थापन, सुरक्षा र पुनः प्रयोगमा विशेष ध्यान दिईनु पर्ने जसको निम्ति लगानीमा वृद्धि गरिनु पर्ने,
- शिक्षक र स्रोत व्यक्तिहरूलाई समयानुकूल पुनर्ताजगी तालिमको व्यवस्था गरिनु पर्ने,
- प्रधानाध्यापकहरूलाई विद्यालयको पठन पाठनमा भन्दा विद्यालयको प्रशासनमा व्यस्त हुने अवसर प्रदान गरिनु पर्ने,
- बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने र अनुत्तीर्ण प्रतिशत कम गर्नको लागि खाने पानी, शौचालय, शैक्षिक सामग्री जस्ता भौतिक पक्षमा योजनाबद्ध सुधार तथा विकास गरिनु पर्ने,
- ठाउँ ठाउँमा प्राथमिक विद्यालयहरूको संख्या थपिनु पर्ने ताकी हिमाली भेगका बालबालिकाहरू भौगोलिक विकटताको कारणले थकितको कारण बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्न बाध्य नहोऊन्,
- निरन्तर मूल्याङ्कन प्रणालीलाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउनु पर्ने,
- विद्यालयहरूमा शिक्षकहरू नियमित रूपमा आई प्रभावकारी र गुणस्तरीय रूपमा अध्यापन गर्नुपर्ने ।

निष्कर्ष :

विश्वकै कम विकसित हाम्रो देशका विद्यालयहरूको कमजोर आर्थिक अवस्थाका कारण सिमित आर्थिक स्रोत र साधनलाई अधिकतम रूपमा सदुपयोग गर्नुपर्ने आजको आवश्यकता भएको छ । न्यून आर्थिक अनुदानले मात्र विद्यालयको भौतिक व्यवस्थापन गर्न कठिन भएको देखिन्छ । देशको ठुलो धनराशी विद्यालयको भौतिक संरचना निर्माणमा खर्च भइरहेको छ । त्यतिकै मात्रामा स्थानीय अभिभावक, चन्दादाता तथा संघ संस्थाबाट प्राप्त अनुदान सहयोग समेत विद्यालयमा खर्च गरिएको देखिन्छ । यसरी वर्षेनी गरिने लगानिबाट शैक्षिक क्षेत्रमा

कस्तो प्रतिफल प्राप्त भइरहेको छ ? वृद्धि गरिएको भौतिक अवस्थाले शैक्षिक गुणस्तर र सिकाई उपलब्धि के कस्तो सुधार ल्याएको छ ? भन्ने प्रश्नका जवाफ खोज्ने क्रममा प्राप्त भएको तथ्य तथ्यांक, सरोकारवालाको अवधारणा र स्थलगत अध्ययन अवलोकनबाट प्राप्त विवरणको विश्लेषण गरी निस्केका तथ्यहरूलाई निष्कर्षको रूपमा यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ ।

मुगु जिल्लाको किम्री, पुलु, मांग्री गा.वि.स. अन्तर्गतको किम्री स्रोतकेन्द्रमा पर्ने ५ वटा सामुदायिक प्राथमिक विद्यालयहरूमा केन्द्रित रहि यो अध्ययन गरिएको हो । तिनै विद्यालय र तिनका सरोकारवालाहरूबाट प्राप्त सुचना, तथ्याङ्क र स्थलगत अध्ययनबाट प्राप्त तथ्यहरूको सैद्धान्तिक र व्यवहारिक आधारमा अध्ययन विश्लेषण गर्दा निम्नानुसारको निष्कर्षहरू प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । मुगु जिल्ला स्थित किम्री स्रोतकेन्द्र अन्तर्गतका अध्ययनमा छनोट गरिएका ५ वटा सामुदायिक प्रा.वि.हरूको शैक्षिक अवस्थालाई हेर्दा परीक्षामा सम्मिलित सत प्रतिशत लामा विद्यार्थीहरू उत्तीर्ण भएका छन् । औषतरूपमा १५.०२ प्रतिशत लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाडेका छन् । बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको संख्या पनि कक्षा पिच्छे फरक फरक छ । कक्षा ४ मा पढ्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने दर सबै भन्दा धेरै (२०.८३ प्रतिशत) छ भने कक्षा ३ मा पढ्ने लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने दर सबै भन्दा कम (७.०२ प्रतिशत) छ यसरी कक्षा तीनका लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको तुलनामा कक्षा ४ का लामा विद्यार्थीहरूको बीचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने दर १३.८१ प्रतिशतले बढि देखिन्छ । यसरी फरक पर्नु राम्रो कुरा होईन । विचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने दर लामा छात्र र छात्रामा पनि फरक फरक छ । बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने लामा छात्राहरू १५.८६ प्रतिशत छन् भने लामा छात्राहरू १४.१९ प्रतिशत छन् । यसरी बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने छात्राको संख्या भन्दा छात्रको संख्या १.६७ प्रतिशत ले बढि देखिन्छ । अध्ययनमा छनोट भएका ५ वटा प्राथमिक विद्यालयहरू मध्ये ३ वटा

विद्यालयहरूमा बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने छात्राको दरभन्दा छात्रको दर बढि देखिन्छ । भने २ वटा विद्यालयहरूमा यस ठीक विपरित छात्रको दर भन्दा छात्राको दर बढि देखिन्छ । त्यसै गरी उमेरगत रूपमा विश्लेषण गर्नु पर्दा सबै भन्दा बढि ८ वर्ष उमेरका २५ प्रतिशत र सबै भन्दा कम १० वर्ष उमेरका ६.८२ प्रतिशत लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा प्रा.वि.विद्यालय छाडेका छन् ।

विद्यार्थीले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने दर कम गराउने क्रममा स्रोतव्यक्तिद्वारा विद्यालयमा तथ्यांक संकलन र सूचना आदान प्रदान गर्ने कार्य भएका छन् । तथ्यांक र सूचना आदान प्रदान कार्य राम्रो भए तापनि विद्यार्थीले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने दर भने कम गर्न सकिएको छैन । जे जति सुपरिवेक्षण भएका छन्, परम्परागत ढंगबाट भएका छन् । जसमा आधुनिक प्रविधि र योजनाबद्ध तरिका अपनाइएको छैन । स्रोतव्यक्तिलाई समयानुकूल पुनर्ताजगी तालिमको व्यवस्था नभएकाले समेत विद्यार्थीले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने स्थिति सिर्जना भएको हो । अर्को तर्फ विद्यालय सुपरीवेक्षणका लागि स्रोतकेन्द्रमा स्रोत साधनको अभाव हुनु, स्रोतव्यक्तिलाई भ्रमण भत्ता न्यून हुनु तथा स्रोतकेन्द्रको भौगोलिक क्षेत्र टाढा रहनु र विद्यालय संख्या अधिक हुनुले पनि सुपरीवेक्षण प्रभावकारी हुन नसकी विद्यार्थीले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने दर कम पार्न सकिरहेको छैन ।

स्रोतव्यक्तिले विद्यालयको सुपरिवेक्षण गरेपश्चात जि.शि.का. मा प्रतिवेदन अनिवार्य बुझाउनुपर्ने प्रावधान रहेको छैन । राजनीतिक प्रभावका कारण स्रोतव्यक्तिले विद्यालयको वास्तविक स्थिति झल्कने प्रतिवेदन दिन सक्ने अवस्था रहेको छैन । उक्त प्रतिवेदनका आधारमा जि.शि.का. बाट निर्णय गर्ने गरिएको पनि छैन । स्रोतव्यक्तिले दिएका सुझाव सल्लाहहरूलाई विद्यालयहरूले पूर्ण रूपमा पालना नगरे कारवाहि गर्ने स्थिति पनि नरहेको अवस्था छ । स्रोतव्यक्तिबाट शिक्षा नियमावलीले दिएको काम, कर्तव्य र अधिकारहरूको अक्षरशः पालना हुन

सकिरहेको छैन । स्रोत व्यक्तिलाई आफ्नो कार्य प्रति अभिप्रेरणा प्रदान गर्नुपर्ने व्यवस्था नहुनुले कर्तव्यनिष्ठता प्रतिको नैराश्यता बढाएको छ । स्थानीय स्तरमा विद्यार्थीले बीचैमा कक्षा छाड्ने दर कम गर्नका लागि उचित सहयोग प्राप्त हुन सकिरहेको छैन । अधिकांश विद्यालयहरूमा विद्यार्थी संख्याको अनुपातमा शिक्षक दरबन्दी न्यून हुनु, शिक्षकको अनुपस्थिति र प्रधानाध्यापकहरू विद्यालयको प्रशासन भन्दा विद्यालयको पठनपाठनमा नै व्यस्त रहनुपर्ने भएकाले पनि विद्यार्थीले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्ने दर कम हुन सकिरहेको छैन ।

लामा विद्यार्थीहरूले बीचैमा विद्यालय छाड्नुलाई शैक्षिक विकास र उपलब्धिमा प्रभाव पार्ने एक गम्भिर समस्या वा चुनौती मान्न सकिन्छ । यस्ता गम्भिर समस्या र चुनौतीहरू समाधानार्थ यी महत्वपूर्ण कार्यहरू गर्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ । जस्तै : विद्यालयमा नियमित रूपमा प्रभावकारी ढंगले सुपरिवेक्षण र अनुगमन कार्य भई रहनु पर्ने, अभिभावकहरूलाई जनचेतना अभिवृद्धि गर्नुपर्ने, कुनै पनि प्रकारको विभेदीकरण गरिनु नपर्ने, लामा भाषा जान्ने शिक्षकको दरबन्दी व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्ने, विद्यालयमा बालमैत्री शिक्षण वातावरण कायम गरिनुपर्ने, विद्यार्थीको अनुपातमा शिक्षक दरबन्दी थप गरिनु पर्ने, भौतिक स्रोत साधनको व्यवस्थापन, सुरक्षा र पुनः प्रयोगमा विशेष ध्यान दिनु पर्ने, आर्थिक लगानीमा अभिवृद्धि गरिनु पर्ने, शिक्षक र स्रोत व्यक्तिहरूलाई पुनर्ताजगी तालिमको व्यवस्था गरिनु पर्ने, प्रधानाध्यापकहरूलाई विद्यालयको पठान पठानमा भन्दा विद्यालयको प्रशासनमा व्यस्त हुने अवसर प्रदान गरिनु पर्ने ।

आभार

मुगु जिल्ला स्थित किमी स्रोतकेन्द्र अन्तर्गतका ५ वटा प्राथमिकविद्यालयका शिक्षकहरू, विद्यार्थीहरू, अभिभावकहरू, स्रोतव्यक्तिहरू र वि.नि.हरू जो अध्ययनमा सहभागि हुनु भएको छ । उहाँहरू सबै प्रति हार्दिक आभार प्रकट गर्दछु ।

सन्दर्भसूची

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राज्यको पुनसंरचनामा शिक्षा

रामप्रसाद सुवेदी*

सार

प्रस्तुत लेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य राज्यको पुनसंरचनामा अपनाउनु पर्ने शिक्षण विधि र शिक्षाको अवस्था पहिचान गर्नु रहेको छ । नेपाल राज्य पुनसंरचनामा प्रवेश गरेको छ । यस सम्बन्धमा संसद, र बुद्धिजीवी लगायत विभिन्न क्षेत्रहरूमा बहस चलिरहेको छ । संविधान सभाले यसका लागि धेरै उर्जा खर्च गरिरहेको छ । राज्य पुनसंरचनामा गइसकेपछि शिक्षा कस्तो हुने त्यसको बारेमा बहसहरू चलेका छन् तर ठोस खाका भने दिन सकेको पाइँदैन । परम्परादेखि चलिरहेको शिक्षाको स्वरूपमा के कसरी परिवर्तन ल्याउने ? स्थानीय निकाय, क्षेत्रीय निकाय र केन्द्रीय निकायको जिम्मेवारीमा केही हेरफेर होला । यो लेखमा पुनसंरचना पछि शिक्षाका चरणहरू पाठ्यक्रम, शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अनुगमन र परीक्षा प्रणालीलाई आधार मानेर केही प्रकाश पार्न खोजिएको छ । प्रस्तुत लेख कति बटा राज्य, कस्तो शासकीयस्वरूप भन्दा पनि उल्लिखित चरणहरूको वर्तमान सञ्चालन प्रक्रिया कस्तो छ ? हुन पर्ने के हो ? जस्ता पक्षहरूलाई आधार मानी गरिएको छलफलको अब गुणस्तरीय सीपमूलक आवश्यकतामा आधारित शिक्षा र शिक्षण विधि प्रयोग गरी आफ्नो भूमिका आफैँ खोज्ने जनशक्ति उत्पादन गर्नु पर्छ भन्ने निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : संरचना, राज्य, पाठ्यक्रम, उपलब्धि, आँकलन, सशक्तीकरण

विषय उठान

नेपालमा विक्रम सम्वत् १९९० बाट औपचारिक विद्यालय शिक्षाको सुरुआत भएको मानिन्छ (शर्मा, २०६५) । त्योभन्दा पहिला शिक्षा केही हदसम्म चलेको थियो तर परिवारमा मात्र सीमित थियो । शिक्षालाई राज्यको आवश्यकता र मानव संशाधन विकासको दृष्टिकोणले हेरिँदैनथ्यो । दैनिक जीवन गुजार्न जे जस्ता समस्या पर्थे ती समस्या समाधान गर्न केही सिकाउने काम गरिन्थ्यो त्यही नै शिक्षा थियो । परिवारमा केन्द्रित शिक्षामा बाबुले छोरालाई आमाले छोरीलाई पारिवारिक, व्यक्तिगत र सामाजिक समस्याको समाधानमा केन्द्रित रहेर शिक्षा दिने प्रचलन थियो । अर्थात तत्काल जे परेको छ त्यही

सिकाउने काम हुन्थ्यो । वि.सं. १९९० भन्दा पहिलाको शिक्षालाई स्वदेशकालीन (Indigenous) शिक्षा भनिन्थ्यो (उहि) ।

त्यतिबेला शिक्षा नेपालको प्रचलित रहनसहन, प्रणालीअनुसार थियो । पाठ्यक्रम, शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया, मूल्याङ्कन, अनुगमनमा विदेशी प्रभाव कम थियो । जंगबहादुर बेलायतबाट फर्केपछि उनले विदेशी शिक्षक, विदेशी पाठ्यक्रम, विदेशी शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया र उतैको मूल्याङ्कन प्रणाली लिएर आएपछि आफ्ना छोराछोरीहरूलाई दरवार स्कूल खोली पढाउन सुरु गरे । दरवार स्कूलको शिक्षाको व्यापक प्रभाव देश भित्र पयो । परीक्षा लिने

प्रणाली नेपालमा नभएकाले भारतमा गएर लिइन्थ्यो र नतिजा प्रकाशन गरिन्थ्यो । औपचारिक शिक्षाको ८० वर्ष बितिसक्दा पनि देशमा २१ औं शताब्दीको आवश्यकतालाई समेट्ने खालको शिक्षा प्रणाली नभएकाले राज्यको पुनसंरचनासँगै व्यापक सुधार गर्नुपर्ने आवश्यकता महसुस गरी केही पक्षमा गर्नुपर्ने परिर्तनलाई औल्याउन खोजिएको छ ।

अध्ययन विधि

यो अध्ययन पूर्णतया गुणात्मक विधिमा आधारित रहेको छ र यसमा प्राथमिक तथ्याङ्कको रूपमा पर्वत र कास्की जिल्लाका ४(२ वटा सामुदायिक र २ वटा संस्थागत) विद्यालयहरूमा स्वयं अध्ययनकर्ताद्वारा स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण गरिएको र द्वितीय तथ्याङ्कको रूपमा विभिन्न श्रोतहरू, पत्रपत्रिका, लेखरचना, प्रकाशनहरू लिइएको थियो ।

छलफल

मधि उल्लिखित विद्यालयमा गरिएको स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण र द्वितीयश्रोत लेख, रचना, पुस्तकबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कलाई निम्न शीर्षकमा छलफल गरिएको छ ।

पाठ्यक्रम कस्तो बनाउने ?

UNESCO ले शिक्षाका लक्ष्य र उद्देश्यहरू प्राप्त गर्नका लागि विद्यालय तथा शिक्षकद्वारा विद्यार्थीहरूका लागि तयार गरिएका योजनालाई पाठ्यक्रम भन्यो । प्रगतिवादले उपयोगिताको सिद्धान्तमा विश्वास गर्ने भएकाले जीवनमा उपयोगी हुने विषयवस्तु पाठ्यक्रममा समावेश गरिनु पर्छ जसले गर्दा बालबालिकाको वर्तमान जीवनका समस्याहरू समाधान गर्न सकोस् र बालकको रुचि, क्षमता र आवश्यकताहरूलाई पाठ्यक्रममा समावेश गरिनुपर्छ भन्ने छ त्यस्तैगरी अस्तित्ववादीहरू बालबालिकाले आफ्नो पाठ्यक्रम आफैँ निर्माण गरी उक्त पाठ्यक्रमले तर्क सिकाउने र सत्यको बाटो देखाउन सक्नु पर्छ भन्दछन् ।

निर्माणवादका अनुसार विद्यार्थीहरूले खोजी गरेर सिक्ने, अनुसन्धान गरेर सिक्ने, आनन्दपूर्वक सिक्ने र अन्तरक्रियालाई बढावा दिने खालको पाठ्यक्रम हुनुपर्छ भन्दछन् । आदर्शवादले मानव जीवनको आदर्श प्राप्त गर्ने, चरित्र निर्माण गर्ने, सम्यता र संस्कृतिको प्रतिबिम्ब पाठ्यक्रममा हुनुपर्छ भन्ने कुरामा जोड दियो । प्रयोजनवादीहरू बालकको रुचि, उपयोगिता, व्यावसायिक र अनुभवहरूको सिद्धान्तमा आधारित पाठ्यक्रम हुनुपर्छ भन्दछन् । यथार्थवादीहरू पाठ्यक्रमलाई वर्तमान वास्तविक जीवनसँग जोडी असल व्यक्ति र असल समाज निर्माण हुने खालको पाठ्यक्रम निर्माणमा जोड दिन्छन् (ढकाल, २०६६) ।

पाठ्यक्रम विभिन्न दर्शनमा आधारित हुन्छ जसले सिकारुलाई बाटो देखाउँछ र सिप सिकाउँछ । त्यही बाटो र सीप बालकको जीवनको आवश्यकता परिपूर्ति गर्ने माध्यम बन्दछ । नेपालको वर्तमान पाठ्यक्रम न त उपयोगिताको सिद्धान्तमा आधारित छ, न त तर्क सिकाउने र सत्यको बाटो देखाउने कुरामा नै आधारित छ । अनुसन्धान गर्नुभन्दा घोकेर, कण्ठ गरेर सिक्ने, असल चरित्र आफैँ निर्माण गर्ने भन्दा पनि लट्टी लगाएर तह लगाउनु पर्ने र वास्तविक जीवनसँग मेल खानेभन्दा पनि मेल नखाने खालको पाठ्यक्रम दिइरहेको पाइन्छ ।

नेपालको पाठ्यक्रम पूर्व मेचीदेखि महाकाली, हिमालदेखि तराईसम्म एकात्मक प्रकृतिको छ जुन परम्परागत शैलीमा आधारित छ । तराईको कुनै विद्यालयमा कक्षा ११ मा शिक्षा पढेको विद्यार्थीले शिक्षाको परिचय र पेडागोजी पढ्नुपर्छ भने हिमाली क्षेत्रमा चलेको विद्यालयमा पनि त्यही विषय पठनपाठन गरिन्छ । उक्त पाठ्यक्रम न त उपयोगिताको सिद्धान्तमा आधारित भयो न त आवश्यकताको सिद्धान्तमा नै आधारित रह

यो, त्यसैले अनुसन्धान गरेर सिक्ने, बालकको जीवनको आवश्यकता परिपूर्ति हुने र संस्कृतिको प्रतिबिम्ब हुने खालको पनि भएन । तसर्थ उपयुक्त आवश्यकतालाई मध्यनजर गर्दै राज्यको पुनर्संरचनामाराज्यले ठूलो सैद्धान्तिक र कार्यात्मक बहस चलाउनु पर्छ तराईमा कृषि तथा उद्योगको सम्भावना रहन्छ भने हिमाली क्षेत्रमा पशुपालन, जडिबुटी र पर्यटन विषयलाई समावेश गरिनु उपयुक्त हुन्छ । जति डोल्पाका विद्यार्थीले यासांगुम्बाको ज्ञानबाट फाइदा लिन्छन्, त्यति शिक्षा र पेडागोजीबाट लिन सक्दैनन् । त्यसैले संविधान निर्माणमा राज्यको पुनर्संरचना गर्दा आवश्यकतामा आधारित विविधतायुक्त, जीवन सापेक्ष पाठ्यक्रम निर्माण गरिनु पर्छ ।

शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया कस्तो ?

ज्ञान हस्तान्तरण गर्ने विधि शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया हो । शिक्षकले विभिन्न विधि अपनाएर आफूसँग भएको ज्ञान विद्यार्थीमा हस्तान्तरण गर्न सक्छन् । शिक्षक केन्द्रित, विद्यार्थी केन्द्रित, प्रयोगात्मक नाट्यकरणजस्ता कुनै पनि तरिका अपनाउन सकिन्छ । आदर्शवादीहरु अनुकरण र व्याख्यान विधिमा जोड दिन्छन् । बालकलाई आदर्श व्यक्ति बनाउनका निम्ति त्यसैअनुसारको शैक्षिक प्रक्रियामा जोड दिन्छन् । बालकलाई नैतिकता, बौद्धिकता र सौन्दर्यबोधका क्रियाकलापमा संलग्न गराउनु पर्छ, र त्यहीअनुसार शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया सञ्चालन गर्नुपर्छ भन्दछन् । अनुशासन, अनुकरण, रुचि र स्वक्रियाकलापलाई आदर्शवादले मुख्य शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया ठान्दछ । प्रकृतिवादले शैक्षिक प्रक्रियामा स्वभाविक प्रक्रिया अपनाउनु पर्छ, भन्छ । मनोरञ्जन र आनन्ददायक, स्वक्रियाकलापमा आधारित, आगमन विधिलाई शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया मान्दछ । प्रयोजनवादीहरु गरेर सिक्ने (learning by doing) प्रक्रिया अपनाउनु पर्छ भन्दछन् । यथार्थवादीहरु आगमन विधिबाट सिकाइ, तथ्याङ्क संकलन, व्याख्या, विश्लेषण, छलफल, वादविवाद प्रदर्शन, प्रयोग, योगजस्ता विधिलाई शैक्षिक प्रक्रियाको रूपमा मान्दछन्(ऐ) ।

माथि उल्लिखित दर्शनहरुले आ-आफ्नो शैक्षिक प्रक्रियाको बाटो देखाएका छन् । जस्तो शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अपनाए पनि त्यो सिकारुको ज्ञान, सीप र क्षमताको अभिवृद्धि गर्ने खालको हुनुपर्छ ।

अवलोकनको क्रममा नेपालको कक्षा कोठाको व्यवस्थापन राम्रो पाइएन, त्यसैले उपयुक्त खालको शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अपनाइदैन । अधिकांश कक्षामा Chalk and Talk तरिका मात्र अपनाएको पाइन्छ । अबको शिक्षाको पुनर्संरचना आवश्यकता कक्षाको उपयुक्त व्यवस्थापन, शिक्षक, विद्यार्थी केन्द्रित क्रियाकलाप नै हो । कक्षा कोठामा शिक्षक नआइदिए हुन्थ्यो, चाँडै घण्टी लागे हुन्थ्यो, भन्ने खालको वातावरण नभएर शिक्षकसँग बसौं, बसौं जस्तो लाग्ने, अत्यन्त अन्तक्रियात्मक शैलीमा विद्यार्थीको मनोभावना बुझी रमाइलो वातावरणमा शिक्षण प्रक्रिया अपनाउनु पर्छ । तसर्थ हिमालदेखि तराई, मेचीदेखि महाकालीसम्म त्यहाँको वस्तुस्थिति हेरी सोही अनुसारको फरक फरक शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अपनाउनु पर्छ ।

राज्यको पुनर्संरचनामा शिक्षाको पुनर्संरचनालाई विशेष ख्याल गर्नु पर्छ । शिक्षाको मुख्य आधार शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया हो । शिक्षकसँग ज्ञान छ, कक्षाकोठामा उपयुक्त साधन र स्रोत छन् तर पनि उपयुक्त शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अपनाइएन भने कक्षा उत्पादनमूलक हुँदैन । व्याख्यान, प्रदर्शन तरिकाले मात्र आजको सिकारुको आवश्यकतालाई समेट्न सक्दैन तर अधिकांश विद्यालयहरुमा परम्परागत व्याख्यान र प्रदर्शन प्रक्रिया रहेको पाइन्छ । अनुसन्धान उन्मुख शैक्षिक प्रक्रियामा जोड दिएको पाइँदैन । अबको कक्षाकोठाको सिकाइ paperless operation मा आधारित हुनु पर्छ । कक्षाकोठामा शिक्षकले विषयवस्तुको उठान गरिदिने त्यसपछि विद्यार्थीले उक्त विषयवस्तुलाई इन्टरनेट, पुस्तकालय, पत्रपत्रिका तथा अन्य सन्दर्भसामग्रीको माध्यमबाट खोजी गर्ने र प्रस्तुत

गर्ने खालको हुनुपर्दछ । यसका लागि सहजीकरणको भूमिकामा मात्र शिक्षक रहने व्यवस्था अबको शिक्षाको पुनर्संरचनाको शैक्षिक प्रक्रियामा आवश्यक छ ।

हाम्रा कक्षाकोठाको सिकाइ प्रक्रिया र बसाइ व्यवस्थापनमा खासै नयाँपन पाइँएन । हरेक कक्षामा लाइनमा बस्ने, शिक्षकले अगाडि उभिएर व्याख्या गर्ने, नोट लेखाइदिने, विद्यार्थीले नोट सार्ने, अनि सारेको नोटलाई कण्ठ गर्ने र विद्यार्थीले कण्ठ गर्न सकेमा त्यसलाई सिकाइ उपलब्धी मान्ने प्रक्रियालाई मुख्य शैक्षिक प्रक्रियाको रूपमा लिइएको छ । हामी परम्परागत शैलीमा बाँधिँएको हुँदा हाम्रा विद्यार्थीहरूले पनि जे चलिआएको छ त्यसैलाई सहज मान्दछन् । नयाँ तरिकाले शिक्षण सिकाइ प्रक्रिया सञ्चालन गर्दा उनीहरूले त्यसलाई असहज मान्दछन् । अब हामीले विश्वको जुनसुकै शिक्षण संस्थासँग प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्नु पर्ने अवस्था आएको छ । विश्वव्यापीकरणले गर्दा संसारको कुनै पनि ठाउँमा जनशक्तिको आवश्यक भएमा नेपालीले प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्न सक्दछन्, त्यो प्रतिस्पर्धामा खरो उत्रनका लागि हाम्रो जनशक्तिलाई तिखानु पर्ने हुन्छ । यसका लागि हामीले शिक्षण प्रक्रियामा सकेसम्म नौला आयम (Nobal Attept) प्रयोग गर्नुपर्दछ । गरिब अभिभावकको लागि शिक्षा आवश्यकताको प्राथमिकतामा क्रम पछि (आचार्य र अन्य, २०६८) । तसर्थ उनीहरूलाई रोजीरोटीले नै पिरोलिरहेको हुँदा चाडो प्रतिफल प्राप्त हुने शिक्षा खोज्नुपर्छ ।

शिक्षा एउटा ढिलो प्रतिफल दिने साधन भएकाले लामो समय सम्म लगानी गर्दा आयस्तर कम भएका अभिभावकहरू आत्तिइरहेका हुन्छन् । राज्यले सम्पूर्ण जिम्मेवारी लिन नसकेको अवस्थामा अभिभावकको लागि यो एउटा चुनौतीको रूपमा रहेको हुन्छ । नर्वे लगायतका मुलुकमा सम्पूर्ण शिक्षामा लगानी राज्यले गर्दछ, भोलि त्यही लगानी जनशक्तिको रूपमा उत्पादन भइ सकेपछि

उनीहरूले गरेको आयवाट कटाउने प्रक्रिया त्यहाँ रहेको छ । अमेरिका तथा बेलायतमा अनिवार्य तथा निःशुल्क शिक्षा विद्यालय तहसम्म रहेकाले कस्तो शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया उपयुक्त हुन्छ भन्ने दायित्व राज्य तथा समाजको रहेको हुन्छ । नेपालका नागरिक तथा समाजमा प्रगतिशील परिवर्तन ल्याउने शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अँगालिनु पर्छ । परम्परादेखि विकासमा अवरोध देखिएका प्रथाहरू वादी, कमलरी, हलिया र राष्ट्रिय मूलधारबाट बाहिर रहेका जातजातिहरूका लागि उनीहरूको आवश्यकता पहिचान गरी त्यहीअनुसारको शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया अवलम्बन गरिनु अहिलेको खाँचो हो ।

शिक्षा एउटा सशक्तिकरणको आधार हो । परम्परादेखि दबिएर रहेका कतिपय जातजातिहरू रहेका छन् । पाउलो फ्रेरेको भनाइ जस्तो दबिएर रहेकाहरूका लागि के शिक्षा दिने ? उनीहरूलाई कसरी बोल्न सिकाउने ? आफ्नो पहिचान गर्न सक्ने र समाजमा आफ्नो भूमिका के हो ? मैले के गर्न सक्छु ? किन मैले कही गर्न पाइनँ आदि जिज्ञासा खोज्न सक्ने गरी शिक्षा दिनुपर्छ । जोन डिवेले भने जस्तो विद्यालयमा विद्यार्थीहरू प्रमाण-पत्र लिन मात्र जान्छन् भन्ने सोच्नु हुँदैन ताकि विद्यालय एउटा सामाजिकीकरणको थलो हो । उनीहरूले घरमा सिक्न नसकेका सामाजिक मूल्य मान्यता विद्यालयले सिकाउन सकोस् । पठनपाठन बाहेक अन्य अतिरिक्त सिकाइ सञ्चालन गर्नुपर्छ जसले गर्दा जीवन सञ्चालनको लागि उनीहरूले प्रमाणपत्रलाई मात्र आधार नमानुन् ।

अनुगमन कस्तो ?

कुनै काम गराइसकेपछि इमान्दारितापूर्वक भएको छ वा छैन भनेर हेर्ने कार्यलाई अनुगमन भनिन्छ (काफ्ले र साथिहरू, २०६७) । नेपालका विद्यालयको सवैभन्दा कमजोर पक्षको रूपमा अनुगमन र सुपरीवेक्षणलाई मानिन्छ । नीति निर्माणहरू बनाइएका हुन्छन्, हेर्दा ती

नीतिहरु अत्यन्तै राम्रा पनि छन् तर कार्यान्वयन हुँदैनन् । किन कार्यान्वयन भएनन् भनेर हेरिँदैन । हेर्ने निकायहरु आस्थाका आधारमा बाँधिएका छन् । यसरी आस्थाका आधारमा अनुगमन गर्दा गल्ती गर्नेले उचित सजाय पाउँदैन भने गल्ती नगर्ने सजायको भागिदार बन्न सक्छ ।

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयको शैक्षिक तथ्याङ्कलाई विश्लेषण गर्ने हो भने त्यो अत्यन्त कर्हालिलागदो देखिन्छ । २०६८/०६९ को प्रथम वर्षमा शिक्षा सङ्कायमा आगिक र सम्बन्धन प्राप्त क्याम्पसमा भर्ना भएका एक लाख ६२ हजार विद्यार्थीमध्ये तृतीय वर्षको अन्त्यसम्म पुग्दा जम्मा ९७ हजार मात्र बाँकी रहेको देखिएको छ । ६५ हजार विद्यार्थीले system नै छोडेर गए (सुवेदी, २०६७) । साधारण शिक्षा, शिक्षा शास्त्र, मानविकी, व्यवस्थापनमा अत्यधिक विद्यार्थी Drop-out हुन्छन् । आज कक्षामा आएको विद्यार्थी प्रायः भोलि देखिँदैन । मन लागे उपस्थित हुने मन नलागे नहुने गर्दछन् । उपस्थित भएका पनि पूरा समय कक्षामा बस्दैनन् । स्नातकोत्तर तहमा भर्ना भएका विद्यार्थीहरुसँग अन्तरक्रिया गर्दा जागिर नपाएका कारणले भर्ना भएको जस्ता भनाइ राख्दछन् । अधिकांश +२ पास भएका विद्यार्थीहरु EPS परीक्षा दिने, D.V. भर्ने, अरबका कुन कम्पनीमा कस्तो जागीर खुलेको छ ? कहाँ Apply गर्ने त्यतातिर मात्र ध्यान दिएका हुन्छन् । यसरी अनुमान लगाउन सकिन्छ कि आगामी केही वर्षसम्म यही पठनपाठन प्रक्रिया निरन्तर रहने हो भने साधारण शिक्षा +२ देखि विश्वविद्यालयसम्म कहाँ पुग्ने हो, भन्न गाह्रो छ । विश्वविद्यालयको केही कार्यक्रम एक वर्षे B.Ed को त भन्ने कर्हालिलागदो अवस्था रहेको छ । शिक्षाभन्दा बाहिरका शिक्षण पेसामा जान चाहनेहरुका लागि सञ्चालन गरिएको उक्त कार्यक्रम धेरै ठाउँबाट हटिसक्यो जुन क्याम्पसमा रहेको छ, एक दिन पनि विद्यार्थी उपस्थित हुँदैनन्, पूरा कार्यक्रममा भाग

लिँदैनन् (कान्तिपुर, २०७१: अंक ३४१) । भोलि ती विद्यार्थी शिक्षक बनेर विद्यालयमा उपस्थित हुँदा कसरी शिक्षण गर्दछन् त्यो अनुमान गर्न कठिन छ । अबको शैक्षिक पुर्नसंरचनामायोग्यता भएका विद्यार्थी कक्षामा भर्ना हुने, भर्ना भएका पूरै टिक्ने प्रणालीको विकास गर्नुपर्छ ।

शिक्षा क्षेत्रमा अनुगमन प्रणाली अत्यन्तै कमजोर रहेको छ । शिक्षालाई एउटा लचिलो प्रणाली (loosely couple system) को रूपमा लिए तापनि अति लचिलो प्रणालीको रूपमा सञ्चालन भएको पाइन्छ । यतिसम्म कि हिउँदे विदा र वर्षे विदामा एकरूपता छैन । स्थानीय विदामा पनि फरक-फरकपन पाइन्छ । कतिपय विद्यालयमा त पाउनु पर्ने ६० दिन स्थानीय विदा भन्दा बढी भएमा हाजिर गराएर पूरा गरिएको पनि पाइन्छ । विद्यालय चलेको दिनमा पनि पूरा दिन कक्षा चलेको पाइँदैन । रुपन्देहीमा विज्ञहरुले गरेको एक अध्ययनमा जम्मा ५२ दिन विद्यालय चलेको पाइएको थियो । २२० दिन चलेका सामुदायिक विद्यालयहरु कमै मात्र छन् । सक्षमतामा आधारित र शिक्षकको पेशागत विकास तालिमको क्रममा विभिन्न विद्यालयको अवलोकन गर्दा निम्न लिखित अवस्थाहरु देखिएका थिए ।

१. मध्यान्तर पछि थोरै विद्यार्थीहरु कक्षामा उपस्थित रहने
२. ग्रामीण भेगमा भोज, भतेर, विवाह हुँदा विद्यालय नचल्ने
३. कलाकारहरु कुनै कार्यक्रम (फिल्म सुटिङ्ग) गर्न लागदा अधिकांश विद्यार्थी कक्षामा नगइत्यतै लाग्ने
४. राजनैतिक पार्टीको कार्यक्रम प्राय विद्यालयमा हुनेहुदा त्यतिबेला विद्यालय बन्द रहनु
५. शिक्षक संघ संगठनका नेताहरुको विद्यालयप्रतिको

जवाफदेहिताभन्दा पेसागत

संगठन संघप्रति बढी हुनु

६. विद्यालयको कार्यक्रमलाइभन्दा जि. शि. अ. को आगमन र विदाइमा शिक्षक हरु लाग्नु
७. टिनको छााना भएकोले हावा हुरी चल्दा कक्षा बन्द गर्ने
८. १ देखि ५ कक्षासम्मका विद्यार्थीहरु कक्षामा राखेर पढाउँदा सार्वजनिक स्थलमा भाषण गरेजस्तो कक्षा हुनु
९. कुनै विद्यालयमा दुई जना मात्र शिक्षक भएको अवस्थामा एक एक जना पालो गरेर आई भोलि पल्ट हाजिर गर्ने प्रचलन देखिनु,
१०. परीक्षा सञ्चालन गर्दा प्रश्नपत्र बोर्डमा लेखी शिक्षकहरु बाहिर घाम तापेर बाहिर बस्ने
११. वर्षायाममा खोलो बढेको बेलामा विद्यालय नचल्ने
स्रोत: स्थलगत अवलोकन, वि. सं. (२०६२-२०७०) कास्की र पर्वत ।

माथि उल्लेखित अवस्थाहरु विद्यालय राम्रोसँग अनुगमन नहुनुका परिणाम हुन्। केहि निजि विद्यालयहरुमा शिक्षकहरु नियमित छन्, नियमित कक्षाहरु संचालन भएका छन्। तर सामुदायिक विद्यालयहरुमा शिक्षक तथा विद्यार्थीको नियमित उपस्थिति पाइएन।

उल्लेखित उदाहरणहरु प्रतिनिधिमूलक मात्र हुन्। नेपालका दूरदराजका गाउँहरुमा त्यतिसम्म पनि विद्यालय चलेका छैनन्। शिक्षा प्रशासकहरु पनि सकेसम्म तदर्थवादमा समय बितोस् भन्न चाहन्छन् किनकि innovative way बाट जाँदा चुनौतीपूर्ण हुन्छ र खर्च बढी हुन सक्छ। अतः विद्यालयको अनुगमन प्रणालीको लागि निम्न लिखित सुझावहरु प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ।

१. नेपाल सरकारका अवकास प्राप्त कर्मचारी, प्राध्यापक, अवकाश प्राप्त नेपाली सेना र प्रहरीको विद्यालय अनुगमन टोली बनाउने।
२. अनुगमन टोलीलाई अधिकार सम्पन्न बनाउने र उसलाई तुरुन्त विभागीय कारवाहीका लागि सिफारिस गर्न सक्ने अधिकार दिने।
३. राजनैतिक पार्टीको सम्मेलनमा शिक्षक गएको पाइएमा कारवाही गर्ने अधिकार प्रदान गर्ने।
४. कक्षामा शिक्षक र विद्यार्थी अनुपस्थित भएको दैनिक रकेर्ड राखी, किन र कसरी भन्ने उत्तर खोजीगर्ने।
५. तोकिएको पूरै दिन (२२०) विद्यालय चल्नु पर्ने, नचलेको पाइएमा तुरुन्त कारवाही गर्ने।
६. दैनिक पूरा Period कक्षा चले नचलेको Record राख्ने, नचलेको पाइएमा तुरुन्त त्यो कारण खोजी गर्ने र कारवाही गर्ने।
७. दैनिक रुपमा पठन पाठनको स्तरीयता को निरीक्षण गर्ने र विज्ञहरुबाट सुझाव प्रस्तुत गर्ने।

परीक्षा प्रणाली कस्तो उपयुक्त हुन्छ ?

नेपालको अबको राज्यको पुर्नसंरचनामाराज्यले हेर्ने मुख्य कार्य शिक्षाका लागि परीक्षा प्रणाली हो। वर्तमानमा हाम्रो परीक्षा प्रणाली Paper Pencil Test मा आधारित रहेको छ। यो मूल्याङ्कनको धेरै पुरानो प्रणाली हो। यो प्रणालीले संज्ञानात्मक क्षमताको बढी मात्रामा लेखाजोखा गर्दछ। विद्यार्थीले स्मरण र लेखन शैली मात्र लेखाजोखा गर्छ। भावनात्मक र मनोकृयात्मक पक्षलाई यो प्रणालीले धेरै महत्व दिएको छैन।

हाम्रो अहिलेको मूल्याङ्कन प्रणालीले प्रक्रियालाई भन्दा उत्पादनलाई बढी जोड दिने भएकाले विद्यार्थीहरु सकेसम्म धोक्ने, कण्ठ गर्ने र परीक्षामा अंक बढी

ल्याउने कार्यमा मात्र जोड दिन्छन्। यसो गर्दा परीक्षामा अनियमितताजस्ता कार्यहरु बढी देखापर्दछन्। र विद्यार्थीहरु निष्कासित हुने, परीक्षा रद्द गर्नु पर्ने जस्ता कार्यहरु हुन पुग्छन्। कतिपय परीक्षाहरुमा प्रश्नपत्र बाहिरिने जस्ता विकृतिहरु देखिनु, यही मूल्याङ्कन प्रणालीको नतिजाले गर्दा हो।

नेपालमा वि.सं. १९९० सालदेखि चल्दै आएको एस्.एल्.सी. परीक्षामा केही मात्रमा सुधारका सङ्केतहरु देखिन थालेका छन्। जे जस्तो भएपनि यो Paper Pencil Test को अर्को रूपकै रूपमा Letter Grading System शुरु गरिन थालिए पनि मूल्याङ्कन तरिकामा फरक तर मूल्याङ्कनको आयाम Paper Pencil Test नै हो। अबको मूल्याङ्कन प्रणालीका लागि गर्नुपर्ने सुधार Testing Device बाट 50% र None Testing Device बाट 50% गरिनु पर्ने आवश्यकता छ। None Testing Device बाट मुल्यांकन गर्दा विद्यार्थीहरुको क्षमता र खुबी प्रदर्शन हुन सक्छ। मूल्यांकनका लागि परीक्षा नगरिकन गरिने मूल्यांकनले विद्यार्थीहरुको मनोक्रियात्मक क्षेत्रको परीक्षण गर्दछन्।

शैक्षिक क्षेत्रसँग सम्बन्धित विद्यार्थीका उपलब्धि, पाठ्यक्रमको प्रभावकारिता प्रशासनिक कुशलता, शैक्षिक उत्पादन र प्रक्रिया आदिसँग सम्बन्धित विभिन्न पक्षहरुका गुण, क्षमता एवम् वैशिष्ट्यहरु विगतदेखि प्रयोग गर्दै आइएको कार्यहरु शैक्षिक मापनका प्रकृति हुन्। विगतमा प्रयोगमा ल्याइएका विधि, प्रक्रिया र तरिकाहरु तत्कालीन परिवेशअनुसार थिए। हाल आएर शैक्षिक प्रणालीले उत्तरआधुनिक युगमा प्रवेश गरेको छ। यस्तो अवस्थामा परीक्षा प्रणालीका परम्परागत प्रवृत्तिहरु विस्थापित हुने र नवीनतम प्रवृत्ति स्थापित हुने आवश्यकता छ। परम्परागतदेखि लिखित परीक्षा Paper Pencil Test प्रचलित साधनको रूपमा प्रयोगमा आए पनि हाल

यसका थुप्रै नवीन चुनौतीहरु देखा परेका छन्। विज्ञान र प्रविधिको विस्फोटनसँगै ज्ञानात्मक पक्ष भन्दा खीपलाई बढी महत्व प्रदान गरिनु पर्ने देखिएको छ।

परम्परागत लिखित परीक्षा प्रणालीको विकल्पका रूपमा प्रभावकारिता र वैज्ञानिक पद्धतिका आधारमा विद्यार्थीका सिकाइ उपलब्धि मापन गर्ने विभिन्न विधि र प्रक्रियाको आरम्भ भएको छ। शैक्षिक उपलब्धिको वार्षिक र अर्धवार्षिक रूपमा लिखित परीक्षाको माध्यमबाट मापन गर्ने परिपाटी अवैज्ञानिक भैसकेको छ। मापनलाई समय सापेक्ष वैज्ञानिक एवम् त्रुटिरहित बनाउने विश्वव्यापी रूपमा आधुनिकीकरणका प्रयासहरु भएका छन्। नेपालले राज्यको पुर्नसंरचनामा शिक्षामा परिवर्तन गर्न अपरिहार्य छ। उक्त परिवर्तनले यी प्रवृत्तिलाई नअगाती सुखी छैन। तिनीहरुलाई निम्नअनुसार उल्लेख गर्न सकिन्छ।

उच्च महत्वका परीक्षा

यो लिखित परीक्षालाई उच्च जोड दिएको परीक्षा हो। यो संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा आरम्भ भएको परिक्षणसँग सम्बन्धित नयाँ सुधारको कार्यक्रम हो। यसले एकमात्र परीक्षण प्रयोग गरी विविध शैक्षिक निर्णयका लागि सूचना उपलब्ध गराउनुपर्दछ। विद्यालयका शैक्षिक, आर्थिक एवम् सामाजिक प्रभाव सम्बन्धित निर्णय निर्माण गर्नका लागि परीक्षण तथा आँकलनलाई मात्र प्रयोग गरिन्छ। परीक्षा परिणामको आधारमा विद्यार्थीलाई कक्षोन्नति गर्ने विद्यालय र शिक्षकलाई पुरस्कार वा दण्ड दिने, यसैको माध्यमबाट विद्यालयलाई अनुदान उपलब्ध गराउने कार्य र विश्वविद्यालय तहका कुनै पेशाको निम्ति आवश्यक लाइसेन्स उपलब्ध गराउने परीक्षा HST हो। नेपालको सन्दर्भमा लोक सेवाका परीक्षा, पेशागत लाइसेन्सका परीक्षा TOEFL, IELTS, GRE यसभित्र पर्दछन्। यो प्रणालीलाई विद्यालय तहमा पनि प्रयोग गर्न अबको अपरिहार्यता छ।

बक्षतामा आधारित आँकलन

यो प्रणाली वर्तमान समयमा आएर परम्परागत लिखित परीक्षाको विकल्पमा विश्वव्यापी रूपमा आएको हो। यसको महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता भनेको कुनै पनि कार्यका लागि अन्तिम नतिजा मात्र नहेरी संलग्न प्रक्रियालाई हेर्नु, ज्ञानात्मक पक्षलाई मात्र महत्व नदिएर अनुभव र जीवनमा प्रयोगमा ल्याउन सक्ने क्षमता पत्ता लगाउनु, परम्परागत लिखित परीक्षाबाट मापन गर्न नसकिने सिकाइ उपलब्धि मापन गर्ने, रणनीतिक प्रक्रिया अपनाउनु जसका लागि मौखिक, अवलोकन, प्रयोगात्मक र समूह कार्य आदि गर्नु एउटै समयमा मात्र नभएर निरन्तर स्वाभाविक मूल्याङ्कनमा जोड दिन र सक्रिय सिकाइमा जोड दिनका लागि Learning by Doing पद्धतिलाई आत्मसात् गर्नु हो।

संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाले सन् १९९० देखि प्रयोगमा ल्याएको धारणा हो यो। यसले व्यावहारिक ज्ञान जाँच्ने भरपर्दो मापनको काम गर्दछ। यो परीक्षण नितान्त सीप प्रदर्शनसँग सम्बन्धित छ। यसले विद्यार्थीले कुनै पनि कार्य सम्पादन कति राम्ररी गर्न सक्दछन् भन्ने कुरालाई आधार बनाउछ। यो विधि अमेरिका लगायत युरोपमा पनि प्रचलनमा छ। केही विद्यार्थीहरू परम्परागत सीप डोको बुन्ने, नाम्लो बाट्ने, जुत्ता सिउने, कपडा सिलाउने कार्यमा घरबाट सिकी पोख्त हुन्छन् उनीहरू ज्ञानात्मक तहको सिकाइ घोक्ने, कण्ठ गर्ने कार्यमा कमजोर हुन्छन्। भाषागत र विषयगत समस्याले उनीहरूले विद्यालयमा सिक्न नसक्ने हुन्छन्। यस्तो अवस्थामा उनीहरूको सीपको परीक्षण गरी स्तरोन्नति गरेर त्यही सीपअनुसार उनीहरूलाई रोजगार उपलब्ध गराउन PBA पद्धति मूल्याङ्कनको एउटा अपरिहार्य आधार बन्न सक्छ।

उपलब्धि सङ्ग्रह

विद्यार्थीलाई एकै पटक उत्तीर्ण, अनुत्तीर्ण

गराउनुभन्दा उनीहरूका विशेष खालका कार्यहरूको अभिलेख राख्ने, मूल्याङ्कनको स्तर निर्धारण गर्ने, वर्गीकरण, क्षेत्रीकरण वा प्रतिवेदन कार्यका लागि उपलब्धि सङ्ग्रह अति महत्वपूर्ण छ। यो विद्यार्थीका छुट्टा-छुट्टै कार्यको सङ्ग्रह हो र विशिष्ट कार्यहरूको व्यवस्थित अभिलेख हो। यसले विद्यार्थीका सबल र दुर्बल पक्षको पहिचान गरी कमिकमजोरी सुधारन सहयोग गर्दछ। त्यसैले कार्य संचायिका शैक्षिक मापनको लागि एक आधुनिक नवीनतम विधि हो। यसलाई विद्यार्थीका महत्वपूर्ण कार्यहरू हेर्ने प्रगतिको अवस्था छुट्याउने, उपलब्धिस्तरलाई वर्गीकरण गर्ने, प्रगतिस्तर पत्ता लगाउने र अन्त्यमा उक्त जानकारीका आधारमा विद्यार्थीको अन्तिम निर्णय दिने गर्दछ। यसले विद्यार्थीको उत्तीर्ण अनुत्तीर्ण छुट्याउनुभन्दा विद्यार्थीको खास-खास कार्यको अभिलेख राखी त्यसैका आधारमा श्रेणीकरण गर्दछ। विद्यालयमा कोही विद्यार्थी अतिरिक्त क्रियाकलाप जस्तै गायन, वाद्यवादन, खेलकुद, नृत्य आदिमा निपूर्ण हुन्छन् तर उनीहरू कक्षा शिक्षणमा कमजोर देखिन सक्दछन् यस्तो अवस्थामा उनीहरूको स्तर निर्धारणमा यो विधि उपयुक्त हुन्छ।

शैक्षिक सुधार र विश्वव्यापी अर्थतन्त्र

शैक्षिक सुधार र विश्वव्यापी अर्थतन्त्र वा विश्वव्यापी प्रतिस्पर्धीलाई समयमा महत्वपूर्ण प्रवृत्तिको रूपमा हेर्ने गरिन्छ। हाल शैक्षिक सुधारको प्रभावकारिता र विश्वव्यापी अर्थतन्त्रमा प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्न सक्ने गरी विद्यार्थीलाई सक्षम बनाउन सक्ने गरी परीक्षण आँकलन विधिलाई प्रयोगमा ल्याइएको छ। यो योजना अमेरिकामा सुरु गरिएको थियो र यसले अमेरिकन शिक्षा प्रणालीका कमी कमजोरीलाई अगाडि ल्याएर सुधारने उपायको खोजी गरेको थियो। नेपालको 10+2 तह वा सो सरह अध्ययन गरेका विद्यार्थीले विश्वको जुनसुकै मुलुकमा गएर पनि अध्ययन गर्न सक्नु भन्ने ध्येय यसले राख्दछ।

परम्परागत प्रयोगबाट मापन गर्दा ज्ञानका सैद्धान्तिक क्षेत्रको मात्र मापन गर्ने गर्दथे जसको कारण शैक्षिक क्षेत्रमा उत्पादित जनशक्तिको खुल्ला बजारमा प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्न सकेनन् । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय बजारमा सैद्धान्तिक ज्ञान मात्र भएर पुग्दैन । दक्षता र क्षमताको उपयुक्त विकास हुनु पर्छ, यसको लागि उपयुक्त शैक्षिक प्रणाली र मापन विधि हुनुपर्छ । सन् १९८३ मा अमेरिकाले सुधार प्रणालीको सुरु गरेको थियो । नेपाली विद्यार्थीहरू रोजगारीको लागि विश्वव्यापी रूपमा प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्न पर्ने अवस्थामा उनीहरूलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय मापदण्डअनुसार खरो रूपमा उतार्नको लागि शैक्षिक सुधार गरी मूल्याङ्कनमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय प्रणाली अपनाउनु पर्ने अवस्था छ ।

निष्कर्ष

हामी अहिले निर्माणको अवस्थामा छौं । यसले देशमा स्थायित्व ल्याउने सङ्केत गरेको छ । हामी सँगैका कतिपय विश्वका मुलुकहरू राजनैतिक परिवर्तनसँगै शिक्षाको पुर्नसंरचना गरी धेरै अगाडि बढिरहेका छन् । अमेरिकाले सन् १७७५ को स्वतन्त्रता संग्रामपछि सन् १७८९ मा संविधान बनाउँदा शिक्षामा पनि परिवर्तन गर्‍यो जापानले सन् १९५२ मा अनिवार्य तथा निःशुल्क शिक्षाको रूपमा शिक्षामा पुर्नसंरचना गर्‍यो । बेलायतले सन् १९४४ बाट शिक्षामा परिवर्तन गरी अगाडि बढ्यो । मलेसियाले सन् २००४ मा शिक्षामा पुर्नसंरचना गर्‍यो (बराल, २०७१) । हाम्रो देशमा २००७, २०१७, २०४६

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तुइनमा अभिघात

लालमणि पोखरेल*

सार

अभिघात मुख्यतः उत्तर-आधुनिक चेतना हो । यसले युद्धका बासवी एवं युद्धबाट मुक्ति मानसिक आघातलाई टिप्छ । द्वन्द्व साहित्यका रूपमा पनि यिनले अभिघातीय चेत विश्व साहित्यमा दोस्रो युद्धपश्चात् देखा परेको हो । यसले दुई दशक यता नेपाली साहित्यलाई पनि सशस्त्री प्रभावित तुल्याएको छ । सुरेश प्राञ्जलीय तुइन यसै अवधारणाको उपयोग गरी रचना गरिएको औपन्यासिक कृति हो । प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धानमा यसै चेतनाद्वारा रचित प्राञ्जलीको तुइनमा प्रक्षेपित अभिघातीय अवधारणालाई उखिन्ने बल भएको छ जसका निम्ति पुस्तकालयीय अध्ययन पद्धतिलाई उपयोगमा ल्याइएको छ । यस अध्ययनबाट अभिघातीय चेतना बुझ्न तथा तुइनमा प्रयुक्त अभिघातीय चेतनाको बारे जानकारी लिन चाहने व्यक्तित्वहरू लाभान्वित हुने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ ।

मुख्य शब्दावली: अभिघात, द्वन्द्व साहित्य, सशस्त्र द्वन्द्व, माओवादी विद्रोह, छापामार, सरकारी सेना, अपहरण

विषय प्रवेश

२०५२ साल फागुन १ गतेदेखि माओवादीले औपचारिक रूपमा सशस्त्र जनयुद्धको थालनी गर्‍यो । जनयुद्धको थालनीमै गोर्खाका १२ वर्षे बालक दिलबहादुर रम्तेल प्रथम सहिद बन्न पुगे । २०५२ सालबाट २०६२ सालसम्म १० वर्ष सञ्चालित माओवादी सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वमा लगभग अठार हजारले ज्यान गुमाए । अपहरण, बेपत्ता, बलजफ्ती र घाइते हुनेको सङ्ख्या तथ्यगत रूपमा हालसम्म पनि सार्वजनिक भएको छैन । माओवादी द्वन्द्वमा सिङ्गो मुलुक नराम्ररी तहसनहस बन्‍यो । यस बखत सार्वजनिक सरोकारका भौतिक संरचनाहरू क्षतविक्षत बनाइए । विद्रोही र सत्ता पक्षबाट बल मिच्चाइका थुप्रै घटनाहरू भए । सर्वसाधारणहरू दुई पक्षको ज्यादतीमा साँढेको जुधाइ बाच्छाको किचाइ बन्न पुगे । यस अवधिमा विद्रोही पक्षले जबरजस्त चन्दा आतङ्क मच्चाए भने धेरै मानिस अनिच्छावश विद्रोहमा सामेल हुन पुगे । मन नपरेका वा भिन्न विचार बोकेका मानिसहरूलाई

धम्क्याउने, अपहरण गर्ने, बलजफ्ती चन्दा असुल्ने, घर तथा उनीहरूको स्वामित्व रहेको भूमिमा ऋण्डा गाड्ने, लछारपछार गर्ने, कुटपिट गर्ने, बलत्कार गर्ने, भुण्ड्याउने तथा निर्मम यातना दिएर मानिसहरूका कार्यहरू विद्रोहीबाट भए । दुवै पक्षबाट ज्यादतीका घटनाहरू यति भए कि त्यसको लेखाजोखा नै रहेन ।

द्वन्द्व वा अभिघातले युद्ध वा द्वन्द्वका बखत बलजफ्ती हुने काटमार, चन्दा असुली, बलत्कार, सामूहिक हत्या, नरसंहार आदिको चित्रण गर्छ । द्वन्द्वका बखत युद्धमा सामेल भएकाले मात्र पीडा भोग्दैन । यसबखत त अनाहकमा बलजफ्ती र ज्यादती भोग्ने तथा ज्यान गुमाउने थुप्रै मानिसहरू हुन्छन् । नेपालमा माओवादीले सञ्चालन गरेको १० वर्षे सशस्त्र युद्धमा सत्ता र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट यस्ता थुप्रै घटनाहरू भएका छन् । यिनै घटनाहरूलाई सरसती नियाल्ने, टिप्ने तथा मिही ढड्गले चित्रण गर्नेसम्मका कार्यहरू तुइनमा भएको छ । त्यसैले

यो उपन्यास द्वन्द्व साहित्यको राम्रो नमुना बन्न पुगेको छ ।

अभिघातले द्वन्द्वका कारण सिर्जना हुने मानसिक विकृतितालाई जनाउँछ । युद्धमा ज्यान गुमाउनेहरू त गइहाल्छन्, सिद्धि नै हाल्छ । तर जसले ज्यान गुमाउन पुग्छन् वा मर्छन्, मारिन्छन् त्यो दृश्यलाई आफ्नै आँखा अघिल्लि प्रत्यक्ष देख्ने र भोग्नेहरू उक्त घटनाका कारण मानसिक रूपमा विकृतिताको अवस्थामा पुग्छन् । यसरी द्वन्द्वमा प्रत्यक्ष सामेल नभएका मानिसहरू आफ्ना आफन्तको विछोडमा चरम मानसिक सन्त्रास तथा एक किसिमको अर्धबेहोसी वा मानसिक विकृतिता बेहोर्न पुग्छन्, त्यसैलाई अभिघातले टिप्ने प्रयत्न गर्छ ।

तुइनमा अभिघातका राम्रा दृष्टान्तहरू छन् । यहाँ सत्ता र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट भएका बल मिचाइमा सन्दर्भहरू थुप्रै आएका छन् । अझ यो उपन्यासमा त सत्ता र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षको निर्मम यातना भोग्न पुगेका मुख्यतः कर्णाली अञ्चलवासीका पीडाहरूको सघन प्रस्तुति छ ।

तुइनमा प्रक्षेपित अभिघातीय चेतना

उपन्यासको प्रथम खण्डबाट नै अभिघातका नमुनाहरू प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । यसै खण्डमा नेपाल प्रहरीमा जागिर खाएका एक जना पुलिस जवानलाई माओवादी विद्रोहीहरूले मारेको सन्दर्भ छ । प्रस्तुत छ उक्त सन्दर्भसँग आधारित एक उद्धरण:-

गडाउँदो लास छ गरे... डोरीमा बाँधिएको एउटा लास बैँशको रुखमा उँधोमुन्टो भुन्डिरहेको थियो । लासको ज्यानभरि आला घाउ र नीलडाम थिए । अनि भुँइभरि कटकटिएको रगत । लास देखेपछि कतिले जिब्रो टोके, कति मन थाम्न नसकेर भक्कानिए । (पृ. २)

द्वन्द्वमा युद्धको नियम पालना हुँदैन । युद्धमा विवेकले, नियम वा पद्धतिले भन्दा उत्तेजना, आवेग तथा वैरभावले महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका खेलेको हुन्छ । त्यसैर यस समयमा बलजप्ती र जबर्जस्तीका घटनाहरू निकै हुने गर्छन् । माथिको उद्धरणमा निशस्त्र प्रहरी जवानको

विद्रोही पक्षबाट भएको निर्मम हत्या त्यसैको साक्ष्य हो । तुइनमा विद्रोही पक्ष र सरकारी निकायका सेना तथा प्रहरी पक्षबाट भएका अचाक्कीका सन्दर्भहरू थुप्रै छन् । कृतिमा विद्रोही पक्षबाट सुर्खेतबाट विदामा घर आएका ओदीका प्रहरी जवान, कालीकोटको डुङ्केश्वरमा होटल व्यवसाय गरी जीविका चलाएका दयाराम र नवलपरासी जिल्लाको भूताहा माविका शिक्षक रमाकान्तको हत्या भएको छ । यी पात्रमध्ये नेपाल प्रहरीमा जागिर खाएकैले ओदीका प्रहरी जवान, सेनासँग सुराक गरेको तथा आफूहरूले खाने बस्ने गरेको होटल बन्द गरेको निर्हुमा दयाराम र चन्दा नदिएको बहानामा भूताहा माविका शिक्षक माओवादी विद्रोहीका शिकार बनेका छन् । द्वन्द्वमा सुराक गरेको, चन्दा नदिएको तथा शत्रु पक्षको समूह वा जमातसँग संलग्न रहेको आधारमा अनाहकमा ज्यान गुमाउने धेरै हुन्छन् । कृतिमा विद्रोही पक्षले ज्यानै लिएको प्रस्तुत ज्यादतीका अतिरिक्त अन्य थुप्रै बलजप्ती तथा जबर्जस्तीका प्रसङ्ग पनि छन् । प्रस्तुत छ विद्रोही पक्षले ओदी गाउँमा तास खेलेको बहानामा पाल्तेन, नन्देका वा, भूमिका माइला र कान्छवालाई चियासँग तासका पत्ती खान लगाएको उद्धरण:-

किन खेल्नुभको तास ? ... सामन्तीले खेल्ने खेल हो यो यस्तरी घरको काम नगरी तास खेलेर समय बर्बाद पार्ने तपैअरु सपैलाई जनकाइबाई गर्ने भन्ने आदेश च पार्टीको । (पृ. ८१) ... बाहरूको हारगुहार उनीहरूले सुनेनन् । बरु दुईदुई पत्ती तास चारैजनालाई दिँदै भने, 'अब सपैले यी तास चियासित खानुस् ।' (पृ. ८२)

द्वन्द्वमा विद्रोहीहरूले आफ्नो समूहमा मानिसहरूलाई जबर्जस्त सामेल पनि गराउँछन् । माओवादी विद्रोहमा नेपालमा पनि धेरै युवाहरूलाई हिंसात्मक आन्दोलनमा जबर्जस्त ढङ्गले सामेल गराइयो । जुम्ला जिल्लाको बड्की गा. वि. स. ओदीको भीमलाई माओवादी समूहले जबर्जस्त लिएर गएको छ ।

प्रस्तुत उद्धरण त्यही जानकारी दिन्छ :-

'यो बन्दुकले समाज फेर्न सक्तैन कान्छा,' मलिनो स्वर पारे दाइले, ...खोलाको रड फेर्न सक्ला । नेता फेर्न सक्ला । तर, मान्छेका दुःख विचार फेर्न सक्तैन, मान्छेको मन फेर्न नसकेजस्तै । मु रहरले लागिघा होइन पार्टीमा, करले लागिघा हुँ । मु त बानियाको छुँ बाध्यताका बरियाले । (पृ. ११३)

भीममा माओवादी विद्रोहले समाजमा परिवर्तन ल्याउन नसक्ने विचार प्रबल देखिन्छ । सायद, पार्टीभित्रको विकृति र नेतृत्वभित्र राजनीतिक निष्ठा नदेखेर होला उसले आफू संलग्न भएको पार्टीले मान्छेका दुःख र विचार फेर्न नसक्ने बताउँदै छ । उसले आफू बाध्यताले पार्टीमा लागेको बताइसकेको छ । के गरौं ऊ नगए भाइलाई लगीहाल्छन् ।

माओवादी विद्रोहीहरूले युद्धमा नेपालका कतिपय विकट जिल्ला र गाँउबाट प्रत्येक घरबाट एक-एक जना युवा वा युवती पार्टीमा लाग्ने पर्ने उर्दी जारी गरे । उनीहरूको उर्दीवमोजिम कतिपयहरू त्यो समूहमा रहरले लागे त कतिपय विवशता र बाध्यताले । द्वन्द्वमा आफ्नो समूहमा मानिसहरूलाई जवर्जस्त सामेल गराउने विद्रोहीहरूको चरित्रले धैरे मानिसहरू आफ्नो थातथलोबाट डर र घम्कीका कारण विस्थापित बन्न पुगेका छन् । तुइनमा बड्की गाविस ओदीमा बसोवास गरेको गाउँका ठालु मानिने धनविक्रम शाही आफ्नो गाउँघर छाडी सुरक्षित स्थानको खोजी गर्दै सुर्खेत भरेको छ । धनविक्रम गाउँको सामन्त हो । उसले गाउँलेहरूसँग चर्को ब्याज असुल्ने कार्य गरेको छ । धनविक्रमको घरजग्गा माओवादीले कब्जा गरे पनि, उसको घोडा फुकाएर लगिदिए पनि; ऊ हैसियतवाला भएकाले गाउँ छाडी सुर्खेत भरेको छ । थातथलो छोड्नु परे पनि माओवादी विद्रोहले उसको परिवारमा खासै क्षति पुगेको देखिन्न ।

विद्रोहमा सबभन्दा बढी निम्न र मध्यम वर्ग नै पिल्सिने गर्छ । द्वन्द्वमा बढी रूपमा त निम्न वर्ग नै पिल्सिने गर्छ । सत्ता पक्ष होस् या विद्रोही; दुवैले मध्यम तथा निम्न वर्गलाई नै तारो बनाउँछन् । सत्ता पक्षबाट विद्रोहीहरूलाई तह लगाउनका निम्ति युद्ध क्षेत्रमा मध्यम तथा निम्न वर्गकै सिपाहीहरू परिचालित हुन्छन् अनि उतातिर विद्रोहीले पनि आफ्नो रण क्षेत्रमा यही वर्गकै मानिसहरूलाई उपयोग गरेका हुन्छन् ।

तुइन उपन्यासमा ज्यान गुमाउने र जवर्जस्तीको सिकार बन्ने पात्रहरू मध्यम र निम्नवर्गकै छन् । माओवादीले मारेका प्रहरी जवान, डुङ्केश्वरका होटेल व्यवसायी दयाराम र भूताहा माविका शिक्षक मध्यम वर्गीय पात्र हुन् । त्यस्तै उपन्यासमा जुम्ला आक्रमणमा माओवादीले जवर्जस्त लिएर गएका भक्के, भूमिराज, हरिकिस्ने, बलेजस्ता पात्र निम्न वर्गका पात्र हुन् । माओवादीले निम्न वर्गको अधिनायकत्व स्थापना गर्ने नारा लगाएकाले उक्त विद्रोहमा निम्न वर्गको बाहुन्यता हुने नै भयो । कृतिका विद्रोही समूहमा रहर वा बाध्यताले गाँसिन पुगेका भीम, रकमे, अग्ने, भक्के, प्रताप, ऋपट, बले, हरिकिस्ने आदि निम्न तथा मध्यमवर्गकै पात्र हुन् ।

अभिघातमा अपहरणका सन्दर्भ पनि हुन्छन् । तुइन उपन्यासले त्यस्ता प्रसङ्गहरू पनि टिपेको छ । माओवादी समूहले उपन्यासको प्रमुख पात्र भूमिराजले पढ्ने नराकोट स्कूलबाट १० कक्षामा पढ्ने केही विद्यार्थीहरूलाई मीठा सपना देखाएर सँगै लिई गएको छ । भूमिले त्यसबखत उक्त समूहसँग जान नमाने पनि पछि उसको दाजु माओवादी समूहबाट भागेर हिँडेपछि उसलाई लिन घरै आएका छन् । तलको सन्दर्भ त्यही बताउँछ :-

'भूमिराज खोइ ? ...

उनीहरूमध्यको कसैले भन्यो, भीम पार्टी छाडीकन भागो । तेइकाबिअ भूमिकन लैजान आयाका हौं ।' (पृ. १२७)

भूमिलाई लिन घरमै आएका माओवादीलाई उसकी भाउजूले भूमि दिदीकहाँ गएको भूटो कुरा बताई तत्कालका लागि बचाए पनि पछि उसलाई जुम्ला सदरमुकाम खलङ्गा आक्रमणमा विद्रोहीले आफ्नोसमूहमा सामेल गराई उसको इच्छा विपरित जवर्जस्त लिएर गएका छन् । खलङ्गा आक्रमणमा प्रत्येक घरबाट एक जनाका दरले युवा तथा युवतीहरूलाई माओवादीले बलजफ्ती लिएर गएका छन् । माओवादीको खलङ्गा आक्रमणको दृश्य अत्यन्तै डरलाग्दो र भयावह देखिन्छ । प्रस्तुत उद्धरण त्यसैको साक्ष्य हो :-

कमरेडहरू फायर । बैरीमाथि एकैपटक फायर खोलीं, यताबाट भने । र सबैले एकैपटक गोलाबारूद बसाए । वरिपरिका डाँडामा पैरो गएजस्तो लाग्न थाल्यो ... नजिकका गाउँबस्ती र खलङ्गा बजारतिर आइमाई केटाकेटी चिच्याएको रोएको आवाज चर्किदै गयो दोहोरो फायरिङको आवाज भुट्टाभुट्टै हाँडीबाट मकै उछिट्टिएजस्तो सुनिन्थ्यो ढुङ्गामाटो नै बलेजसरी बन्दुक पड्किन्ये । ...

ती अँध्यारा घरभित्र मान्छे चिच्याएको र रोएको आवाज भने तिनै गोलीजस्तै मुटु छेड्ने खालका थिए । नजिकै 'आमा होइ' भनेको रुवाइको डाँको मेरो कानमा पर्‍यो । हातको टर्च पिलिक्क बालेर हेरेँ, एउटा छापामार घोट्टिएको थियो । रगतको आहाल परिसकेको रैछ । हातगोडा फालेर छटपटाइरहेको देख्दा डराएँ । (पृ. १४१) ... ऊ त अगने रैछ । सारै माया लाग्यो । ... उसको जिउबाट रगत निखिसकेको रैछ कि कुन्नि ? ... ऊ छटपट्टाउँदा छटपटाउँदै सकीनसकी मतिर हेरेर मुख खोल्‍यो, मु मर्न लागिगयो हेर ... । त्यति भन्न नभ्याउँदै वाक्य अड्कियो उसको रुद्रघण्टीमा । आँखाका ढकनी ट्याप्य भए । (पृ. १४२) ... उसलाई हातले गाड्न मन लागेन । बले र मैले सल्लाह गरेर अकै टोलीको जिम्मा लगायौँ ... (पृ. १४३)

युद्धका खेलहरू यस्तै भयावह र त्रासद् खालका हुन्छन् । युद्धमा संलग्न योद्धा कि आफैँ ढल्छ कि अर्कोलाई ढल्छ । त्यो दृश्य बडो डरलाग्दो, भयानक र त्रासदीपूर्ण हुन्छ । माथि प्रस्तुत उद्धरणले युद्धमा हुने मार्ने र मर्ने खेलको मीठो चित्रण गरेको छ । सेना र विद्रोहीको भीडन्तले सृजित खलङ्गा निवासीहरूमा व्याप्त मानसिक सन्त्रास, छटपटी, उकसमुकुस र आतङ्गलाई उपर्युल्लिखित उद्धरणले मीठो ढङ्गले टिपेको छ । उता आफूसँगै पढेको साथी अगनेको मृत्युले भूमि र उसका साथी बले, हरिकिस्ने र डिल्लेमा पनि मानसिक सन्त्रास सिर्जना गर्न पुगेको छ ।

खलङ्गा सदरमुकाम आक्रमणमा संलग्न बनाइएको भूमि पूर्व योजनाबमोजिम सुन्दर भविष्यको खोजी गर्दै भागेको छ । भागै गर्दा ऊ पिली गाउँमा पुनः माओवादी अपहरणमा परेको छ । त्यहाँबाट केही दिनमा जेनतेन फुत्किएको ऊ कालिकोट र सरदमुकाम मान्छे हुँदै सुर्खेत भर्ने क्रममा डुङ्केश्वरमा एउटा होटेलमा बाँच्नकै खातिर भाँडा माभने कार्य गर्न बाध्य बनेको छ । भूमि वसेको डुङ्केश्वरका होटेल सञ्चालक दयारामकहाँ माओवादीले जवर्जस्त खाना खाने गरेको, माओवादीलाई खाना खुवाएकै निहुँमा उनलाई सेनाले पक्राउ गरेर लगी मरणसम्म हुने गरी कुटेर छाडेको र पछि ज्यान जोगाउनका निम्ति होटेल व्यवसाय बन्द गर्दा पुनः माओवादीले उनलाई सेनासँग सुराक गरेको आरोप लगाई अपहरण गरी मारेको दृश्य अत्यन्तै कहालिलाग्दो छ । डुङ्केश्वरमै माओवादी र सेनाबीचको भीडन्त तथा उक्त भीडन्तले जनमानसमा सिर्जना गरेको आतङ्ग तथा सन्त्रास पनि निकै मार्मिक छ । डुङ्केश्वरमा सत्ता र विद्रोही पक्षको बलमिचाइबाट जोगिन बजारका सारा मानिस विस्थापित भएको दृश्य साँच्चै पाठकको मुटु हल्लाउने खालको छ । प्रस्तुत छ त्यसैसँग सम्बन्धित एक उद्धरण:-

त्यसरात फेरि माओवादी आए । ... कम्मरमा बन्दुकका गोलीको पेटि बाँधेकाले भन्यो, 'शाही सेनाको व्यारेकतिर आउने जाने त खुब गर्नुहुँदोरैछ । यसरी प्रतिक्रियावादी र प्रतिक्रान्तिकारीका मतियारलाई हाम्रा विरुद्ध सुराकी गरेर हाम्रो महान् जनयुद्ध तुहिन्छ भन्ने ठान्नुभको ?' ... 'मेरो कसैसाग रिसइबी छैन, सर । म त व्यापार गरेर खाने मान्छे' ... 'हामीले खाना खायाँ भनेर होटलै बन्द गर्नुभएछ ।' (पृ. १५८) ... 'एकछिन हामीसँग हिँडनुस्, तपैसित अलि गोप्य छलफल गर्नुपर्ने छ ।' ... 'सर यहीं नै गरौं न । रात परिसक्यो भात पनि खाएको छैन ।' ... साहुनीले भनी, ... कहाँ जाने कुरा गरेको यति राति ? ... 'यति राति त म ठ्याक्कै जान दिन्नँ ।' ... तपै बाठो नहुनुस्, हामीलाई अष्टयारो कदम चाल्न बाध्य नबनाउनुस् । (पृ. १५९) ... दयाराम दाइलाई साँझ ७ बजे एक घण्टाका लागि भनेर लगेका रातको ११ बज्दा पनि फर्काइदिएनन् । साहुनी धेरै अत्तिन थाली । भनी, अलि तलसम्म हेर्न जाम् त, हिन् कान्छ । ... दाइलाई लगेको बाटो पछ्याउँदै कर्णाली किनारसम्म गर्यौं । (पृ. १५९) ... दाइ त भोलिपल्ट बिहानसम्म पनि आएनन् । तर सेना आयो र बजार घेरा हाल्यो । सबैका घरमा छापा मार्न थाल्यो । आमा चकारी गाली गर्दै लछारपछार गर्न थाल्यो । कोहीकोहीलाई बन्दुकका नालले हिकार्यो, कोहीलाई बुटले । ... हाम्रो दैलामा पनि लात्ती बजारियो । सँगै आवाज पनि आयो, ढोका खोल, साहुनी डराउँदै दैलाको एउटा पलेटो अलिकति उधारी, सेना रैछ । अनुहारमा कालो पोतेको उसले हकाँदै सोध्यो, 'तिम्ना दुलाहा माओवादीमा लागे होइन ?' ... माओवादीमा लागेका होइनन् सर माओवादीले लगेका हुन् जबर्जस्ती । एक घण्टामा फर्काइदिन्छौं भन्थे अहिलेसम्म आएनन्, साहुनी रुन थाली, लौ न सर खोजिदिनुपन्यो । ... 'गएर पुलिस चौकीमा रिपोर्ट लेखाऊ ।' (पृ. १६२) ... खबर ल्याए कर्णाली किनारमा दयाराम दाइजस्तै देखिने गोलीले छियाछिया भएको एउटा लास छ । (पृ. १६५)

माथिको उद्धरणले युद्धका बखत हुने अपहरणको शैलीलाई उदाह्रो पारेको छ । प्रस्तुत उद्धरणले दयारामलाई अपहरण गरेपछि उसकी श्रीमतीमा सृजित भय तथा मानसिक सन्त्रासलाई पनि देखाउन खोजेको छ । युद्धमा निरपराध मान्छेहरू सत्ता तथा विद्रोही दुवै पक्षका सिकार बन्छन् । युद्धमा अनाहकमा कारवाहीमा पर्ने तथा मारिनेहरू बढी नै हुन्छन् । दयारामलाई माओवादीहरूले उनको हाटेलमा पसी सितैमा भात खाएर नपुगी सेनासँग सुराक गरेको र सेनाकै निर्देशनमा होटेल बन्द गरेको बहाना बनाई अपहरण गरी हत्या गरेका छन् । दयारामले विद्रोहीद्वारा मारिनुपूर्व माओवादी पालेको आरोपमा सेनाबाट निर्घात कुटाइ खाएका छन् । यसरी युद्धमा तथ्य र प्रमाणका आधारमा नभई व्यक्तिगत रिसइबी र सनकका भरमा मानिसहरू अपहरणमा पर्ने तथा ज्यान समेत गुमाउनु पर्ने स्थितिको चित्रण माथिको उद्धरणले गरेको छ ।

युद्ध वा द्वन्द्वमा ज्यान जोगाउनका निम्ति मानिसहरू परापूर्वकालेदेखि बस्तै आएको थातथलो छोड्न पनि विवश बन्छन् । माओवादी द्वन्द्वको सुरुवात भएदेखि गाउँमा असुरक्षाको महसुस गरी धेरै मानिसहरू विस्थापित बन्न पुगे । हाल द्वन्द्वको व्यवस्थापन भइसक्दा पनि नेपालका गाउँहरू खाली हुने क्रम रोकिएको छैन । पहिला मानिसहरू डर, सन्त्रास तथा असुरक्षाका कारण सुरक्षित गन्तव्यको खोजी गर्दै आफ्नो थातथलो छोड्न विवश बनिरहेका थिए भने अहिले अवसर र सुविधाको खोजी गर्दै मानिसहरू गाउँ खाली गराउँदै ओर्लिरहेका छन् । द्वन्द्वका कारण सुरुवात भएको यो क्रम यही रूपमा जारी रहे नेपालका अधिकांश गाउँहरू खाली बन्ने छन् । यो निकै चिन्ता र चासोको विषय बन्न पुगेको छ । माओवादी द्वन्द्वका कारण गाउँका मानिस कसरी विस्थापित हुन पुगे भन्ने सन्दर्भलाई तलको उद्धरणले थप स्पष्ट पार्छ ।

अल्लिबेरपछि हाम्रो होटेल अगाडिबाट तीनचार जना उँधोतिर भागे । पछि पछि सेनाले लखेट्यो । भुर्लुक्क देखेँ, भाग्नेमध्ये एउटाले बन्दुक बोकेको थियो । (पृ. १६२) 'होटेलभन्दा अलि माथिबाट एउटा मान्छे चिच्यायो - फायर, फायर ।' ... लगत्तै आवाज आयो - ड्याड्ड, ड्याड्ड, ड्याड्ड । ... हामीले दैलेको चरबाट चियाएर हेर्छौं । मुनिपट्टि बाटोमा तीनबटा मान्छे ढलेका सेनाले नजिकै गएर छटपटाइरहेको छापामारको छातीमा फेरि ड्याड्ड पाय्यो । (पृ. १६३) ... बस्तीका मान्छेजति घरभित्र पसे । ... आइमाई, केटाकेटी चिच्चाएको र रोएको आवाज चर्को सुनिन थाल्यो । भेडाबाखा र गोरु जोडजोडले कराउन थाले । कुकुर र बिरालाहरू रुन । पशुको रुवाइमा मान्छेको रुवाइ पनि मिसियो :- मरे आमा, आमा । ऐया, ऐया । पानी, पानी । ... रुवाइको आवाजसँगै अर्को आवाज चर्कियो - 'ठोक्ठोक् - ढल्यो ... हतियार फालेर भाग्यो ... उता भाग्यो ।' ... केहीबेरपछि आकाशमा हेलिकप्टर उड्यो । पारि वनतिर गोलाबारूद पड्किए । (पृ. १६३) ... हामी बाहिर निस्कने आँट गर्न सकेनौं । ज्यान लुगलुग काँपिरहेको थियो । ... धेरैबेरपछि वल्लोपल्लो पसलका एकदुई जना मान्छे निस्कन थाले । हामीले पनि ढोका खोल्छौं बिस्तारै र निस्कियो मुटुमा त्रासको पहाड बोकेर । मूल बाटो रगतको भेल बगेजस्तै थियो । अलि पल्लिर त थुप्रै राँगा काटेको ठाउँजस्तो लाग्थ्यो । धेरैबेर हेरिरहन सकिनँ त्यता । बाटोभरि गोली लागेका मान्छे घिसारेजस्ता डाम र नपड्केका बम थिए । रगतले भिजेका लुगा, भोला र बुटजुत्ता छिरलिएका थिए ।

... जताततै धुँवा पुत्ताइरहेको थियो । त्यस्तो चहलपहल भएको बस्ती कर्नालीको बगरजस्तो उराठ बन्यो । (पृ. १६४) ... बस्तीभरि आतड्क फैलियो । मानिसहरू एकअर्कालाई शंकाको नजरले हेर्न थाले । ... एकाएक सबै पसल, होटेल खाली हुन थाले, बजार सुनसान हुँदै गयो । मान्छेहरू घरबाहिर निस्कन छाडे । कतिपयले

दैलोमा चाबी लगाई गोठका भेडा बाखा फुकाएर वनतिर छाडिदिए र सधैँका लागि बसाई हिँडे नेपालगञ्ज र सुर्खेततिर । (पृ. १६५)

माओवादी द्वन्द्वमा नेपालका गाउँहरू सरकारी तथा विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट निकै तहसनहस बने । गाउँदेखि सहर हान्ने माओवादी रणनीतिका कारण पनि त्यसबखत नेपालका अधिकांश विकट गाउँ र सुरक्षा निकायको पहुँचभन्दा अलि पर रहेका साना-साना बजारहरू द्वन्द्वबाट निकै प्रभावित बने । माओवादी द्वन्द्वमा विद्रोही तथा सरकार दुवै पक्षबाट मध्यपश्चिम विकासक्षेत्रका अधिकांश गाउँहरू निकै प्रभावित बनेका थिए । माथि सेना र माओवादी विद्रोही पक्षबीच भएको दोहोरो गोली हानहान अनि सरकारी सेनाले माओवादी छापामारहरूलाई निर्मम ढङ्गले मारेको दृश्य देखाइएको छ । माओवादी विद्रोहमा सरकारी सेना तथा पुलिस पक्षबाट पनि निर्मम र मानवता विरोधी कार्यहरू भएका छन् । विद्रोहीहरूलाई भेट्दावित्तिकै सिद्दयाउने रणनीतिमा रहेको सुरक्षा निकायको कार्यशैलीले तत्कालीन अवस्थामा सर्वसाधारणहरू अत्यन्तै सन्वस्त बन्न पुगे । सुरक्षा निकायको जनविरोधी कार्यले सर्वसाधारणहरू आफ्नो थातथलो छोड्नुको विकल्पमा रहेनन् । माथिको सन्दर्भले त्यही बताउँछ ।

माओवादी विद्रोहमा सरकारी सेना तथा पुलिस पक्षबाट पनि थुप्रै ज्यादतीका कार्यहरू भएका छन् । विद्रोहीहरूलाई चन्दा दिएको, घरमा खान तथा बस्न दिएको तथा माओवादी विद्रोहमा यो वा त्यो रूपमा संलग्न रहेको आरोपमा धेरै मानिसहरू मारिए । कतिपय मानिसहरू त विना प्रमाण आशङ्कै भरमा पनि मारिन पुगे । त्यस्ता सन्दर्भहरू तुइनमा प्रशस्त आएका छन् ।

तुइनमा निर्दोष भक्केका बालाई अनाहकमा सेनाले मारेको छ । प्रस्तुत उद्धरण त्यही बताउँछ:-

भक्केका बालाई सेनाले गोली हानेर मारिदिएको धेरै भएको थिएन । उनी खेतबाट काम गरेर फर्किँदा

अँध्यारो भइसकेको रैछ । बाटामा सेना देखेपछि डराएर भागेछन् । भाग्दा-भाग्दै उनलाई सेनाले गोलीले सर्धैका लागि धरतीबाटै भगाइदिएछ । (पृ. ५५/५६)

माथि उल्लिखित उद्धारणमा भक्केका बालाई सेनाले माओवादीको आशङ्कामा मारेको छ । माओवादी विद्रोहमा खेतमा काम गर्दा, जङ्गलमा घाँस, दाउरा गर्दा, मेलाबाट घर फर्कदा तथा आफन्त र छिमेकीकहाँ आऊ जाऊ गर्दा धेरै मानिसहरू माओवादीको आशङ्काका भरमा सेना तथा प्रहरीबाट मारिएका छन् । माथि निरपराध भक्केका बालाई दिनभरि काम गरेर घर फर्कदै गर्दा सेनाले निकै क्रूरतापूर्ण ढङ्गले मारेको दृश्य देखाइएको छ ।

तुइनमा सरकारी सेनाले हेलिकप्टरबाट बम वर्षा गरेका सन्दर्भ पनि छन् । कृतिमा विद्रोही तथा सेना पक्षले दोहोरो भीडन्तमा छाडेका बमहरू खेलाउने क्रममा विस्फोट भई ज्यान गुमाउनेहरू पनि छन् ।

नागरिकता लिएर आएको चार दिनपछि ओदी गाउँ माथिको आकाशमा हेलिकप्टर उड्यो ।... भागदौड मच्चियो । माओवादी थुप्रै लुकेका रैछन् गाउँमा, कुनो कान्लो चेप्टै भाग्न थाले । ... बन्दुक पड्केको आवाज आउन थाल्यो । हेलिकप्टरबाट पारि हाम्रो स्कुल भएको पाखतिर गोली बर्सिन थाले । जताततै बम खसिरहे ।

(पृ. १३०/३१)

माथिको उद्धारणमा ओदी गाउँमा विद्रोहीहरू लुकेको आशङ्का गरी सेनाले हेलिकप्टर पठाउँदा माओवादी छापामारहरूमा भागदौड मच्चिएको छ । जङ्गलमा बम पड्केको छ । सेनाले हेलिकप्टरबाट बम वर्षा गरेको छ । त्यस्तै ओदी गाउँमा बस्ने अप्सराको भाइ लिखे बम खेलाउने क्रममा विस्फोटमा परी मरेको छ । 'अस्ति सेनाको हेलिकाप्टरले गास्ती गरेको बेला कि माओवादीले छाडो कोनि । बच्चाले खेलाउँदै हिँनेछ । आमैलाई के था ! चिनेनाछ रा लगेर आगेनो मादि राखेछ,

बमको जात ता हो तातेर पाड्की गो नि । ... म भीड छिचोलेर अल्लि अधि सरो र कुकुँच्चा उचालेर घाँटी तन्काएँ । हेरिनसक्नु थियो लिखेको ज्यान । बन्दाबन्दै बच्केको मुडाको टुटोजस्तो । रगतमा लत्पतिएजस्तो । अनुहार थिन्थिलिएको । आखा फुटेर रगतका धारा बगेका । एउटा हात कुइनोबाट चुँडिएको । जिउको मासु त बाघले लुठेभै चौकटाचौकटा फुन्डेका ठाम ठामै । पेट फुटेर पहलो दिसा बाहिर निस्केको । (पृ. ६६)

प्रस्तुत उद्धारणमा निरपराध तथा अबोध बालक भक्के खेलौना ठानी बम खेलाउने क्रममा विस्फोटमा परी मरेको कुरा उल्लेख गरिएको छ । उसको मृत्युको दृश्य निकै कहालिलागदो र मुटु हल्लाउने खालको छ । इन्द्रमा यसरी विस्फोटमा परी मर्नेहरूको संख्या पनि उल्लेख्य हुन्छ । माओवादी इन्द्रकालमा यस्ता थुप्रै घटना घटेका छन् । जसको दृष्टान्त माथिको उद्धारणले पेश गरेको छ ।

लिखेको मृत्युपछि उसकी आमा मूर्च्छा परेकी छिन् । उता उसकी दिदी अप्सरा घरमै भोक्राएर बस्न थालेकी छ । अप्सराले भाइको मृत्यु देखेपछि हाँस पनि भुलेकी छ । उसको अनुहारको रङ फेरिएको छ । इन्द्रमा नजिकैबाट मृत्यु नियालेकाहरू एक किसिमले मानसिक विक्षिप्तताको अवस्थामा पुग्छन् । यहाँ अप्सरा टोलाउनु, भोक्राउनु, साथीहरूसँग हाँसखेल गर्न छाड्नु सबै अभिघातका दृष्टान्त हुन् ।

तुइनमा विद्रोही पक्षबाट भन्दा सरकारी निकायबाट धेरै मानिसहरू मारिएको देखाइएको छ । सरकारी सेना तथा प्रहरीले भक्केका बा, नराकोटका छ जना निरपराध सर्वसाधारण, डुङ्केश्वरमा तीन जना माओवादी छापामार, उपन्यासको प्रमुख पात्र भूमिराज र उसले पढेको जमुनिया माविका हेडमास्टर रमाकान्तलाई अत्यन्तै निन्दनीय तथा क्रूर तरिकाले मारेको छ ।

उपन्यासमा सुरक्षा निकाय (प्रहरी/सेना) र माओवादी विद्रोहीको दोहोरो भीडन्तमा मर्नेहरू पनि

छन् । नन्दे र मैनाकी आमा वनमा घाँस काट्दा पुलिस र माओवादीको दोहोरो भीडन्तमा परी मरेकी छन् । नराकोट स्कूलमा माओवादीहरूले कार्यक्रम गरिरहेका बखत सेनाले घेरा हाली छ जना सर्वसाधारण मारेको छ । तत्कालीन समयमा सरकारी सेना पक्षबाट भएको प्रस्तुत जघन्य अपराध निकै चर्चामा आएको पनि थियो । त्यस्तै जुम्ला आक्रमणमा उपन्यासको प्रमुख पात्र भूमिराजको सँगै पढेको साथी तथा माओवादी छापामार अगने मारिएको छ । कालिकोटको डुङ्केश्वरमा सरकारी सेना तथा प्रहरीले तीनजना माओवादी छापामार मारेका छन् । रुकुमको खारामा सरकारी सेनामा भर्ती भएका सानीका वा पनि माओवादीसँगको दोहोरो भीडन्तमा ज्यान गुमाउन पुगेका छन् ।

उपन्यासमा अपहरणका सन्दर्भ पनि छन् । सरकारी सुरक्षा निकाय र विद्रोहीहरूद्वारा अपहरणमा परी वेपत्ता पारिएका औपन्यासिक पात्रहरू हुन्:- कालिकोट डुङ्केश्वरकी दयारामकी छोरी र नवलपरासीकी सानुकी आमा । यी दुईमध्ये दयारामकी छोरी सेनाले अपहरण गरी वेपत्ता पारेको छ भने सानुकी आमालाई माओवादीले ।

उपन्यासमा बुबाको माओवादी विद्रोहीद्वारा हत्या तथा आमाको माओवादीवाटै भएको अपहरणका कारण उपन्यासकी बाल नारी पात्र सानीमा सृजित मानसिक अन्तर्घात अत्यन्तै मार्मिक छ । अभिघातले द्वन्द्व वा युद्धका कारण पात्रमा सिर्जित मानसिक सन्ताप तथा विक्षिप्तताको मिही ढङ्गले चित्रण गर्छ । उपन्यासमा सानूको मानसपटलमा सृजित मानसिक अन्तर्घात अत्यन्तै मर्मान्तक छ । बुबाको मृत्युपछि सानू टोलाइरहने, एकोहोरिने र कसैसँग नबोल्ने बन्न पुगेकी छ । यो सबै द्वन्द्वले सिर्जना गरेको मानसिक विक्षिप्तताको नमूना हो । प्रस्तुत छ यसै कथनसँग सम्बद्ध एक उद्धरण:-

बुढी आमैले सानु बाहिरिएपछि भनिन् यस्को वा लडाइँआँ परेर गएसि यो सारै एकोरिई, अझ आफ्नै

आँखा अधिल्लिर आमालाई माओवादीले लअसि त हुन पर्नी भअ बाउ । आधारताँ सपना देखेर चिच्याउनी, ननिदाम्नी, नौलो मुन्छेसित नि डराम्नी भई । भाँडा बज्दा नि भ्रस्किन्थी, पढ्न जान नि मान्दैनथी जति खेर नि एकलै बस्न रुचाम्थी । साथेसित नि नहिन्नी, कैलेकाई त आफ्नै छयाँसित नि डराएर चिल्लाम्थी ।' (पृ. १८८)

माथिको उद्धरणमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको सन्दर्भले आमाको आफ्नै आँखा अधिल्लिरवाट भएको अपहरण र पिताको मृत्युका कारण सानूमा सिर्जित मानसिक अन्तर्घातलाई देखाउन खोजेको छ । युद्धलाई नजिकैबाट नियालेका तथा द्वन्द्वमा आफ्ना आफन्तहरू गुमाएका पात्रहरू लामो समयसम्म त्यसैका कारण सृजना भएको मानसिक पीडालाई बोकेर बाँच्न विवश हुन्छन् । माथि सानूको असामान्य मनस्थितिलाई देखाउन खोजिएको छ । यो सबै युद्धले निम्त्याएको मानसिक सन्ताप हो । अभिघातले यस्तै सन्दर्भहरूको विश्लेषण गर्छ । उपन्यासमा लिखेको मृत्युपछि उसकी दिदी अप्सरा र माताको अपहरण तथा पिताको मृत्युपछि सानू मानसिक अन्तर्घात वा विक्षिप्तताको अवस्थामा पुगेका छन् ।

तुइनमा द्वन्द्वका कारण धेरै पात्रहरू सिकार बनेका छन् । उपन्यासमा आफन्त गुमाउनेहरूको सङ्ख्या उल्लेख्य नै छ । उपन्यासको केन्द्रीय पात्र भूमि स्वयं द्वन्द्वको नराम्ररी सिकार बनेको छ । प्राकृतिक तथा दैवी विपत्तिमा बाबु आमा गुमाएको भूमिका दाइ भीमलाई माओवादीले जबर्जस्त युद्धमा सामेल गराएका छन् । उसको दाजु माओवादी समूहबाट भागेर हिँडेपछि ऊ पनि जोगिएर छोटै जीवनमा अनेक ठक्कर खाएर कर्नालीको जुम्ला ओदीबाट नवलपरासीको धनेवासम्म आइपुगी हातमा एसएल्सी प्रथमश्रेणीको प्रमाणपत्र प्राप्त गरी कर्नालीका सपनाहरू र त्यहाँको रड फेर्ने अठोट गर्दागदै अन्तिममा पुलिसको कब्जामा परी अत्यन्तै निर्मम ढङ्गले माओवादी विद्रोहीको आरोपमा सदाका लागि धर्तीबाट

आँखा धिम्लन बाध्य तुल्याइएको छ । द्वन्द्वकै कारण भूमिजस्तो निष्ठावान्, कर्मशील, मेधावी तथा ऊर्जाशील युवकको मृत्युले पाठकका आँखा रसाउँछन्, मुटु नराम्ररी थिलथिलिन्छ । भूमिलाई पुलिसले माओवादीका ओरापमा पक्राउ गरी मारेको सन्दर्भलाई उपन्यासले यसरी व्यक्त गरेको छ :-

अल्लि परै पुगिसकेको जिप फर्किएर आयो फनक्क । त्यसरी प्रहरीको जिप फर्केर आउँदा डरको हिमाल अग्लियो मेरो मनमा । लाग्यो, अब यिनीहरूले गोली ठोक्ने भए । ... फटाफट प्रहरी भरे र घेरा हाले हामीलाई । बन्दुकको घेरामा पर्यौं सर र म । ... 'भोलाका के छ ? कम्मरमा पिस्टोल भिरेकाले हकारेको पारामा ... सरको भोलाका सामान सबै बाटोमा छिम्लेर खानतलासी गरे एउटा डायरी पनि रैछ । ... कागजको एउटा चिर्कटो फ्यात्त भुईँमा भन्यो डायरीको बीचबाट । हत्तपत्त टिपेर हेर्यो । हर्नेबित्तिकै सतर्क भयो । (पृ. २१८) के हो यो ? ... सरले आफ्नो परिचयपत्र निकालेर देखाउँदै भने, ... म शिक्षक हुँ नित्य रत्नकुमारी माविको ।' ... 'चन्दा त थुप्रै दिनु भएको रैच माओवादीलाई,' ... मज्जाले पछाउँदै आउनुभएको रैछ । ... 'रहरले दिएको भए पो धेरैथोरैको कुरा आउँथ्यो,' ... सरले भने, 'बाध्यता र डरले दिएको चन्दा ... ।' आफ्नोकुरा निखारेर भन्न नपाउँदै सरलाई घोक्राउँदै लगेर जिपमा कोचे । ... सरका पछिपछि मलाई पनि उसैगरी लगे र कोचे । ... जिप गुड्यो । सरको र मेरो आँखामा कालोपट्टी बाँधिए । (पृ. २१९)

... अल्लिबेरमा जिप रोकियो । पहिला सरलाई भर्न भने अनि मलाई । ... 'छिटो भर् साले' टरौं आवाज भएको एउटा मलाई पछाडिबाट धकेल्दै बोल्थो । ... 'म भर्दै छुँ, त्यतिन्जेल गुमिसएर बसेको आवाज फुत्कियो, 'आँखाले नुदेख्या पछि कसरी छिटो भर्न्या सर ?' ... 'बहुता बोल्छस्, मुजी ?' मलाई लात्ताले भर्कूँदै गर्जियो । म जिपबाट एकैचोटि भुईँमा पछारिएँ । (पृ. २२०) ...म

उठ्न खोजें तर सकिनँ । कोखामा दुई बुट बजारिए फेरि । भन्न रिगटा लाग्यो । ... भुईँमै छाटिएपछि ओठबाट आवाज निस्कियो, 'पानी, पानी ... ।' 'ओए ९९, नकुट् त्यसरी मर्ला तेरा बाउँ, 'कसैले भन्यो । ... मरे यत्रैसिति जवाफी कारवाहीमा मरो भन्दिम्ला,' ... (पृ. २२१) ... मेरो कंरकार र सोधपुछ सुरु भो । ... 'भन्, कैलेदेखि लागेको होस् माओवादीमा ?' ... 'सर, मु माओवादी होइनउँ, निभेको स्वर कसै उकासिएन, 'माओवादीका डरले भागीकन हिँडेको हउँ जुम्लाबाट ।' ... 'अभ भूठ बोल्छस् ? कहाँ छ तेरो हतियार ?' ... 'मु कहिल्यै भूटो बोल्दैन, सर । ... ढाँट्छस् ? ... मु आतङ्ककारी होइनउँ, सर ।' ... के होस् भन्ने त भर्खर देखाइदिन्छौं । जा केटा हो यसको मालिस गर् ? ... उसले मलाई लताउँ र घुच्चाउँदै एउटा अँध्यारो कोठामा पुऱ्यायो । ... कोठामा हुलेपछि अरु दुईटा प्रहरी आए, रक्सीको कडा गन्ध लिएर । ... मेरो हरका जम्मै लुगा निकालिदिए, ... नाउँ सर मोकन नकुटनुहोस् मु माओवादी होइनउँ,' ... छेउमा उभिएको अर्काले बन्दुकको कुन्दाले हान्यो । म भन्डै मुर्छा परें । ... त्यही चोटले मछुँजस्तो लाग्यो । केही बोल्न सकिनँ । अल्लिबेरपछि मेरो थकित आवाज फुत्कियो, रमाकान्त सर काँ हुनुहुन्छ खोड ? एकचोटि देख्नेछियाँ ।' ... 'मारेर फाल्दियाँ,' ... एउटा नीलै पहिरन लगाएकाले हातमा कागजको खोस्टो लिएर आयो र भन्यो यसमा सही गर् ।' ... 'यो क्या हो, सर ?, 'किन चाहियो ?' ... 'खुरूक्क गर ।' ... 'पइला मोकन पढ्न दिनुस्, 'मैले बित्ति गरें ।' ... 'राम्रो मुखले त नमान्ने भइस् हन,' मेरो सन्नीमा बुट बजाउँ उसले भन्यो । ... 'सही गर्चस् कि नाउँ ?' उनीहरू भुक्न छाडेनन् । ... 'यसमा सही गरिनस् भने तातो गोली हाल्दिन्छु मुखभित्र,' अर्काले बन्दुकको नाल मेरो मुखभित्र पसाल्यो । मेरो गिँजा पाछ्यो र ओठका कापकापबाट रगत मिसिएको न्याल चुहियो । (पृ. २२४) ... 'पैला पढ्न दिनुस् अनि गछुँ ।'

त्यसपछि मेरो हातमा थमायो त्यो कागज । सरसर्ती पढें । पहराबाट खसेजस्तै भएँ । मलाई आतङ्ककारी बनाइएको कागज रैछ । भनेँ, 'सर म आतङ्ककारी होइनउँ, मेरो हतियार पुनि नाई, आत्मसमर्पण गन्या पुनि होइनउँ । मु गद्दैन सही ।' ... 'गदैनस् त,' उसले तामाको तार मेरो जिउमा भोस्यो । (पृ. २२६) ... र एउटा मैलो पर्दाले छोपिवियो मेरो आँखा । त्यसपछि, सबैतिर फिका भो छायाभैँ । मेरा निम्ति घाम र साँझ दुवै उस्तै भए । किनभने, आफ्नोजीवन अस्ताएर परेको साँझ रैछ यो । अन्तिम साँझ । (पृ. २२७)

भूमि माओवादीको अत्याचार सहन नसकेर पढनका निम्ति जुम्लाबाट अनेक हण्डर खाँदै भागेर नवलपरासीसम्म आइपुगेको विपन्न वर्गको पात्र हो । पढेर भविष्यमा केही गर्ने सपना बोकेको भूमि जुम्ला सदरमुकाम आक्रमण गर्दा माओवादी छापामार समूहमा संलग्न बनाइएको छ । आक्रमणकै बखत त्यहीँबाट भागेर हिँडेको ऊ नदीको तुइन माओवादीले भत्काइदिएकाले कर्नाली नदीमा हेलिएर बल्लतल्ल ज्यान जोगाउन पुगेको छ । जुम्लाबाट सुर्खेत भर्ने क्रममा ऊ पिर्ली गाउँमा चारदिनजति माओवादीको अपहरणमा परेको छ । आफूलाई अपहरण गरी राखेको ठाउँ सेनाले घेराबन्दी हालेपछि, सबै छापामार भागेकाले ऊ जेनतेन त्यहाँबाट ज्यान जोगाउँदै खच्चरका गोठालाको साथ लागी कालिकोट सदरमुकाम मान्म आइपुगेको छ । ऊ त्यहाँबाट पनि भाग्दै सुर्खेत भर्ने क्रममा बाटाखर्चको अभाव र भोकका कारण डुङ्केश्वरमा दयारामको होटलमा भाँडा माभून् विवश भएको छ । आफू बसेको होटलवाला साहू दयारामलाई माओवादीले होटल बन्द गरेको तथा सेनासँग सुराक लगाएको आरोप लगाई अपहरण पछि हत्या गरेपछि ऊ त्यहाँबाट पुनः भागेर सुर्खेत आइपुगेको छ । सुर्खेतमा ४५ दिनसम्म जुम्ला गेस्टहाउसमा भाँडा माभरेर पढ्न भनी पोखरा हिँडेको ऊ दाउन्नेमा सेनाको टुक माओवादी

एम्बुसमा परेकाले भागदौड हुँदा नवलपरासीको धनेवा गाउँ पुगी एकजना बूढी आमाकहाँ बास बस्न र पछि त्यहीँ बसेर पढी एस्एल्सी प्रथम श्रेणीमा उत्तीर्ण गर्न सफल बनेको छ । एस्एल्सी पछि विद्यालयका हेडसर रमाकान्तसँग पोखरा पुगी पृथ्वीनारायण क्याम्पसमा विज्ञान विषय लिई विश्वविद्यालयीय तह अध्ययन गर्ने सपना बोकी हिँडेको भूमि जमुनिया काटी बर्दघाट जाने क्रममा प्रहरीको गिरफ्तारमा परी माओवादीको आरोपमा आफ्ना विद्यालयका हेडसर रमाकान्तसँगै पक्राउमा परी भाग्दाभाग्दै सत्य सेवा सुरक्षणम् भन्ने नारा लगाउनेहरूद्वारा निर्मम ढङ्गले मारिन पुगेको छ । यो दृश्य अत्यन्तै कारुणिक र मर्मस्पर्शी छ ।

निष्कर्ष

तुइन उपन्यासमा प्रारम्भदेखि अत्यसम्म अभिघातका राम्रा दृष्टान्तहरू छन् । उपन्यासमा सत्ता र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट भएका अपहरण, चन्दा असुली, घर जग्गा कब्जा र निर्दोष मानिसहरूलाई मार्नेसम्मका कार्यहरू भएका छन् । कृतिमा युद्धका कारण धेरै मानिसहरू अपहरण तथा चन्दा असुलीमा परेका छन् भने कतिपयहरू अनाहकमा पिटाइ खान, विद्रोही समूहमा सामेल बन्न तथा सत्ता र विद्रोही दुवै पक्षबाट शत्रु समूहसँग लागेको, सुराक गरेको आदि आरोपमा ज्यान समेत गुमाउन पुगेका छन् । अभिघातमा मान्छेले भोगेको असुरक्षा, भय तथा त्रासदीका सन्दर्भहरू आउने गर्छन् । युद्धलाई नजिकैबाट नियालेका तथा भोगेकाहरू चरम मानसिक आघातमा पर्छन् । अझ युद्धमा आफ्ना आफन्त गुमाएकाहरू त एकोहोरिने, बहुलाउने, टोलाउने, ननिदाउने, सुतेका बखत बरबराउने, चिच्याउने, बोल्न, हिँड्न छाड्ने आदि मानसिक विचलनमा पर्छन् । युद्धमा दोहोरो भीडन्तमा परी ज्यान गुमाउने, बमबारीमा परी अङ्गभङ्ग हुने, युद्धमा संलग्न भएकाहरूले छाडेका

बमहरू खेलाउने क्रममा विस्फोट भई मर्ने, चन्द्रा दिए वा नदिएको आरोपमा भुण्ड्याउने, गोली ठोक्ने, सुराक गरेको आरोपमा अपहरण गरी गोलीले भुट्ने आदि जस्ता कार्यहरू पनि हुन्छन् । नेपालमा माओवादीले सञ्चालन

गरेको दश वर्षे युद्धमा यस्ता थुप्रै घटनाहरू भए । तिनै कहलीलाग्दा दिनहरूको चित्रण उपन्यासकार प्राञ्जलीले तुइनमा गरेका छन् । यो नेपाली द्वन्द्व साहित्यको राम्रो नमुना बनेर आएको छ ।

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